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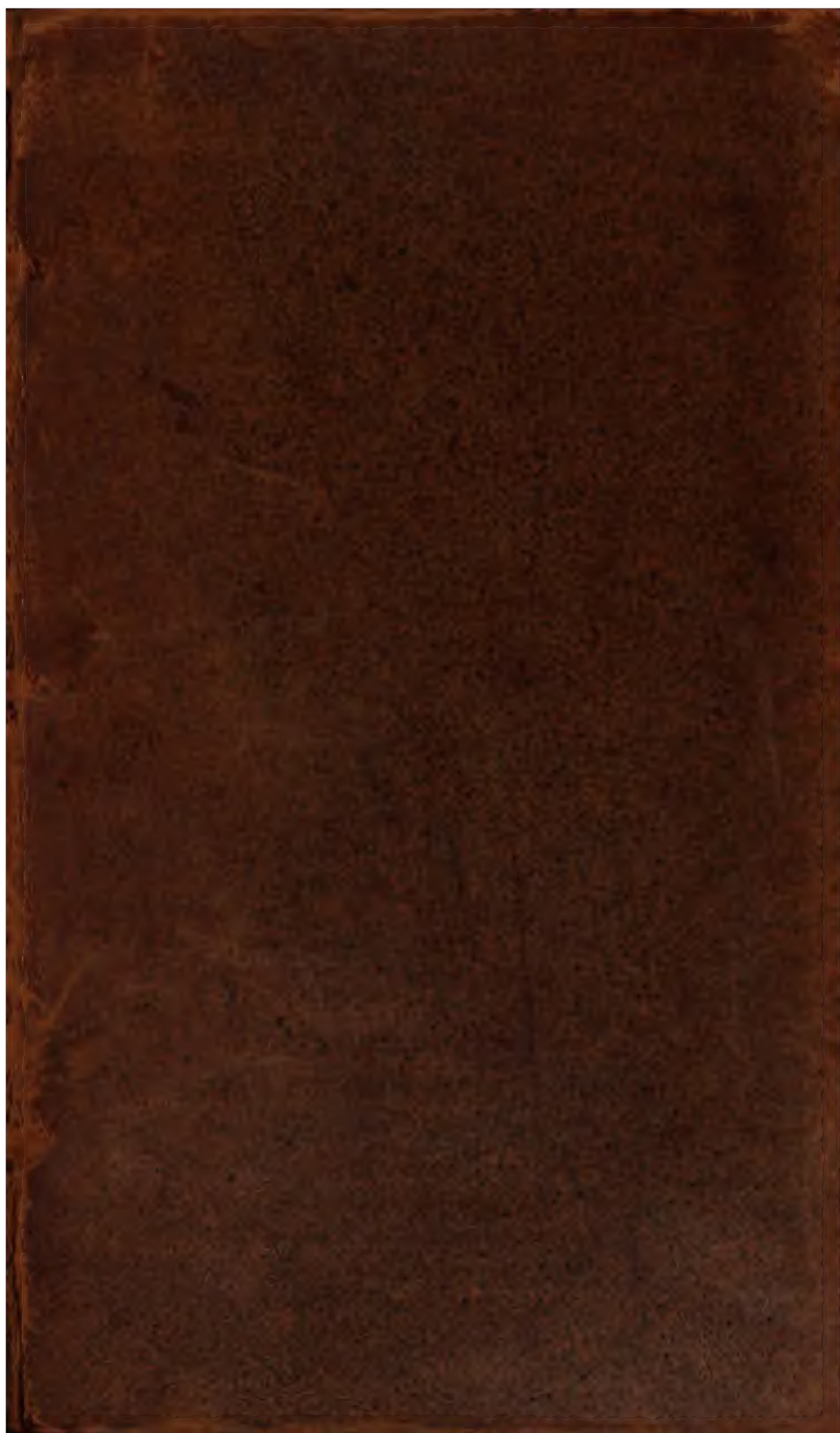
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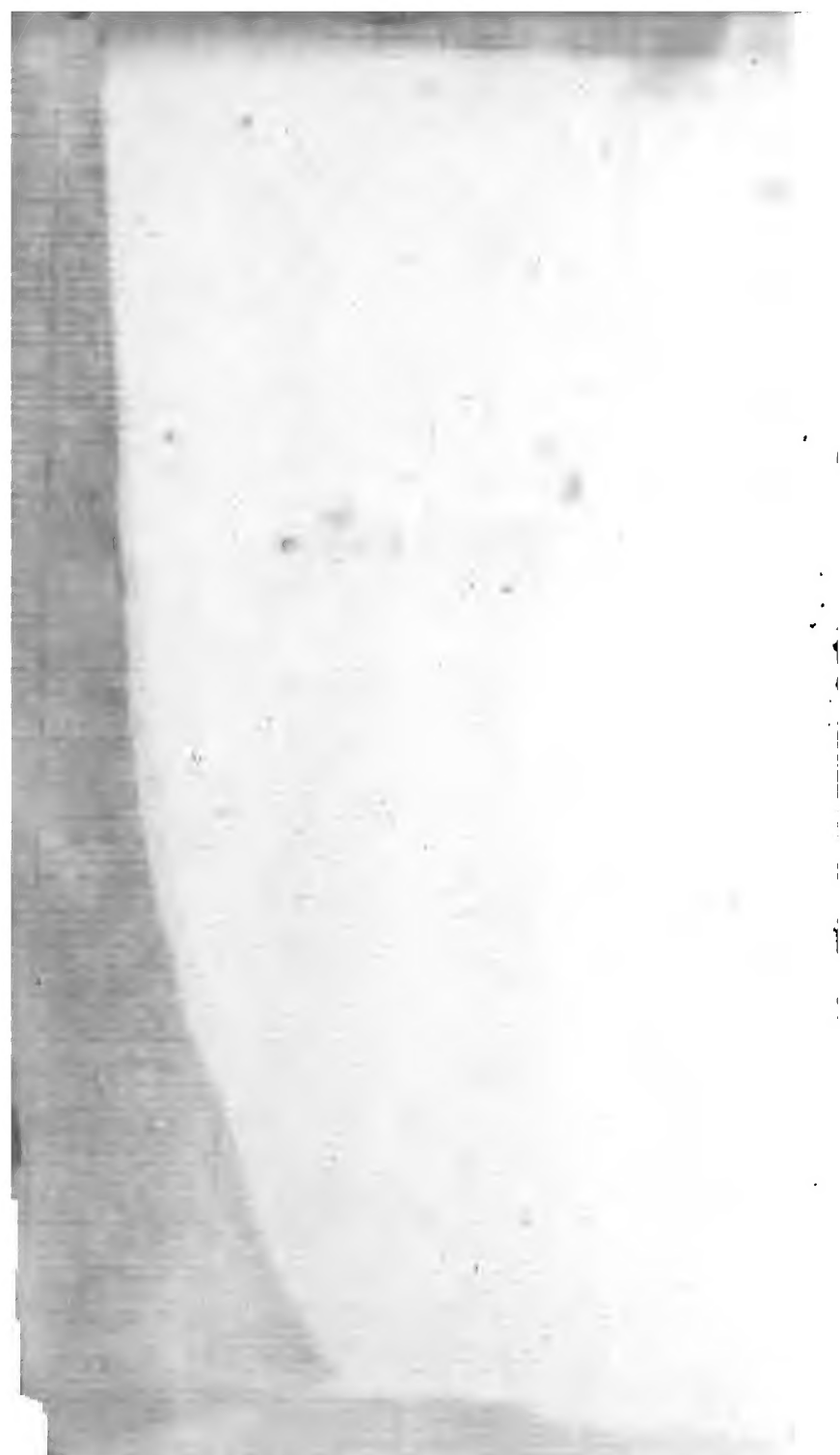


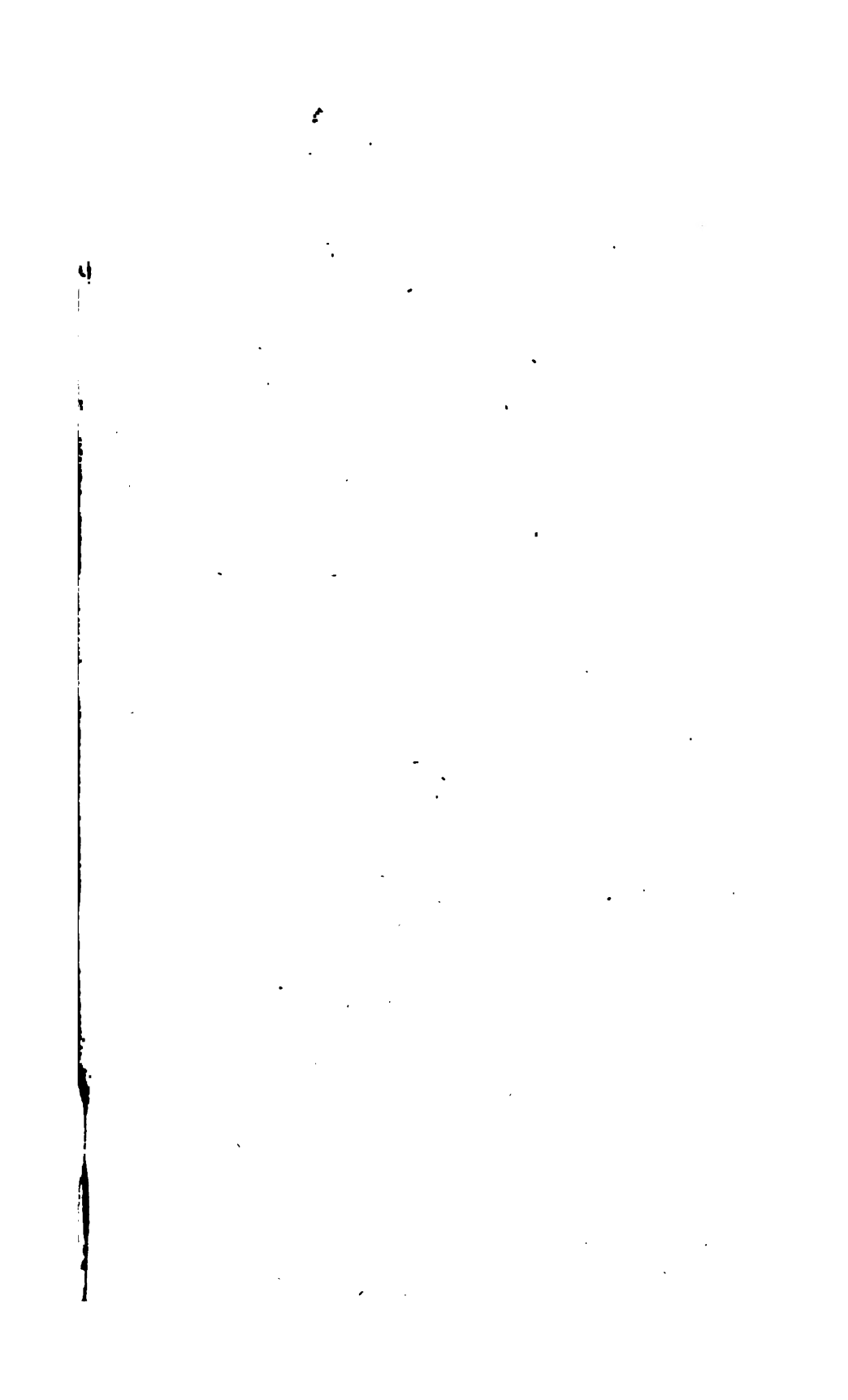


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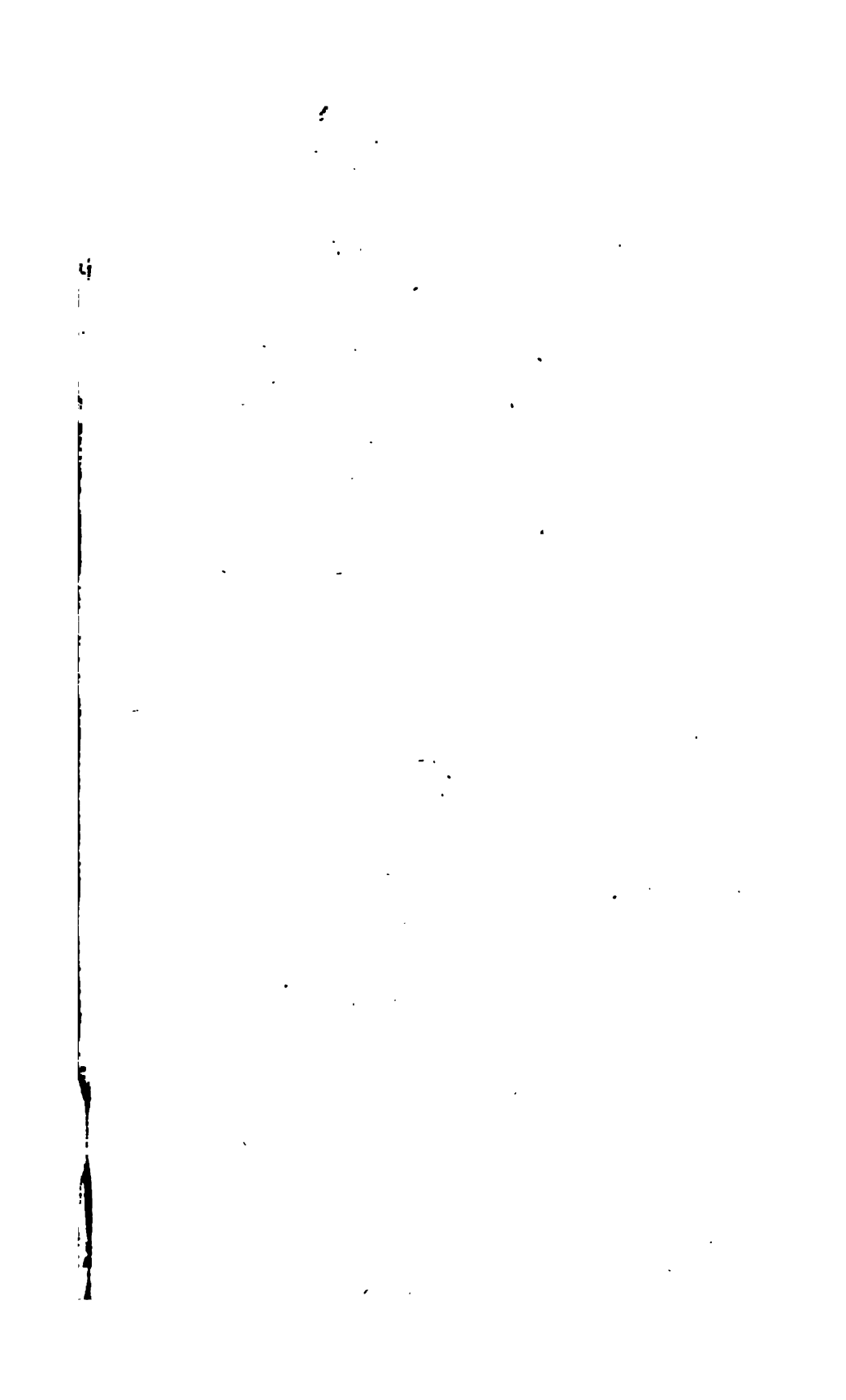




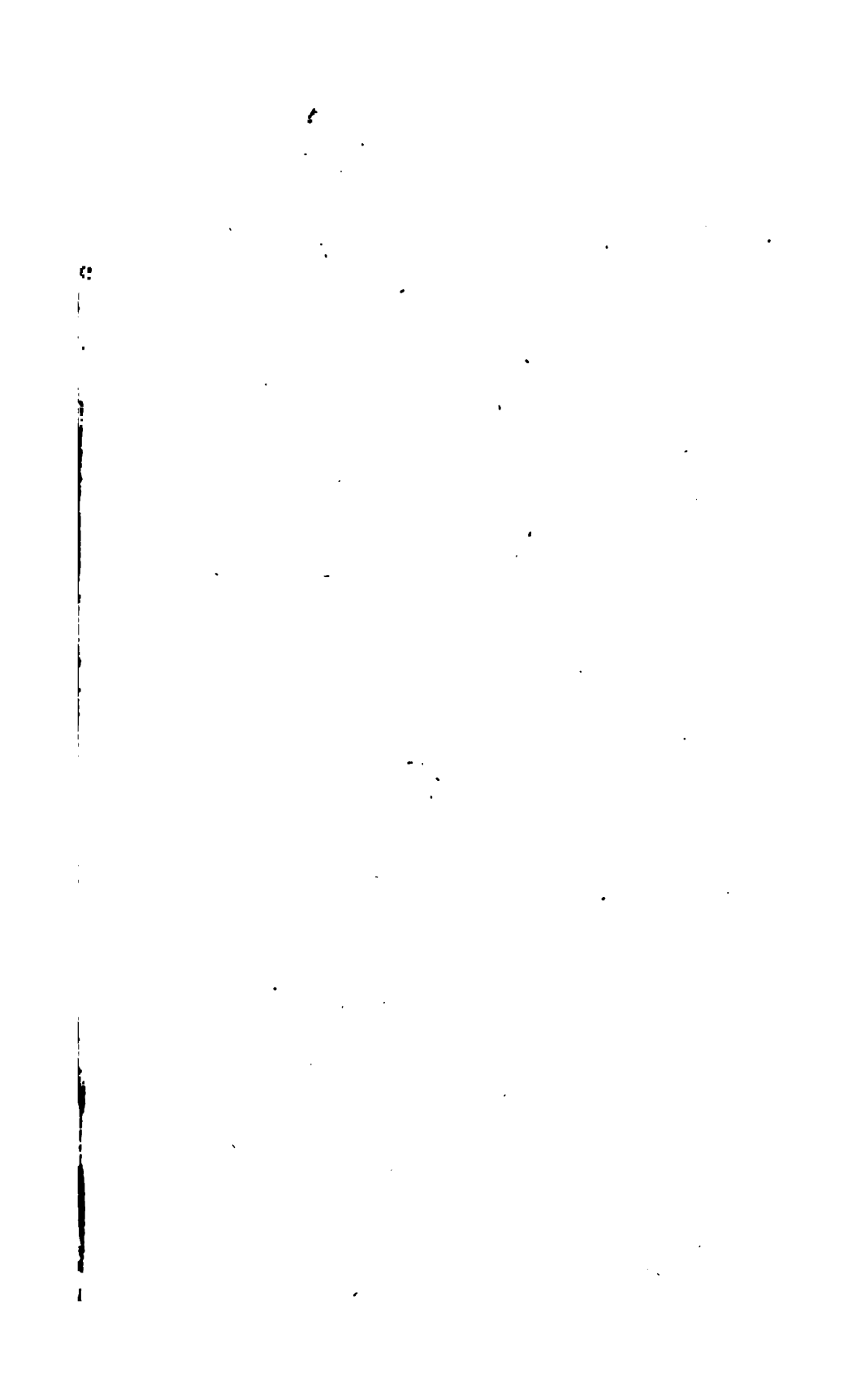




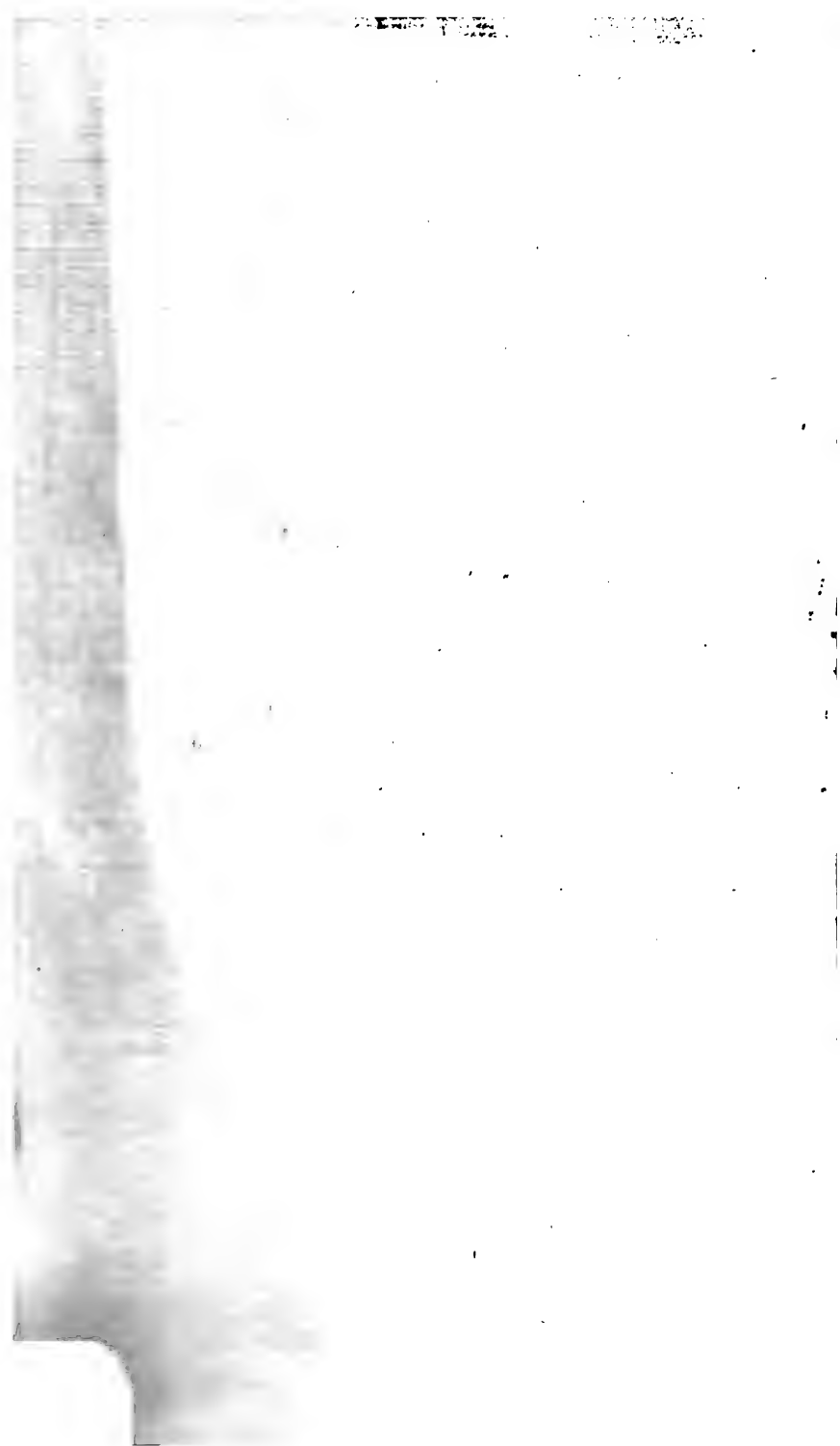


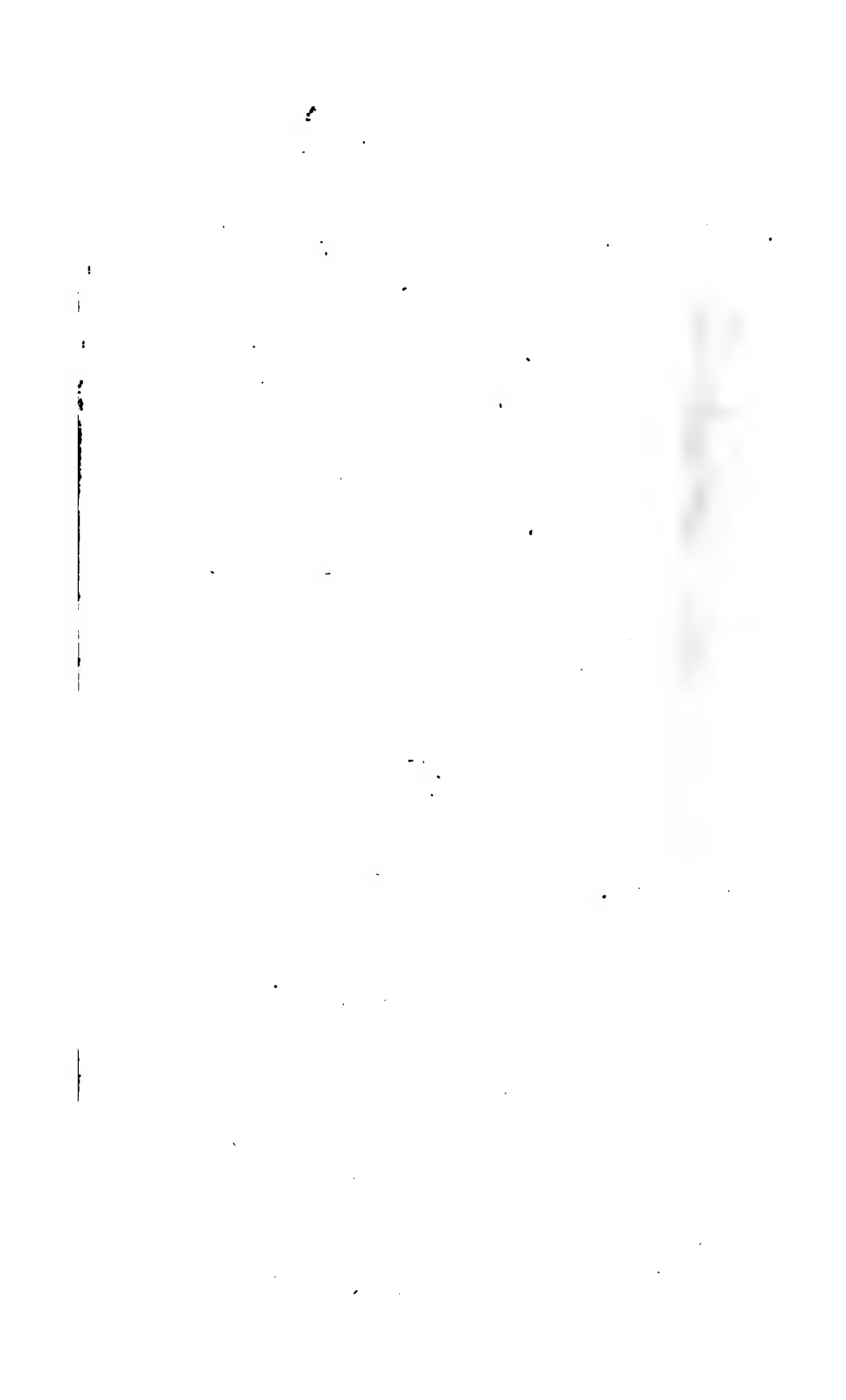














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THE  
MODERN PART  
OF AN  
Universal History,  
FROM THE  
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.  
VOL. IX.

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or bean, which  
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Befides the  
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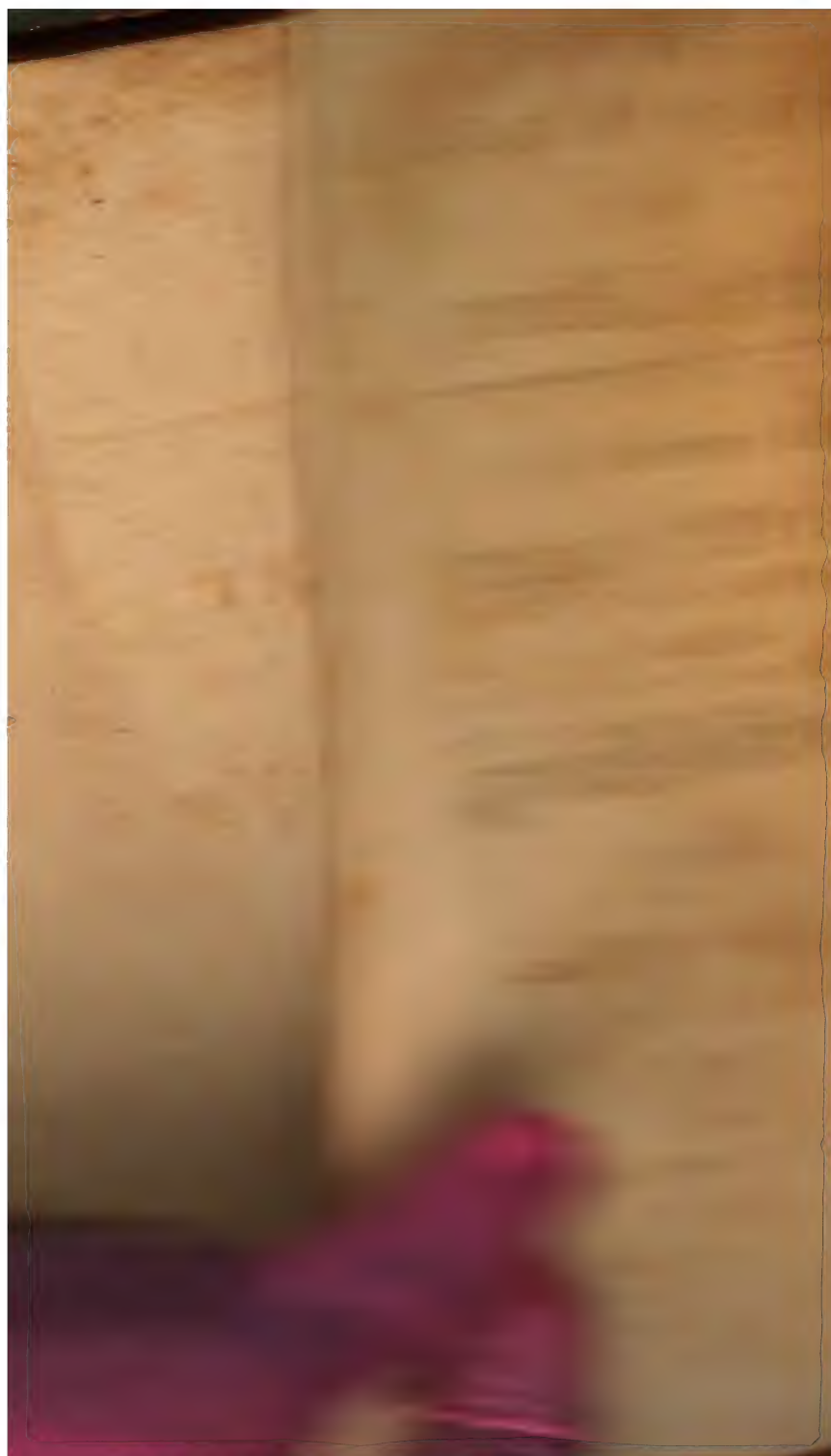
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LONDON:

RICHARDSON, T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH,  
A. JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER,  
and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, and C. WA

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M.DCC.LIX.

223. j. 154



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M.DCC.LIX.

223. j. 154



However, we had but a very imperfect knowledge of them *When discovered* till they were discovered by the *Portuguese*, at what year is *covered*. not agreed, some placing that epocha as early as *Anno 1535*, others *Anno 1542* and *1548*, and others still later. Be that *How*, and as it will, we are told<sup>d</sup>, that, whilst *Alphonso de Sousa* was by whom. viceroy of the *East-Indies*, three *Portuguese*, viz. *Antonio da Motta*, *Francisco Zeimoto*, and *Antonio Peixola*, were, by stress of weather, driven upon some of the *Japanese* coasts, being then in a small vessel loaden with leather, and bound from *Siam* to *China*, and were the first *Europeans* that discovered those islands. Upon the report they gave of it, others of their nation, particularly some of their missionaries, were sent thither; and, by their skill in the liberal sciences, so recommended themselves to the *Japanese*, that they easily got not only free admittance into, and commerce with, that empire, but likewise the free exercise of their religion, and, in process of time, the liberty from the emperor of propagating it through his dominions, as will be seen in the sequel.

ALL the coasts of this empire are furrounded with such *Rocky* craggy, high, and inaccessible mountains, and such shallow and *coasts, and* boisterous seas, as make sailing about them, as well as to and *dangerous* from them, extremely hazardous; and their creeks and bays are *seas*. for the most part choaked up with such rocks, shelves, sands, &c. that it seems as if Providence had designed it to be a little world within itself. Those seas have likewise many dangerous *Whirl-* whirlpools, which are very difficult to pass at low-water, and *pools.* will suck in and swallow up the largest vessels, and all that comes within the reach of their vortex, with a most dreadful quickness, and dash them in small pieces against the rocks which lie at the bottom, some of which are never seen again,

<sup>d</sup> BARROS Decada da Asia, p. 183.

him, *Hu-pi-lay*, the son of the famed *Jengbiz Khán*, at whose court he had resided several years, as we have lately shewn in the history of *Korea* (2): for that prince whom Couplet calls *Xi-cu* (3), is by him affirmed to have completed the conquest of *China* A. C. 1281, and to have attempted that also of *Japan*; so that there is not the least room to doubt that *Zipangri* is the same with *Japan*. To which we may add what another author tells us (4), that *Zipangri* is the same as the *Chinese* *Ge-puen-gin*, with the addition of an *r*, after the *Tartaric* manner; *Ge* signifying the *sun*, *Huen* the origin or rising, and *Gin* a man.

(2) See before, vol. iv. p. 519. & seq. viii. 467, (D).  
sub An.

(4) Martini *Atl Sinic.*

(3) *Annal. Sinic.*

and others are thrown up on the surface at some miles distance. The noise which some of them make is no less terrible to hear; tho' these are reckoned less dangerous, because they may the more easily be avoided by it<sup>e</sup>.

THE country is no less pleasant and inviting within than its avenues are discouraging and frightful. Its situation is such, that it possesses the fifth and sixth climates; and would consequently be by many degrees hotter than *England*, were not those heats refreshed by the winds which continually blow from the sea around it, and to which they are much exposed by the height of their situation. However, it must be owned, that this makes their winters excessive cold, and the snows to fall in greater quantities, which are commonly followed by hard frosts. It renders their seasons likewise more inconstant, and frequently liable to various changes, which are hardly felt in other parts of the *Indies*, especially on the continent, particularly violent and lasting rains, which sometimes hardly cease during the whole year. The months of *June* and *July*, especially, have them still more vehement, and are on that account called *Sat-suki*, or *water-months*; and it is well for them, that they are so, else the heat would be hardly tolerable. The country is also much subject to dreadful thunders and lightnings, and to storms and hurricanes, which frequently do a great deal of damage.

*Violent  
rains and  
snows.*

*Soil and  
produce.*

THE soil is naturally rocky and mountainous, and the ancient relations describe it as very barren; nevertheless the industry of the inhabitants hath made it fertile enough of every necessary of life, so as to be able not only to supply their own wants, but to furnish other countries with them, especially with the finest and whitest of rice, and with bread-corn, of both which vast quantities are exported by the natives and the *Dutch*, and the *Philippine Islands* were known heretofore to be mostly supplied with them from thence.

*Various  
sorts of  
grain.*

THEY have five different grains, which they comprehend under the name of *Gokokf*; viz. the *Komi*, or rice above-mentioned, of which they have several sorts, of the finest of which they make bread, and of the coarser a sort of beer they call *Sacki*; the next is called *Omuggi*, or large grain, which is their barley, of the flour of which they make a sort of cakes, but the greatest use they make of it is, to feed their horses and cattle with it; the third is called *Koomuggi*, or small grain, and is their wheat, of which they chiefly make cakes for their table; fourthly, Their *Daid-fu*, or *daid* beans, is a smaller sort of bean, of the bigness of our lu-

\* KAEFFER Hist. Japan, lib. i. c. 8.

pines, which they grind into a meal, and boil for eating; the last is their *Adzuki* or *Sesfu*, another sort of bean, which they boil in the same manner as the *Deidfu*, or make into sweet cakes, by mixing some sugar with them. Besides the *five* grains above-mentioned, they have the *Indian* wheat, the millet, and several other sorts, in great abundance.

THE very rocks, and most barren places, produce such variety of fruits, plants, and roots, as the indigence of their forefathers obliged them to use for food, and to find ways of dressing them so as to make them palatable and wholesome. Even their large woods and forests, and the vast long ridges *Fertile* of mountains with which the country is intersected, are made *mountains* to produce good pasturage, and are stocked with vast quantities of deer, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, hogs, and other useful *Beasts*. creatures; and many of their mountains are covered with high grass, bespangled with variety of flowers and sweet herbs, and with plenty of delicious fruit-trees<sup>f</sup>. Their seas *Fish*. round about, as well as their lakes and rivers within, likewise furnish them with plenty and variety of fish; to all which if we add, that the *Japanese* are naturally as temperate and frugal as they are laborious and industrious, it will be no wonder that their country should more than furnish them with every necessary for life and delight, without the assistance of any of their neighbours (C). Thus, whilst the laborious males will not disdain to draw the plough over rocky mountains, inaccessible to horses and oxen, in order to make them productive of some wholesome esculent; and their no less industrious females will not scruple to plunge some scores of fathoms into the sea, to fetch from thence plenty and variety of shell-fish, sea-weeds, and other eatables; and have gained the art not only of making them palatable, but even to strip

<sup>f</sup> See CARON Descript. Japan. & HAGENBER not. in eundem. VAREN. Descript. Japon. cap. 2. & al.

(C) This account we not only have from *Kaempfer* above-quoted, but from two authors who lived a great many years among them, one of them especially, who had as it were been brought up from a boy there (5); the other, who hath wrote notes upon him (6), and sums up this article to this effect:

That no country in all *India* enjoys a more healthy and temperate air, or greater fertility, nor exceeds it in the production of its fine silver; he might have added gold, copper, steel, and other commodities, of which we shall have further occasion to speak.

(5) *Caron Descript. Japon.*

(6) *Hagenber. not. in eund.*

them from any noxious qualities; when they can gather and knead the very moss which grows on shells, and bark of trees, into a pleasant kind of cakes, and give an agreeable relish to the most insipid or even distasteful roots, vegetables, &c.; what kind of want will not this industry supply even the most barren parts of that vast empire!

*Rivers,  
mostly we-  
ry rapid.*

THE country abounds with rivers, lakes, and springs, of various kinds, so that they have plenty of sweet as well as medicinal waters; and some of their rivers flow from the high mountains with such rapidity, increased by the great rains and snows, that they cannot be crossed without danger; and some of them retain such a fierce current, that there is no building of any bridges over them. There are others, that, in their fall from the mountains, make such a prodigious noise against the rocks, that they can be heard at four or five leagues distance; some of them form delightful cascades in their fall, and others dreadful and loud cataracts. The three most celebrated rivers of this empire are the *Ujin-gava*, *Oomi*, and *Askagava*. The first of these is so called from *Ujin*, where it hath its spring; and is so rapid in its course, that no bridge can be built over it; and, tho' near a mile in breadth, where it runs lowest, and reaches hardly up to the knee, it requires five lusty men, who are well acquainted with its bed, to make a horse ford across it; and the laws oblige those guides to be answerable for man or beast that perish under their charge, either over this or any other river of the like dangerous nature, of which there are not a few. The *Oomi*, so called from the province where it has its source, is said to have sprung in one night, some centuries before the Christian æra. The *Askagava* is remarkable for its depth, and the continual change which that is liable to, which makes it both dangerous in crossing, and affords their poets and orators elegant allusions<sup>b</sup>.

*Lakes.*

AMONG other lakes, that called *Oitz*, *Oomi*, or *Omi*, from the province where it lies, is the most remarkable. It extends itself near 100 miles in length, and 20 in breadth, and is formed by the concurrence of a good number of rivers; and hath an outlet on the south-west side into the sea by the river *Oomi* above-mentioned; which, running by the city of *Meaco*, after a winding course of about twenty or thirty miles, falls into the sea, near the town of *Osaca*, where it forms a considerable bay. Some of their lakes, we are told<sup>b</sup>, have been

<sup>b</sup> See CARON Descript. Japon. & HAGENER not. in eundem. VAREN. Descript. Japon. cap. 2. KÆMPFF. ubi sup. p. 103. & al.  
<sup>a</sup> P. FROES Relat. apud P. Hay de reb japonic.

caused by earthquakes, to which this country is subject. *Some* Such was that in the kingdom of *Mino*, where was a very *caused by* high mountain, and on that a strong fortrefs, both which, *earth-* after having felt a great number of shocks, were swallowed *quakes.* up, and a lake appeared where the mountain stood. The same happened in other provinces, where some of those lakes retained such an intolerable sulphureous stench, that travellers were obliged to go a good way about to avoid it. We shall find a more proper place to speak of those earthquakes, and other natural wonders; and only observe with regard to their rivers and lakes, that they abound with great variety of fish; water and fructify a vast quantity of low grounds, as their higher springs do their hills and valleys, which are all covered with verdant trees of all sorts, too many to be mentioned, especially as they are the same we have seen in *China*, and for the most part in as great perfection. Only the cedars here exceed all of that kind through *India*, for straitness, height, and beauty, and are in great plenty in most of the islands, especially in the three largest.

We have already hinted something of their great quanti- *Cattle, and* ties of cattle, and domestic animals, among which we may *fine fleet* reckon their horses in the first rank, of which they breed the *horses.* greatest number; and which, though not near so large as ours, are yet for the most part very beautiful, exceedingly fleet, and highly valued. Their vast forests swarm with all *Elephants,* sorts of wild beasts, of the furs of which they make a *and other* considerable traffick, as well as of elephants teeth; which *wild* noble creature is not only to be found in great plenty in their *beasts.* woods, but is likewise bred up tame in their towns and cities. Their seas, besides fish, furnish them with great quantities of ambergrise, which they call whales dung, red and white *Pearls,* coral, and some pearls of a beautiful orient and great value, *coral, and* besides great variety of sea-plants and shells, which last are *shells.* not inferior to those that are brought from *Amboyna*, the *Molucca*, and other eastern islands; but the *Japanese* set so little value upon them, that they hardly think those worth bringing away which they acquire by chance, unless it be to carry them to the next temple of *Febis*, which is the *Neptune* of the *Japanese*.

BUT the greatest riches of this empire, and in which it *Metals* exceeds most others in the east, consist in the great quantity, *and mine-* variety, and fineness, of their metals and minerals. Their *rais.* many volcanoes, and numberless hot springs, sufficiently shew what prodigious quantities of sulphur lie hidden in the *Sulphur,* bowels of the earth, which is as it were the parent and nurse of those metals and minerals; to say nothing of the immense



Mines of  
gold claim-  
ed by the  
emperors.

loads of it which are almost every-where dug up for use and exportation (D). The mines of gold, as well as golden sand, are to be found in many of their provinces, particularly in the great island of *Nippon*; but the emperor lays an absolute claim on them, and the same he doth indeed on those of other metals, none of which can be opened without his permission. Of those of gold and silver that are opened, he reserves two thirds for himself, and the rest he allows to the lord or prince in whose territory they are; but, as these are commonly upon the spot, they seldom content themselves with so short an allowance, and make the most of them they can with safety. The richest mine of gold heretofore was that of *Sado*, a small island on the northern coast of the great one of *Nippon*, whose ore produced the greatest quantity of the finest gold; but the veins of it have been since much exhausted, and our author was assured, that this, among others, was one of the reasons which caused the emperor to forbid the export of it by the *Dutch* and *Chinese* under such severe penalties<sup>1</sup>. This island yielded likewise a good deal of golden sand, which the lord of it concealed from that monarch. The provinces of *Suruga* on the southern coast of *Nippon*, and *Saxuma* on the south coast of the isle of *Ximo*, are the next in rank for the fineness and quantity they yield of that precious metal, but especially the latter, which the emperor hath since forbidden to be wrought, lest so valuable a treasure should be exhausted. We read of several

Great  
plenty of  
gold.

<sup>1</sup> KÆMPFER, ubi sup. cap. viii.

(D) Though most of their mountains abound with that useful commodity, yet the greatest quantity is dug out of a small island on the coasts of the province of *Saxuma*, called from thence *Iwogakima*, or isle of sulphur. This island was, till about a century and half ago, looked upon as inaccessible, on account of the vast quantity of thick smoke that continually issued out of it, in which the superstitious people imagined they saw legions of devils flying to and fro.

At length a man of more

sense and courage than the rest ventured to land in it with about forty lusty bold fellows, who, instead of a country inhabited by demons, found a spacious plain, so covered with sulphur, that where-ever they trod, they saw a sulphureous smoke come out from under their feet. Since that time such prodigious quantities are brought away from thence, that the prince of *Saxuma* receives a considerable income from it, as well as from the fine trees that grow round the coasts of that island (7).

(7) *Kæmpfer, ubi sup. Caron, & al. sup. citat. vid. & Vares. Hist. Japon. t. 2. others,*

others, equally rich, which, lying under water, have been likewise set aside; for it seems they have neither the art nor courage of drawing it, or letting it out by adits, as we do here in our mines (E). However, they have that metal in such plenty, that *M. Paulo the Venetian* was told by the *Chinese*, that the emperor's palaces were covered with it; which is not only confirmed by *Caron* and others, but they add, that some of their temples and noblemens palaces are so too.

SILVER mines are not in such great number; but some of *Silver* them, especially those of *Katami* in the north part of *Nippon*, mines, are very rich, as well as one in the province of *Bingo*, in the island of *Ximpo*. But the most plentiful of all metals is their *Copper*, copper, of which they have great variety, some of it exquisitely fine and malleable, and fit for any sort of work, and other very coarse and cheap. Some sort of it is so rich, that the refiners extract a considerable quantity of gold out of it. All that is designed for exportation is sent to be refined *How* at *Saccai*, one of the five imperial cities, where it is cast into *wrought,* small cylinders about eleven or twelve inches long, and one *and ex-* inch thick; and these they put into boxes which hold 125 lb. *ported,* weight, and are sold to the *Dutch*, who make a considerable

(E) We are told, that they undertook to pierce an adit at one or two of these, but that there arose such a violent tempest, attended with thunder and lightning, that the workmen were frightened from pursuing it; which plainly shews they are unacquainted with the right method of doing it; and their native superstition makes them attribute those accidents to the displeasure of the tutelary demon of those mines.

We read likewise of another rich mine, which had lain under a very high rock in the gulph of *Okii*, on the north coast of *Nippon*, which seemed to lean on one side; and, being fallen into the sea, great quantities of that fine metal were gathered by the people, with the assistance of

divers who fetched it up; but a few years after a violent storm brought such a high sea upon the place, as covered that spot with dirt and mud some fathoms high; since which the poor people still take the pains of sifting the sand and dirt about the mountain, and just get enough of it to live by (8). The *Japanese* mention many other such rich mines in other parts of that empire, which would yield great quantities of that metal, if they were permitted to be wrought; as well as of others, the working of which hath been prevented by extraordinary accidents, supposed by them to have happened from demons who are set to guard them.

(8) *Kampfer, ubi supra, p. 208, & seq.*

*Brass,  
why  
scarce.*

traffic of it. Brass is there very scarce in proportion, because they have no calamy but what is brought from *Tong-king* in flat cakes, and sold at a dear rate. Some tin they have, in the isle of *Ximo*, so very fine and white, that it looks almost like silver, and sells very dear, though the *Japanners* seldom make any use of it themselves. Iron mines are hardly

*Iron mines.*

to be met with any-where but in the three provinces of *Mimasaka*, *Bigsen*, and *Bitsiu*, which lie contiguous to one another, and one in that of *Vacusa*, all which yield great quantities of that metal, which is refined, and cast, upon the spot, into round bars about two spans long. These are bought up by the *Chinese* merchants, and at almost as dear a price as copper; and those iron tools and instruments, that are fabricated there, even dearer than those of copper (F).

*Iron  
bought up  
by the Chi-  
nese.*

*Fine tem-  
per'd steel.*

*Scymetars,  
&c.*

But their greatest art in the metallic way is in the tempering of their steel, of which they make the finest and keenest scymetars, cutlasses, and other sharp tools, which carry an edge beyond those of any other nation in the world; but most of these, especially weapons, are forbidden to be exported, under the severest penalties: yet some of their merchants have ventured to do it; and we are told, that some of their scymetars will cut through an iron bar at one blow, without breaking or blunting<sup>\*</sup>.

*Several  
minerals  
wanted.*

THERE are several useful minerals which have not yet been discovered to grow in any of their islands, and which they are obliged to have from *China* and other parts; such as antimony, quicksilver, sal armoniac, borax, calamy, cinnabar, and others. Mercury sublimate they likewise buy from abroad, at an excessive price, which is chiefly used by them as one of the main ingredients of a mercurial liquor much in vogue for curing ulcers, cankers, and all cuticular diseases. The sea furnishes them with plenty of salt, in the making of which they use no other art than inclosing sundry pieces of ground, which they fill with clean fine sand, on which they throw the sea-water, and let it dry. They repeat the throwing of the water several times, till the sand be well impregnated with it. They then remove it into a large vat with holes at the bottom for the salt water, which filters through the sand to

*Salt, how  
made.*

\* Vide VAREN. & auct. ab eo citat. cap. 19.

(F) It is observable, that most of those instruments which are made of iron, either for land or sea, in other countries, are made of copper in *Japan*, ex-

cepting those which they use for the dressing of their victuals, which are made of very thin, but durable iron, of a fabrication peculiar to them.

empty itself; after which they boil it into a consistence, as they do in other countries.

We hinted, before, that the vast quantity of sulphur, with Japan which most of the *Japan* islands abound, makes them sub-<sup>subject to</sup> ject to frequent and dreadful earthquakes. The inhabitants <sup>earth-</sup> are so hardened to them, that they are scarcely alarmed at <sup>quakes.</sup> any, unless they chance to be very terrible indeed, and overturn whole towns under their own ruins, which very often proves the case. The reader may judge of them by an instance or two which we shall subjoin in the margin (G), as

(G) Father *Louis Froes*, who was in *Japan* Anno 1586, mentions one of those earthquakes, which he says began with terrible shocks, which continued 40 days, and spread themselves from the small city of *Sacaja*, where it began, and overturned about threecore houses, to the great metropolis of *Meaco*, where it made a much greater havock, and, among other edifices, destroyed one of their famous pagods, or idol temples. The little city of *Nuga fama*, in the province of *Oomi*, which lies between the two cities above-mentioned, and consisted of about 1000 houses, was partly swallowed up, and the rest reduced to ashes by the subterranean fires which came out of the earth. The city of *Naga-fama*, a place much frequented by merchants, felt likewise some terrible shocks for several days; after which a vehement storm arose, which swelled the sea to such a height, that the billows of it came pouring upon the city, overthrew all the houses, and washed them away, with all their inhabitants, into the sea; and hardly left any other footsteps of so fair and rich a city having stood there, except the spot on which the castle stood, and which was laid under water.

In many other places it swallowed up mountains and towns, and, in their stead, left some horrid chasms, or pools full of sulphureous matter and stench, and some of them above a gunshot wide; all which dreadful disasters were caused by that one earthquake, according to our author's report, whose letter, dated from *Simonosck*, October 15, 1586, was afterwards published in the collection of *P. Hay, de Rebus Japonicis*.

No less dreadful was that which happened at *Yedo*, the other metropolis of the empire, no longer since than 1703; which was attended with such a vehement conflagration, that it almost consumed that large and noble city, together with the imperial palace, and destroyed above two hundred thousand persons, who either perished by the flames, or were buried under the ruins. The relations of that country are full of these kinds of disasters (g); and yet, till they come to such a height as to overturn and swallow up, the inhabitants hardly shew the least fear or concern, but, in a jocular manner, cry out, that a large whale, which crawls and moves itself under ground, occasions those dreadful shocks.

(g) *Coron, Kampfer, ubi sup. p. 168. Varin, & al. sup. citat.*

we find them related by witnesses who were then upon the spot. Some of these earthquakes are followed with such violent eruptions of fire, and of combustible materials all in flames, as burn and destroy whole towns, and every thing that comes in their way. Storms of thunder and lightning, and dreadful hurricanes, are also very frequent and destructive, so that not only houses, palaces, temples, and other edifices, but whole towns, have been burnt to ashes by the one, or overturned and ruined by the other. In all such dreadful disasters, as well as in times of pestilence, famine, drought, &c. the superstitious *Japanese* have recourse to their bonzas or priests, who, instead of endeavouring to account for them in a natural way, commonly ascribe them to the displeasure of some of their peculiar deities, or to some malevolent demons sent on purpose to punish them; but the most received opinion is, that the devil, or, as they style him, the evil deity, is the author of those calamities. In either case, recourse must be had to extraordinary sacrifices, and acts of worship, according to the different notions of each sect, until they have either appeased the former, or glutted the jaws of the latter; and, in some of those very dreadful ones we have mentioned above, they even proceed to offer human victims, when the others will not answer the end; but, in this case, they only take some of the vilest and most abandoned fellows they can meet with, because they are only sacrificed to the malevolent deities. Their superstition goes so far, even after those calamities are ceased, as to make those who have suffered by them to discard their tutelary gods, and adopt those of the countries that have escaped them, as being either more powerful or more benevolent than their old ones. They have a notion likewise, that there are sundry happy spots, which, either through some intrinsic sanctity, or other virtue, are free from earthquakes, and other such disasters; such as are, for instance, the little islands of *Gotho* and *Sicubusima*, the latter of which hath a very magnificent temple, and a large rich monastery of bonzas, and both edifices are looked upon as some of the first that ever were reared in that country. There is also another stately temple and convent on a high hill near the city of *Meaco*; and some others are here and there dispersed, which are supposed to enjoy the same exemption, and are of course well stocked with the monkish tribe, as well as much resorted to by the superstitious laity.

THE religion of the *Japanese* is allowed by all writers to have been downright heathenism and idolatry, from time im-

*Storms and  
thunders.*

*Supersti-  
tious no-  
tions about  
them.*

*Places sup-  
posed free  
from them.*

*Religion.*

! CANON, KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.

memorial. They do not seem to have so much as a tolerable, if any, notion of a Supreme Being; but believe the world to have existed from eternity, and that the gods they worship were men, or beings that lived on earth several thousands of years, and were afterwards, for their piety, mortifications, and even by their voluntary deaths, raised to that height of power and dignity they have ever since enjoyed. It is true, that, if we compare the accounts of their religion given us by the Christian missionaries, with those of the *Dutch* authors, one would be apt to imagine that the former have set it in the most disadvantageous light, and blended it with many horrid superstitions, which the others mention nothing of <sup>a</sup>, merely perhaps to raise the merit of their great conversions. But if we consider, that those fathers chose to make their chief abode in the inland cities, and had free access to the greatest men for learning and wisdom, and conversed mostly with them about religion; whereas the *Dutch* authors mostly confined themselves to the maritime towns, and minded little else but the promoting of their commerce; it will not be thought a wonder that the former have been able to give us a more exact and full account of the *Japanese* superstitions than the latter. However, to avoid expatiating beyond our limits, we shall confine ours to such heads only in which they both agree.

THEY are divided into various sects, probably according *Various* to the various nations that first settled in those islands; for *sects*. we shall give, in a proper place, some pregnant arguments against their having been colonied by the *Chinese* alone. The three principal ones are; that of *Xinto*, or the most ancient of all, and consists in the worship only of their own antient deities and idols; 2. That of *Siutto*, which is that of their philosophers and moralists, and is rather a kind of deism, or rather atheism, like that of some of the *Chinese* literati †, whose professors despise in their hearts all notions of public worship, and popular superstition; 3. That called *Budzo*, which hath introduced a number of deities and idols brought thither from *China*, *Siam*, and other parts of *India*, particularly the worship of *Fo*. These are again subdivided into many others, who have their particular deities, among whom they join the sun, moon, planets or stars, with whom the bonzas pretend to have a familiar converse, and to be instructed by them about every material thing relating to futu-

*Worship  
the sun,  
moon, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> Conf. MAFFEI *Hist. Indic. epist. select.* XAVER. *Epistol.* & al. cum GARON, HAGENER, VAREN, lib. iii. c. 1. KÆMPF. &c.

† See before, vol. vii. p. 117. VAREN. ubi sup.

riety;

riety; for the *Japanese*, knowing little or nothing of astronomy, ascribe most of the things that happen in the world, not so much to their influence, as the *Chinese* do, as to their supernatural power and direction; and some of them pay likewise a worship to the devil, or evil deity: notwithstanding which variety, every person is free to chuse which pleases him best, no compulsion being used either by the government or by the parents, but often the same family shall have the husband of one sect, the wives of another, and the children of a third or fourth; which often occasions such disputes and quarrels, as might endanger the oeconomy of the family, if the husbands did not exert their despotic power, to preserve peace among them."

Chief deities.

Amida  
and Xaca.

THE two chief antient deities belonging to the first, or *Xinto* sect, are called *Amida* and *Xaca*, or, as the *Indians* call him, *Shaka* †; and these are held in such veneration, that most sects pay a worship to them among their other deities, they looking upon them as the chief dispensers not only of long life, and all other earthly happiness, but likewise of all the rewards and punishments in the next life: for most sects believe a future state of bliss or misery; and, tho' they are not agreed about the nature and duration of it, yet they believe that both will be exquisite in their kinds, and last a great number of ages; but the generality of them think that it will consist in a transmigration of the soul from one body to another, more or less excellent and happy, according to their behaviour in their last state, and that this revolution will continue, as well as the world, to eternal ages. Their bonzas, however, represent the punishments of the wicked in the most dreadful colours, both in their sermons, and paintings on the front of their temples, and against the walls on the inside, in order to inspire the people with a dread of them, as we shall have further occasion to shew in the sequel.

WHAT fabulous account they give of those two deities, may be seen in the margin (H); but there is another no less celebrated

‡ VAREN. ubi supra, & auct. ab eo citat. † De hoc, vid. sup. vol. vii. p. 161, & seq.

(H) *Amida* is said by them to have flourished many thousands of years ago, and to have lived one or two thousand years; and, after a vast variety of mortifications and austerities, which he voluntarily inflicted upon himself, an infinite number of sermons he preached to the people, and miracles which he wrought, being at length tired with this life, he passed by a voluntary death into the next, where he was raised to the dignity of a god; but by whom, they do not pretend to say.

Much

celebrated one among them, which, if what they relate of him Camba-  
were true, would rather shew him to be such another devil doxi.  
incarnate

Much the same they relate of *Xaca*, who flourished, according to them, above 8000 years ago, and, after a life of 2 or 3000 years, during which he likewise underwent the severest penances, and wrote a prodigious number of books, which are still preserved in one of his great temples, buried himself in a deep cave, the mouth of which he caused to be shut up.

The miracles which they are affirmed to have wrought, both during their lives and since, are too numerous and extravagant to deserve any farther mention; but, from their example, the *Japanese* have the notion of its being such a very meritorious thing to dispatch themselves out of this world, that great numbers of them, either thro' discontent, ambition, or other motives, embrace, in the most public manner, a voluntary death; and if they have but made some signal preparative beforehand, by the like severe penances, by preaching to the people, giving of alms, and the like, they are not only supposed to enter into immediate bliss, but are listed in the number of their saints, and are prayed to as such; and the very instruments of their death are preserved as relics. Those who give the preference to *Xaca*, commonly drown themselves either in the sea, or some river or lake, with great ceremony; their friends and acquaintance accompanying them to the place, where they take care to tie a large stone about their

necks, fill their sleeves and other parts of their cloathing with pebbles, or other heavy luggage; and, after a solemn and sorrowful farewell, fling themselves into the water. Those who are the worshippers of *Amida*, instead of drowning, starve themselves in some close-confined place, where they have just room to sit; and, being immured on every side, have only a little hole left to breathe thro', by means of a small cane, and never cease calling on that deity till they expire (10). But this doth not hinder others from taking different ways of dying, some by hanging, others by flinging themselves down from a precipice, by poison, daggers, or any other quick riddance; but these are neither looked upon as regular, nor so meritorious, but rather as the effects of despair.

They use the names of *Amida* and *Xaca* by way of asseveration, and in their commerce: the very poor beg for charity for their sakes, and both priests and laity carry about them a sort of beads like those of a neighbouring church, over which they repeat some short prayer to them, and drop one of the beads every time, till they have gone through the whole chaplet. The same thing is done by those of other sects, only exchanging their names for those of their own deities; but still *Amida* and *Xaca*, especially the former, are looked upon as the most bounteous and liberal to their vota-

(10) *Caron, Kempfer, Varen. Xavier, Villela Epist. & Froes, & al.*  
ries,



Buries  
himself  
alive.

Strange  
notions  
about him.

Anniver-  
sary, and

stately  
tomb.

incarnate as the *Indian Fo*, brought into *China*\*, if it be not really the same, and only naturalized here under the *Japanese* name of *Cambadoxi* or *Combedaxi*; for they give him but a modern date, in comparison of the other two. They make him to have been a bonza of the city of *Sagatai*, and to have flourished above 900 years ago, they relate a great many atrocious crimes to have been committed by him; tell us, that he had the power of bringing down the stars from heaven, of foretelling future events, and other things of that nature. They attribute to him the invention of the writing or characters now used in *Japan*, and many other extraordinary feats, for which he had a vast number of temples erected to him by his own commands; but, being grown very old, and weary of life, he caused a tomb to be dug out for him, into which he shut himself up alive, pretending that he designed to continue there several myriads of years, that is, till there arose an extraordinary *Japanese* doctor in that country, at which time he would come out of his cave, and appear again to them. They believe him to be still alive; and many, especially of the monkish tribe, pretend that he appears to them. They invoke his aid in all emergencies; and pay him an extraordinary worship, especially on the anniversary day in which he shut himself up; at which time there is a great concourse of people from other nations, that flock thither to see the solemnity. There is a vast number of monasteries of both sexes dedicated to him every-where; and the temple which is erected over his vault, or tomb, is illuminated with a prodigious number of lamps, which are continually burning, and were sent thither from various provinces of the empire, it being thought one of the most meritorious things they can do to adorn that

\* De hoc, vid. vol. viii. p. 108, & seq.

ries, not only in this life, but much more in the next, where those who are found most in their favour shall fare more sumptuously and elegantly in that state of blifs (12): and, for this reason, the bonzaic tribe of preachers, which are very numerous and loud, not only in their temples, but in the streets and places of resort, are ever reminding the people of the extraor-

dinary happiness which their worshippers shall be intitled to both here and hereafter (13).

*Cano*, the son of *Amida*, is likewise held in great veneration; and hath a stately temple erected to him near the city of *Meaco*, in which are 1000 images or statues of him regularly disposed, 500 on each side, and beautifully carved (14).

(12) Vid. *Xaver. ubi sup.* p. 251, & seq. *Froes, & al.*  
vid. & *Varen. lib. iii. c. 2.* (14) *Froes, Xaver, &c.*

(13) *Id. ibid.*

place

place with every thing that is rich and costly<sup>o</sup>. They have a great many more of such heroes, who have all their temples, monasteries, priests and priestesses, and votaries, of which it were endless to speak. We shall only add two or three more of still recenter date, who were of the monkish order, and, for their great learning and sanctity, have been since held in the same high veneration; viz. *Icko*, the author of a sect of his name, who seem to place all their confidence, as to present or future blifs, on the sole favour of the god *Amida*, without troubling themselves about any of the rest; *Nequiron*, another monk of great virtue and sanctity; and *Daimaog*, who, they say, had been formerly a page to one of the *Japanese* emperors. These have likewise their temples, idols, and votaries. Those who would know more of the *Japanese* superstition, may have recourse to the authors above quoted; to which we shall only add, that all those sects, though so much divided in other respects, and having each a great number of laws and rules peculiar to each, yet agree in the five following negative ones, as absolutely binding; viz.

1. Not to kill, and not to eat any thing that is killed (1);
2. Not to steal; 3. Not to defile another man's bed; 4. Not to lye; 5. Not to drink wine.

To conclude this article of

*Other sects and saints.*

*Their first common laws.*

° VAREN. & auct. ab eo citat.

(1) This is to be understood only of the priests and priestesses of those sects, or, to speak more properly, to the monks and nuns of each of those orders, but doth not bind the laity. *Caron* reckons twelve of these sects or orders, eleven of which abstain not only from killing, or from eating any thing that hath had life, but likewise from all commerce with the other sex; but the twelfth, which is said to have *Icko* for its founder, and is in great authority there, allows the priests to marry, and to eat of the flesh of all living creatures, whether of land or sea (15).

Upon the whole, these orders of both sexes, like those of the church of *Rome* are some more

strict and austere than others; and the more so they are, the more they are respected by the laity, who place a great confidence in their prayers and mortifications. We are even told, that the emperor will rise up to salute them, and suffers them to sit in his presence; but, if we may believe the character which the missionaries give of them, the most austere, and those who preach and affect the greatest contempt of the world, are but cheats and hypocrites, and live in a manner quite opposite to their specious pretences; which is far enough from being improbable, and we need not send our readers so far as *Japan* for instances of such a contrariety.

(15) *Caron, ubi supra, p. 23.*

their religion, there seems to run a general notion among them, that there are very dreadful punishments reserved in the next life for the wicked; and that the great austerities said to have been exercised by *Amida*, and other gods they pray to, were by them undergone, in order to deliver their votaries from them, by virtue of those voluntary sufferings. Hence the whole monkish tribe pretend, by imitating their example, and macerating of their bodies, not only to a much greater share in their favour and intercession, but likewise to some intrinsic merit of their own, by virtue of their supererogatory prayers and mortifications, both which they can retail to the laity, who, placing their chief confidence in them for a deliverance from those future torments, do gratify them with their charity, in proportion to their apprehension of them from the dreadful description which they frequently give of them in their sermons, and the frightful representations in which they paint them, both within and without their temples, where they are painted in the most terrible colours and attitudes, and accompanied with multitudes of devils in the most horrid shapes, and all employed in inflicting the most excruciating torments on the unhappy souls that are consigned over to them (K). It is almost incredible what effect

*Monkish  
austerities.*

(K) Hence a question hath been started, whether these frightful representations, which were only designed to deter people from vice, and to make them have recourse to the priests for a deliverance from those punishments, have not given rise to the notion of the *Japanese* worshipping of those infernal spirits, not only under those horrid shapes, but under that of several sorts of animals. Some authors pretend, indeed, that the devil appears to them in those shapes, and forces them, by obessions, and other plagues, to promise him to rear up idols and temples to him, which if omitted, he returns, and plagues them ten times worse, till they do (16). But, had that been the case, *Xaverius*, and

others of his fraternity, would not have failed saying something of it, as well as some of our *Dutch* authors. Besides, we do not read that their bonzas inforce any such worship in their sermons, but only to trust to their gods above-mentioned for all sorts of help. However, though these may perhaps have no concern in that sort of worship, yet, as we find that several of their sects acknowledge an evil deity, and all of them look upon those devils to be the instruments of his anger, it is more than probable, that in all public calamities they, if not all, yet some of them, may try to appease it by such sacrifices as we have elsewhere spoken of, which is no more than is commonly done in most parts of *India*;

(16) *De his*, see *Villela*, p. 47. *Froes*, p. 203.

effect these representations make on the people of all ranks, how much their morals are secured, and their vices restrained, by them, as we shall have further occasion to shew, when we come to speak of the character of that nation; but more especially how much they contribute to inspire both high and low with generosity, or even profuseness, in building, endowing, and adorning, of temples and monasteries to their several deities, as the most effectual means of securing their favour, and a happy lot in the next life.

ACCORDINGLY we are told, that there is not a country in <sup>Temples</sup> all the east that abounds more with those stately edifices than <sup>and mona-</sup> this. Not only cities and towns, but plains and mountains, <sup>series un-</sup> and even deserts, swarm with them; and some of those that <sup>merous.</sup> are most remote and solitary, are the most splendid, rich, and resorted to by the people, as well as stored with monks of different orders, according to the deities they dedicate themselves to. These, like those of the *Roman* church, are either regular or secular. The former live in communities under their respective superiors, and lead more or less recluse and austere <sup>Monks;</sup> lives, according to their sects; and some of those monasteries <sup>their rule</sup> of life contain 1000, or even more of them; who, besides a perpetual celibacy, and other mortifications, are all bound to observe the five laws, lately mentioned. The secular ones live in private houses of their own, allow themselves one or two wives, and live on the income and offerings made to their respective temples and deities, are at their own liberty as to practice of abstinence, and other severities; and the generality of them, at the best, lead their lives in plenty, or even luxury, as well as idleness; and some of them are even accused of indulging themselves in filthy and unnatural vices; for which reason, the regular sort are most respected by the laity of all ranks. Both secular and regular are under the government of the dairo, or high-priest, who, as we shall shew <sup>under the</sup> dairo, or in its proper place, is the head of all the religions and sects <sup>high-priest.</sup> in the empire, though more particularly of those of *Amida* and *Xaca*, these he protects and governs, and appoints heads and superintendants over all the secular priests which attend on the service of those two deities. The regular he suffers to

but that any such regular worship is paid to him out of fear, and under those frightful representations, or even monstrous idols, mentioned by *Froes*, as agreeable ones to their other deities, for their favour and blessing, is what we do not dare to affirm, nor indeed can believe (17).

they do under more benign

(17) See *Voren. ubi supra, Kampf. & nris. on Caron.*

chuse their own governors or superiors; and the rest of the sects he only tolerates, but on condition that they shall speak and behave with due veneration to the two grand deities, and avoid all quarrels and disputes with their votaries, as well as with those of different sects. And hence it is, that, though they all profess the greatest zeal and warmth for their favourite deities and opinions, yet they not only live peaceably, but converse freely and amicably, with each other <sup>P</sup>.

*Mona-  
stries de-  
scribed.*

AFTER what we have hinted above of the prodigious multitude and variety of their temples and monasteries, our readers will easily excuse us from entering into a detail or description of them, in a work of this nature, much less have we room to speak of the infinite number of idols that adorn them. The very capital of *Meaco* is said to have sixty stately ones of the former, and above 4000 of the latter, most of them finely gilt. We lately mentioned that of *Amida's* son, which had no less than 1000 of them, all representing him in some different way. There is still a much more extraordinary one near the same capital, and which may be looked upon as the *Japanese* Pantheon, it having no fewer than 33,333 of those idols within its walls <sup>†</sup>. However, it will not be amiss to gratify them with a specimen of one or two of the most remarkable of each kind; by which they may guess at the surprising munificence of that nation, in this respect.

*That of  
Meaco.*

THE most stately structure of the first kind we read of, is in the city of *Meaco*, and is affirmed to be as long as the body of *St. Paul's* before it was burnt, and all built of free-stone. Its roof is arched, and lofty in proportion, and supported by noble pillars, answerable to its length and height. It is situated on a high hill; and on each side of the ascent are fifty pillars of free-stone, at the distance of ten paces from each other, and on each of them a large lanthorn, which give a noble air to the avenue, especially in the night, when the lamps are lighted.

*Of Nara.*

THAT of the city of *Nara*, a day's journey from *Meaco*, together with the monastery adjoining to it, is still more magnificent, not only for its largeness, elegance of its structure, and richness of its materials, but also for its noble avenues. We shall content ourselves with giving a sketch of it in the margin (L), for want of room, and, for the same reason, omit

<sup>P</sup> KÆMPFER, CARON, HAGENER, VAREM & al. ubi supra.

<sup>†</sup> *Iidem*, ubi supra.

(L) This fabric is called the stately courts before it, adorned temple of *Cobucu*, hath three with cloisters and columnades all

omit several others, equally grand, that we may say something of their extraordinary idols; amongst which, that of

all around, and rising one above the other, by three magnificent flights of steps. At the entrance from the first to the second court, are seen two figures of a gigantic size, curiously wrought, and with clubs in their hands, as if to guard the avenue. Before the last court appears the front of the noble temple; the ascent to which is by another stately flight of steps of stone, neatly wrought, the gates of which are guarded by two lions of a monstrous size, and finely carved. In the centre of the temple are the three idols of *Xaca*, and his two sons, one on each side, and all in a sitting posture, and seven cubits high above the pedestal. The pavement is of fine square stone; and the columns which support the roof, being seventy in number, are of cedar, of a prodigious height and diameter, and affirmed, in the records of the monastery, to have cost about 5000 ducats each. They are beautifully carved, and painted with vermillion, as well as the walls, and all the inside of the structure. The roof is no less bold and lofty, and the painting and workmanship answerable to it; and the covering projects about eight or nine feet beyond the outside wall.

The monastery, which adjoins to it, is no less costly and beautiful. The hall, or refectory, is of a considerable length and breadth, and lofty in proportion. Their cells amount to 780, besides a number of other lodgings and buildings belonging to the bonzas;

amongst which is a noble library, standing at a good distance from the ground, and supported by twenty-four large columns, of about three feet and a half in circumference. The library is so well stored with books, that our author, who took a full view of all the whole fabric, tells us, that they darkened the light that came in at the windows. The baths belonging to the monks, and other offices, were neatly built; and the kitchen belonging to them kept extremely sweet and clean, by means of a river which runs just by it. The caldron in which they heat their water (for they never drink any cold, summer or winter) was of a considerable depth and compass, made of the finest copper, and kept very neat and bright. Every gallery and apartment in the convent had lanterns conveniently placed, and all other conveniences, in the nicest order. We omit their gardens, walks, and other curiosities, belonging to this delightful place, and shall close the whole with a beautiful square pond standing before it, stored with variety of the best fish, though no one be suffered to meddle with or catch them, under very severe penalties. This noble structure, temple, and all, had stood 600 years, when our author went to view it (18). He hath given an account of many others, which we have not room to mention; but refer our readers to him, and the other authors often quoted, for a fuller account.

(18) *Almeida Epist. Indic. p. 178. Var. ubi supra.*

*Colossian  
idol de-  
scribed.*

*Idols set  
up every-  
where.*

*A strange  
apparition  
of one of  
their gods.*

*Festivals.*

the temple of *Meaco*, above-mentioned, is justly reckoned the most considerable and stupendous, it reaching up quite to the roof of the building, and is all of copper gilt; and, according to Sir *Thomas Herbert*, the chair on which the god sits is seventy feet high, and eighty in breadth; the head big enough to contain fifteen men, and the thumb forty inches round, and the rest proportionable to it. This Colossus may be reckoned the chief deity and idol of that country, to which few others bear any proportion. Besides those which they have in their temples, there are a vast number of others set up in their other public buildings, in their piazzas and markets, streets, and even public roads. There is one in particular on that between *Surungo* and the imperial city of *Juddo*, of the god *Dabis*, which is likewise of copper, and cast in a sitting posture, with its hands extended, and is twenty-two feet high, besides its basis. Their temples are not only famed for their magnificence, but some likewise for several miraculous powers attributed to their chief idol, or god; of which the bonzas having the sole management, the whole is carried on with so much dexterity, that the cheat is never discovered, but the people are confirmed in their superstition by those jugglers. That in particular of *Tencheda* is celebrated for a miraculous appearance of its deity, in a human shape, to a young virgin, whom they bring into it every new moon, and place before the idol. The place, at such times, is illuminated with golden lamps, burning with the sweetest perfumes; but, all on the sudden, those lamps are miraculously, it is pretended, put out; upon which the virgin finds herself closely embraced by something in human form, which holds her for some time, and commonly leaves her in a kind of extasy. It sometimes happens, that she is impregnated, but whether by the pretended deity, or by some of the priests, we leave to our readers to guess. How the miraculous offspring is disposed of in that case, we are not told; but as to the damsel, she is generally accompanied out of the temple with songs and music, and is, from that time, highly honoured, and supposed to be inspired with such a prophetic spirit, as to be able to answer the hardest questions that are proposed to her<sup>3</sup>.

THEY have as great a variety of festivals as they have of sects and deities, which it would therefore be endless to describe. They consist, in general, in the anniversary of their gods, and of their dead relations. The latter we shall give an account of, when we come to speak of their funerals. The

<sup>3</sup> SARIS, HERBERT, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.

former

former is performed with the greatest pomp and grandeur; all that belong to each respective sect, nobles, gentry, tradesmen, with the bonzas at the head of them, appear in the finest and richest dresses, at their places of rendezvous, from which they march, or cavalcade it, to the temples, with vocal and instrumental music. The statues and insignia of their gods are carried with great pomp. Some have stately pageants-carried upon twenty or thirty stout mens shoulders, on which are exhibited various representations of their gods, and their exploits, either by some machinery, or by actors in suitable dresses. The ceremonies performed in the temples are like-*Ceremonies* various, but consist chiefly in songs and music in praise of their deities, in burning odoriferous gums and woods before their idols, and conclude with a panegyric or sermon, preached by some bonza, in honour of them. The rest of the day is spent in feasting, dancing, racing, tournaments, illuminations, and other rejoicings; and, on such days, there is no such thing allowed as buying or selling; but, in cases of necessity, they will freely give the thing wanted, but refuse to take any price for it. The anniversary of *Combadox's* burying himself alive in his cave, is kept by the *Icoxian* sect with lugubral pomp; and as soon as the gates of his temple are opened, the procession crouds in with a kind of desperate frenzy, and numbers of men are crouded and trampled to death, and many of them wilfully throw themselves down with that intent, esteeming it a meritorious death. The sermon in his praise, which is preached in the night, is always accompanied with the most doleful outcries; inasmuch, that one would imagine that all his votaries there were going to be massacred. And thus much shall suffice for the *Japanese* feasts and religion.

BUT, before we dismiss this article, it may not be unacceptable to our readers, to add a few words more concerning the first introduction, success, and final extirpation, of Christianity among them.

IT WAS NOT long after the first discovery of this country by *Christi-* the *Portuguese*, that is, about the year 1552, that some Je-*anity in-* suits, sent thither from *Ma-han* by *Francis Xavier*, found *produced in* means to be introduced into that empire, and to recommend Japan. themselves to the quality and learned men of it, by their skill in the mathematics and other sciences, as well as by the many curious instruments of astronomy, navigation, &c. and other

\* De his, vide *Frogs Epist.* p. 245 & 290, *ALMEID.* p. 77 & 188. & 24, passim. *VILLELA.* p. 93. & seq. *VAREN.* lib. iii. cap. 4.



*Its vast  
success;*

*European rarities*, much after the same manner as others did in *China*\*, and other parts of *India*. Their success was such that, in a little time, not only vast multitudes of the people of all ranks were converted to Christianity, but several of their petty kings not only encouraged the propagation of it but some of them made open profession of it (M); the emperor

\* See before, vol. viii. p. 124.

(M) These, we are told by their own epistles, were the maritime princes, who were so taken with the new commerce with the *Portuguese*, that they strove who should oblige them most, in order to draw them to their own sea-ports; so that, with respect to them, there appears to have been more interest than zeal in the encouragement they gave to these missionaries.

With regard to the rest, they likewise own, that multitudes of the poorer sort were allured to Christianity, not so much by their preaching, as by their seasonable charities, and the singular care they took of their sick, lame, and indigent, who used to be despised and neglected by their own countrymen, of all sects, their bonzas representing them not as objects of pity, but as wretches under the displeasure of the gods, who neither deserve compassion in this life, nor could have any prospect of faring better in the next. With such therefore the Christian gospel could not chuse but meet with a sincere welcome, which assures us, that poverty and afflictions are surer tokens of God's favour, than grandeur and prosperity; and that the short-lived miseries they patiently endured in this world, would be crowned with such

ample rewards in the next. They could not but prefer a religion which inspires people with such charitable sentiments towards the miserable part of mankind, induced them to build hospitals and almshouses for their relief, and to provide them with food and physic, for their souls and bodies, to those of the bonzaic crew, which inspired the rich with a contempt and abhorrence of them, and obliged those poor miserable people to seclude themselves from mankind, and live and die wretched in woods and deserts. This made some of these missionaries complain, in their letters, that few but such became proselytes to Christianity (19).

Not but there were some of the richer sort who embraced it, in order to ingratiate themselves with the *Portuguese*, and other *Europeans*; some with a view of traffic, others with intent to learn some of their arts and sciences, or even some of their mechanical trades.

We may add, from what we have observed of the *Japanese* religion in general, that there was such a conformity between it and that which the Jesuits preached among them, as might easily be improved to advantage by the latter; towards the conversion of the former. The

(19) See *Varen*, *ubi supra*, c. 6 & 10. & *auſt.* ab eo citat.

peror himself, if we may believe the accounts of those missionaries, not only permitting it, but being a great patron, if not a secret profelyte, to it; insomuch, that the very bonzas, after having used their utmost efforts to suppress the spreading of this new religion, so contrary to their own, as well as to their interest, were obliged to yield to the current, for want of sufficient support from those in high power to oppose them; and we are even told, that several of them were become zealous professors and preachers of it. They went on with this wonderful success above sixty years, that is, till about the year 1616, during which time, all their letters from thence were still fraught with accounts of the fresh conversions they made, and the great confidence they had of seeing idolatry shortly banished out of the whole empire, their idols all demolished, their temples turned into churches, and the whole realm submitted to the pope's authority; when, on the sudden, all this promising sunshine was turned into a dismal gloom; the missionaries were suspected, and accused of the most treasonable designs, and, under pretence of converting the empire, to be plotting to dethrone the emperor, and bringing his dominions under the government of the

\* XAVIER. & MAFFEI Epist. VAREN. lib. iii. c. 5. & seq. CARON, & al. sup. citat.

*Japanese* expected all their present and future happiness to come to them through the favour and merits of their *Xaca*, *Amida*, and other of their gods, and by virtue of those long and severe mortifications they had freely undergone, before they put an end to their lives, in order to be deified. The Jesuits preached to them a Divine Person, who came down from heaven, and who willingly submitted himself to an ignominious and painful death, to save those that believed in him. The former sainted those melancholy and discontented people who made away with themselves, celebrated their memories, and desired their suffrages. The latter, with much greater reason, extolled to them the heca-

tombs of martyrs and primitive Christians, whose heroic constancy and deaths, for the testimony of their Redeemer, intitles them to a much greater degree of honour and devotion, and to the benefiting of their votaries by their intercession. To say nothing of the statues and imagery, candles and perfumes, used in their worship, the variety of their monasteries of friers and nuns, their celibacy and recluse lives, their beads, processions, praying to and for the dead, auricular confession, and many other particulars. Against which, the *Japanese* could have no objection, because they were what they themselves practised in their own.

*Spanish* monarchs. What grounds there were for such a dreadful charge, doth not hitherto clearly appear, neither is this a proper place to inquire into the causes of it, which will be better seen in the history we shall give of the nation in the sequel. It will be sufficient to say here, that the charge was taken for granted by the jealous emperor, and all the grandees of Japan, and turned their kindness into such a detestation against those missionaries, and their religion, as produced a most dreadful persecution, not only against them, but against *persecuted,* as many of their proselytes as refused to renounce it, who were *and eradicated.* all put to the most excruciating deaths. This happened in the year 1622, and following; ever since which date epoch, Christianity hath been intirely extirpated out of the whole empire, and held in greatest abhorrence; nor is any person or people suffered to live there, that is suspected to profess it; nor any stranger to come amongst them, that doth not publicly renounce it, under the severest penalties.

*Government.*

*Petty kings subject to the emperor.*

THE government of Japan is, and hath been for many centuries, altogether monarchical and despotic. It was antiently divided into a great many small kingdoms, which still retain their antient names, as many of them do in *Spain, China,* and other parts, but they were at length swallowed up into one, unto which all the rest are become either subject or tributary, and the number of the former hath still gradually increased above that of the latter. Of these last, they reckon between fifty and sixty, who are vested with the royal title and dignity, and are, in some measure, absolute in their respective territories, but are so intirely subject to the emperor, that he can depose, or even condemn them to death, if he thinks fit. It hath been likewise a constant policy in those monarchs, to split those petty kingdoms into still smaller divisions, and to give those princes leave to war against, and encroach upon, each other's dominions, as the most effectual means to weaken their power, and secure their obedience. They likewise frequently dethrone and imprison them, and give their territories to others, and either curtail or enlarge them, according to their interest or pleasure; so that those little states are designedly kept in a constant fluctuation, to prevent their revolting, and making themselves independent. As to the people, they are doubly slaves, first to their own princes, and next to the emperors, who have power of life and death over them all.

*Antient dairo's chief sovereigns;*

ANTIENTLY the emperors were likewise sovereign pontiffs, under the title of *dairo's*; at which time, their persons and

\* KEMPFER, CARON, HAGEWER, VAREN. & al

dignity

dignity were held so sacred, that not only every rebellion against them, but even every contravention to their decrees, whether in civil or religious matters, were detested as crimes *their* against the Deity itself <sup>w</sup>. They were, in some measure, worshipped by all their subjects, and took upon them such state, as if they had been some kind of deities. They never set their feet upon the ground, nor suffered the sun to shine, nor any wind to blow, upon them. They never wore their cloaths above one day, and never eat twice out of the same dishes. In a word, all their furniture, vessels, &c. of their table, beds, and whatever they used, must be renewed every day. They never cut their hair or beard, nor pared their nails. They kept themselves as much as possible from being publicly seen, and were chiefly waited upon by twelve wives, whom they married with great solemnity. The titles they assumed, *high titles* and by which they were addressed; came little short of blasphemy, and the manner of approaching them of idolatry, they being all alike obliged to prostrate themselves flat upon the ground, and, in that humble guise, present their petitions, answer his questions, and receive his commands. And as they lived thus in the grandest splendor, luxury, and effeminacy, they committed the chief care of the civil, and all the military, affairs to their prime minister, who was styled *cubo*, because *prime minister* he was always generalissimo of all the forces; which dignity *was* commonly bestowed on one of his younger sons, for the eldest always inherited his father's throne; and it was by one *stripped of* of these *cubo*'s that the *dairo*'s were stripped of their whole *their civil* civil authority, as we shall further shew in their history, and *power* from that time have been only at the head of all religious matters, whilst the *cubo*, or emperor, bears an absolute sway over all civil and military affairs (N) throughout the empire. The former

<sup>w</sup> KEMPFER, CARON, HAGEN, VAREN. Vide & Epist. MAFFEI, XAVER. & alior. VAREN. Kb. i. c. 4.

(N) The *Japanese*, it seems, had such an irradicable veneration for their antient monarchs, that they would never have suffered them to have been thus stripped of the greatest branch of their power, if the *cubo* had not blinded them with the specious pretence, that it was done with their consent. and out of regard to their dignity, as well

as to ease them of the burden of the civil government, the care of which, it was further urged, was not only beneath, and inconsistent with, but even dishonourable, in some measure, to their high dignity, as supreme heads over all religious and ecclesiastical affairs.

On the other hand, the old *daimo*'s indolence and luxurious life

retain the  
ecclesiasti-  
cal autho-  
rity.

Homage  
paid to  
them by the  
emperor.

Their two  
capitals.

The dairo,  
absence.

former is still permitted to live in the same state and grandeur as his ancestors did, and the latter is still obliged to pay him a kind of homage, as if he acted only as his deputy, or vice-roy: but all that is mere ceremony, and only kept up to prevent the people's rising up in arms in favour of him; so that, in reality, the cubo is now the real *Cæsar*, or monarch, of *Japan*, and the dairo only the pope, or high-priest, of it. This homage consists in going in great solemnity, once in three, four, or, at most, in five years, to the city of *Meaco*, where the dairo resides, and there wait on him in person, with suitable presents, and acknowledging, that he holds the imperial crown from his family (O). He is moreover obliged to marry one of his daughters, if he hath any that is marriageable; and she is first crowned empress, and then given to him as a seal and confirmation of his imperial authority. All that needs be farther added, with respect to those two dignities, is, that the dairo's have still kept to their antient residence, at the old metropolis of *Meaco*, on the south, and the cubo's have settled theirs at the city of *Jeddo*, on the north side of the island of *Hiphon*, of both which capitals we shall give a further account in its proper place. As for the name of *dairo*, or *dayro*, it is supposed, like that of *Cæsar*, to have been that of the head of the imperial family; whereas that of *cubo*, or

life having given the cubo a fair opportunity of engaging not only the whole army, but the far greater part of the petty kings and princes in his interest, his son, when he came to the crown, seeing himself in no condition to oppose him, gladly yielded one branch of his authority to save the other, which was, perhaps, the most agreeable to his supine and effeminate temper; whilst the active and martial cubo was easily suffered to enter into a province, for which he was much fitter than he; especially as the matter was so compromised, that he should still be left to enjoy his antient revenues, titles, state, and grandeur, and be still looked upon as sovereign monarch of the empire (20).

(O) This acknowledgement is performed by his drinking wine in a dish of porcelain, and then letting it fall and break upon the ground. This ceremony was to be performed once in three years, but the emperor reduced it, on some pretence, to once in four, and afterwards to once in five years. And it is much to be doubted, whether it hath not been quite set aside before now, seeing matters were set on such a foot between them, that the authority of the one must of course dwindle away as fast as the other's increased. The description we shall give of this grand ceremony, at the end of this chapter, will further evince the probability of this our supposition.

*cuboy*, was originally no more than the title of the prime minister, *generalissimo*, or grand vazir. This post hath been suppressed ever since, though the title is still retained by those secular monarchs, as we may style them, though, in fact, now it means no less than a despotic prince, or emperor, in the same manner as the title of *imperator*, which, among the Romans, originally meant no more than a commander, or general, came, after *Julius Caesar's* time, to signify the supreme head of the empire.

SINCE the suppression of the office of prime minister, the *Four chief* administration of the government hath been committed to four *ministers*. of the principal of the nobility, of the emperor's choosing; besides which, he hath a council of twenty-eight nobles, four *Council*. of whom are tributary princes, and assist in a kind of rotation, of which he is the director, and this is another method by which he keeps them steady in their obedience. But, besides this, the *Policy* imperial courts observe some other maxims, equally effectual *against the* to prevent their raising any revolt, either in favour of the *dairo's*. *dairo*, or of themselves; the principal ones of which are;

1. That all those princes, whether tributary or subject, are *Kings and* obliged to attend at the imperial city of *Jeddo* six months in the *nobles, born* year; for which end, they have palaces assigned to them in *kept in sub-* and near that of the emperor. 2. All the grandees, nobles, *jection*. governors, &c. are likewise obliged to pay their attendance at the court, for a certain space. 3. The eldest sons of every king, prince, and grandee, are brought up there, under the emperor's eye, and must reside there, till he dismisses or raises them to some post. 4. Their wives and children are obliged to live in that metropolis all the year round, to be a kind of hostages, except the emperor gives them leave to go with their husbands into their own dominions, or estates, during the six months in which they are not in waiting. 5. They are obliged to take oaths of fidelity every year. 6. During their recesses in their respective countries, there are spies set to watch all their motions, and to transmit an account of them to court. 7. To prevent the common people siding with them, or *Common* hatching any rebellion, he employs 100,000 of them at a time; *people kept* and by turns, in public works, such as building of fortresses, *under strict* making and mending of public roads, dikes, bridges, &c. *discipline*. 8. He keeps strong garrisons in all his military cities, castles, forts, &c. which are very numerous, and often shifts them from one end of the empire to the other. 9. All the cities and walled towns are divided into small wards, which are shut up every night, to prevent all nightly intercourse between the inhabitants; so that if any riot or tumult should happen in any of them, they are easily suppressed by the officers of the

the guard, which are kept in every one of them. 10. Every city, town, and ward, have a magistrate, appointed by the emperor, who is answerable for every disorder that happens in his precinct; which makes them keep the people under the greatest strictness, and sometimes punish a whole street, or ward, for the disorder that happens at one house or family\*.

*Numerous court.* THE reader may guess, by what we have said above, what a numerous court and retinue these emperors must constantly have in their capital, besides their own guards and officers, which amount to 5 or 6000 more; all of whom are likewise obliged to attend him, where-ever he goes.

*Standing forces.* HIS army is no less numerous, it consisting of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, including his garrisons. They are all well disciplined, and commonly stout soldiers. Their arms are

*Weapons.* muskets, bows, and arrows, the scymetar, and dagger, and all of the best metal, the *Japanese* being the most expert artists at making of them in all the east, and in some of them excelling all the *Europeans*, especially in the keenness of their broad swords, and lightness and neatness of their armour. This last is only used by the cavalry, though they seldom are known to fight on horseback. As for the foot, they wear no other defence than the helmet. These forces are reckoned sufficient in time of peace; but in time of war, every one of the tributary princes is obliged to furnish a certain quota, which increases the former to 368,000, and the latter to 38,000 (P). To maintain such numerous forces, and such a vast number of officers, as well as the grandeur of his court, must

\* CARON, HAGENER, KÆMPFER, VAREN, & al.

(P) It is not easy to guess to any invasions from thence, what nations he employs these numerous forces against, or is nature hath so well fortified them against all attempts of that kind, that no princes need be at war with, our authors not mentioning any they are engaged in. Some few we read less apprehensive of them than they, as we hinted at the beginning of this chapter.

China, and one more lately against the *Koreans*, of which we have taken notice of in the last chapter (21). Neither the ancient dairo's nor modern emperors, except this taylor, were known ever to aim at making any conquests abroad; and as But their fears, it seems, are not so much from any of their neighbours, as from the *Europeans*, and especially from the *Spaniards*; and we are told, that, since the great umbrage which the missionaries gave to that nation, which occasioned

(21) See before, v. l. viii. p. 536. & seq.

must needs require an immense revenue; and, if we may rely on the calculations that have been made of it, it will be found really such, and to exceed that of any prince in the world, if there is not some mistake in the figures, or if they have not been magnified by those authors; for, it is a common observation, the forces and revenues of distant kingdoms frequently exceed all probability. The reader may see a sketch of one of those calculations in the margin (Q). But there is still another way of making a tolerable estimate of his revenue, from the annual pensions and salaries paid to his governors, and other officers, and his own particular expences; all which the reader may see, calculated and reduced to florins by Caron, according to whom, the whole amounts to 283,000,000, or about 28,000,000 sterling <sup>1</sup>. These pensions are differently paid, some in gold and silver, some copper, lead, tin, iron, and some in rice, and other produce of each respective province. He is likewise possessed of immense treasures in diamonds, pearls, and other precious jewels; to say nothing of the vast quantities of gold, silver, rich furniture, merchandizes, and other valuable commodities, which are stored up in his treasury and magazines. All

<sup>1</sup> Vide VAREM. lib. i. c. 11. CARON, KEMPFER, & al.

the extirpation of Christianity, the emperors have conceived such jealousy of them, that they dream of nothing but being invaded and conquered by them, and pretend to have some such threatening predictions, which keep them always in fear, and upon their guard (22). But may not this be a politic pretence, to conceal their apprehensions from a more likely and dangerous quarter, viz. from the Eastern Tartars. So that, upon the whole, it is no wonder if they secure such a vast number of forces to be raised, in a short time, against all adventures, and which may prove as necessary, in case of any revolt or rebellion, as against an invasion.

(Q) They compute it according to the two chief Japanese rice measures, named the *man* and *kof*, the former of which contains 10,000 of the latter, and this contains 3000 sacks, or bales, each sack containing rice enough to suffice 100 men for one day. Our authors differ somewhat, not only as to the stating of the proportions of these measures to each other, as well as in the casting up the whole, Kempfer making the amount to be 2338 *man*, and the Japanese author, from whose memoirs he took his account, only to 2257\*. However, the least of them, when reduced to the number of sacks, amounts to such a prodigious number, as almost exceeds belief.

(22) Vide int. al. Palafax *Corq. of China*, cap. 24. Cor. n. & al. *sup. citat.*  
\* *Hist. Japon.* lib. 2. cap. 5. *ad fin.*

which,



which, together with his sumptuous palaces, descend, after his death, with the empire, to his eldest son, except such legacies which he commonly leaves, not only to his other children, but to his favourite vassals and officers. As to his younger sons, he either bestows some kingdoms, or government of provinces, or, if too young for either, leaves them a sufficient income, to be brought up within the second cincture or court of the imperial palace, till they are better provided for.

*Stately  
palaces,*

*Strongly  
fortified.*

*Noble  
apart-  
ments.*

HE hath a great number of such palaces, besides that of his usual residence at *Jeddo*, no less spacious and magnificent, than strongly fortified. They reckon no less than twenty between that city and *Meaco*, though scarce 250 miles distant from each other; the most celebrated of which are those of *Jeddo* and *Osacka*, and next to them those of *Quana*, *Iwatzuki*, and *Matzjama*. Most of them are rather stately castles or fortresses, especially without, being surrounded with strong walls, wide and deep ditches, and some of them with three cinctures, one within another, and flanked with strong and lofty towers, and salient angles, like their usual fortifications, and built mostly of square stone. The apartments within are equally magnificent; their halls of audience high and stately, and adorned with costly cedar columns, curiously wrought, painted, and gilt; the ceilings finely carved, and many of them plated with gold, curiously wrought, and embellished with precious stones. The furniture of the lodgings, the gardens, baths, walks, ponds, fountains, summer-houses, groves, terrasses, &c. all answerable to the pride and grandeur of those opulent monarchs. We shall give our readers a short specimen of that of *Jeddo*, in the sequel, by which they may guess at the structure and richness of the rest, and only add here, that they are still building some new ones here and there, for hunting and pleasure-houses, or for burying-places; and these last have commonly a stately temple added to their other embellishments; such is that in the province of *Niko*, about four days journey from *Jeddo*, and built in the year 1636, in the dome of which is seen a vast copper crown, to which hang a great number of branches for tapers to burn in, and which was presented to the emperor by the *Dutch* company.

*Artillery,  
not used in  
the field.*

MOST of their palaces and fortified places have batteries of cannon upon their ramparts, though the *Japanese* are nothing so well skilled in the use of them as their neighbours the *Chinese*, who were instructed by some of the best *Portuguese* engineers from *Ma-hau*; and it is but rare for them

to have any artillery with them in the field. In other cases, they are very dexterous at all manner of weapons, and are very strict, not only in exercising their soldiery in all martial discipline, but likewise in training up their youth to it, from their tender years, both at home, and in diversions abroad, and, in this last respect, even to a fault (S).

*Youth  
trained up  
to arms.*

THEIR laws and punishments are severe, beyond all justice, and may be justly said, like those of the *Spartan Draco*, to be written in blood. They have few, if any, written laws, the emperor's will being the supreme one, and next to it that of the kings and princes in their respective dominions. The very lords of every district, and even the heads of every family, have power of life and death over all that are under them, and try and condemn them according to their own will. There is scarcely any crime so small, that is not punished with death, except the offender be a petty king or prince, and even these are not always exempted; and the only privilege they have, is to dispatch themselves with their own hands, which is commonly done by ripping up their own bellies, instead of being put to death by an executioner. In these cases, there is no other ceremony used, than a letter sent from the emperor, by a proper officer, who, if the offender refuses to comply, immediately, hath orders to put him to some more torturing death. As for those whose lives are spared, they are commonly banished into some desert island; the kings and princes into that of *Faytsienfima*, or

*Laws, and  
severe pu-  
nishments.*

(S) They have a custom once a year, in the month of *March*, to indulge them in some martial sports, or public games. Every youth comes to them armed, with what weapons he pleases, or can get. They commonly begin some time after noontide, and divide themselves into two bodies, or little armies, each with the banners and standards, and the statues or pictures of their gods, carried before, to animate them. Their first onset is by throwing stones at each other at some distance; then they draw nearer, and ply their bows and arrows, and then their short guns, and last of all

close in with their swords. These games, as they are styled, seldom fail of doing mischief, and leaving some dead in the field of battle, and sending away others wounded and maimed; all which goes off unpunished and unreprieved (23).

This plainly demonstrates the nation to be naturally warlike, and to take delight in such feats, or else why should such pains be taken to keep up that martial spirit among them, when they live at peace with all their neighbours? unless we suppose them to live in fear of some invasion, either from *Europe* or *Tartary*.

(23) *Idé Form. 4<sup>e</sup> de Sept. cap. 29.*

*Fatfiffo*, an island on the south of the gulf of *Jeddo*, which is small, rocky, and almost inaccessible, where they are condemned to more or less servile labours, according to the nature of their crime, or the mercy they can obtain from the court; but most commonly they are obliged to drag a life which is much severer than death. As for persons of inferior rank, they are not so much as imprisoned, but, upon full proof made before a magistrate, are immediately hurried to execution.

*High crimes, how punished.*

CRIMES of a higher nature, such as treason, violating the emperor's edicts, defrauding him of his revenue, counterfeiting his coin, male-administration, or any flagrant injustice committed by any of his officers, magistrates, &c. or any enormous breach of the peace, such as setting houses on fire, murders, burglaries, deflowering of a married woman, or an unmarried one, against her consent, notorious robbery or theft, these, and the like atrocious crimes, are punished with such severity, that not only the criminal, but his parents, brethren, children, and even male relations, are all put to death, at one and the same time, let them be at ever so great a distance from each other (T). High treason and revolts extend the punishment still farther, on the whole ward, or neighbourhood, where the criminal lives: for, in all such cases, the law supposes them all guilty for suffering such an enemy to the government to harbour among them; and this is an effectual means not only to prevent a concealment, but to cause an immediate discovery of the crime and criminal, because the informer saves himself and family by it. In all cases, except treason, the female relations are only sold for slaves, for a longer or shorter term of years, according to the nature of the crime, their age, or nearness to the offender;

(T) This is done, we are told, by suspending the execution of the chief criminal, and of those that are at hand, till the sentence can be conveyed by a proper messenger to other places, where those relations of his are settled, or perhaps have fled to for concealment, which must be understood not of a respiting it, till they are all caught, and every-where apprehended, but only as many of the principal ones as can be found, and then, on a day appointed,

they are all brought forth, and executed, in every place where they were seized.

*Caron* mentions, as an instance of this, in his own time, that a lord was condemned for extorting too great a tribute from his vassals, and suffered death, together with three of his brothers, one of whom was 250 miles off, an uncle, who lived still at a greater distance, and a nephew, who lived in some other part of the empire, all on the same day and hour.

but

but in that of treason, the wives and daughters are put to death, though not so severe a one as the criminal.

THEIR punishments are various, and more or less severe. *Sundry* That of crucifixion, which is commonly with the head down- *kind of pu-* wards, is the principal, and executed on traitors, murderers, *nishments.* incendiaries, and other such atrocious crimes; and the cri- *Cruci-* minals are suffered to hang two or three or more days on the *fixion.* cross, or till they expire, according to the nature of the crime; and, where that admits of mitigation, they are either stabbed with a dagger, or shot with darts, in a shorter time. Burning, and boiling in oil, are inflicted on persons guilty of *Burning,* parricide, incest, rape, adultery, and other such atrocious *and boiling* crimes. Where an offender refuses to surrender himself, after *in oil.* public proscription, he is torn in pieces by horses, or cut in pieces by the hangman, where-ever he is found; and, whether found or not, is always executed in effigie, according to the nature of his crime. Every petty larceny, insult, detraction, cheating of any kind, even at play, a lye or prevarication before a magistrate, are all likewise capital, though punished with a milder death, as beheading, hanging, and ripping out their bowels; which last punishment is commonly that inflicted on gentlemen and soldiers so convicted, only with this difference, that they are allowed to dispatch themselves by it; for it is *Gentlemen* reckoned ignominious if any such let the hangman take the *and sol-* work out of his hands by his cowardice or delay, and they are *diers dis-* sometimes put to a severer death for it. There are few *patch* crimes so small, or injury so trivial, as to be alleviated by a *themselves.* pecuniary punishment; and as for corporal ones, as the whip, bastinado, &c. they are chiefly inflicted on slaves and inferior servants, and that only by their own lords or masters\*.

## S E C T. II.

### *The Genius, Arts, Sciences, Trade, Navigation, and Manufactures, of the Japanese.*

THE *Japanese* are generally very acute, and of a quick *The genius* apprehension, good understanding, modest, patient, and *of the Ja-* courteous, and excelling all the orientals in docility. They *panese.* are so just in their dealings, that one may absolutely depend on their word; and, contrary to the *Chinese*, disdain to take the least advantage of those they deal with. They are all *Virtues.* very industrious and laborious, and much given to study and reading. They will indulge themselves at proper times in

\* CAROW, KÆMPFER, VAREN. lib. i. c. 18. & al. sup. cit.

any innocent pleasures, and necessary recreations; but will readily forego them for the sake of better employment, or even live content without them, when their circumstances cannot admit of them: neither are they greedy after wealth, but are satisfied with a moderate competency, as the most effectual preservative against lying and cheating, against envy and detraction, intemperance and luxury. In conversation they observe a great decorum; but avoid not only all loose, vain, and idle prattle, but all the stiff formalities of the *Chinese* nation<sup>b</sup>. Their style is grave and laconic, yet familiar and obliging. They affect a surprising neatness and decency in their eating, drinking, furniture, dress, and conversation; but have an abhorrence to intemperance, luxury, and dissipation. Drunkenness and gluttony are as much detested by the rich and poor, as cheating and dishonesty.

*Vices.*

THIS is the character which most authors give of their virtues, but we must not from thence suppose them to be free from vices; on the contrary, the very same authors charge them with many heinous ones, some of which seem quite opposite to the other side of their character; and indeed those who are most conversant in books of travels, especially into such a remote country as this, will least wonder at such contradictions. Accordingly they are represented as proud, ambitious, cruel, and uncharitable; and so insensible of the miseries of their fellow-creatures, that they will suffer them to perish rather than relieve them. But this last, we have lately observed, is rather owing to the disadvantageous and unjust light in which their inhuman bonzas set those unhappy objects than to any such savage disposition. They are likewise said to be so passionate and resenting, that they will make away with themselves, if they cannot find an opportunity of revenging an affront or injury. Their women in this respect will do the same, especially whenever their chastity, conjugal fidelity, or even their modesty, is concerned; inasmuch that many of them, though conscious of their innocence, will prefer a voluntary death to an unjust suspicion, which it is not in their power to clear themselves from; and we read of some who have taken the same violent method, rather than survive the shame of some involuntary indecency<sup>c</sup>. They moreover not only allow of polygamy, but likewise of fornication; and of brothel-houses for their unmarried youth, as well as for the convenience of strangers; but their married men are forbidden to go into any of them. But there is still

*Revengeful.*

*Womens singular modesty.*

<sup>b</sup> See before, vol. viii. p. 269, & seq. <sup>c</sup> CARON, VARENN. l. i. c. 14. & al.

a more heinous and unnatural vice laid to their charge, viz. that of sodomy, which is not only impudently committed amongst them, both by priests and laity, but without either brand or disgrace. In their wars they are very fierce and cruel, seldom giving or asking for quarter; and, when a town is taken, they commonly destroy it by fire and sword. And thus much may suffice for their vices<sup>4</sup>.

THEY are much extolled by the missionaries, and other *Ready ap-* authors, for their singular readiness, above all other eastern *prehension.* nations, in learning the liberal arts and sciences from them; for, before their coming, all their learning consisted in reading, writing, understanding their own history, and various religions, and some few rules of morality. As to their philosophy, *Learning.* mathematics, &c. they were less versed in them than the *Chinese*, till they learned them from the *Europeans*, under whom they made a surprising progress in, and shewed an uncommon fondness for them. Till then they knew rather less *Bad astro-* of astronomy than the *Chinese*, though they are, like them, so *nomers and* given to astrology, that they scarce undertake any thing of *geogra-* moment without consulting some pretender to that art. Of *phers.* geography they were so ignorant, that they divided the world into three principal parts, viz. *Japan*, *China*, and *Siam*, and looked upon the rest as inconsiderable appendages to them: and, as for the other parts of the mathematics, they were still more remote from them, till the *Portuguese* brought them thither. How far they have cultivated them since christianity was banished out of the empire, we cannot say; however, *Great uni-* it is plain that they had several famed universities among them, *versities.* well stored with doctors and books, and resorted to by vast numbers of students. They are commonly very rich, and well endowed, the bonzas who preside in them being for the most part noblemens children, who are either naturally inclined to a studious life, or chuse it, as the most creditable way of living upon their small fortunes; increasing the common treasury by their patrimony, which they leave to it after their deaths. We are told wonders by the *Portuguese* authors *Vast num-* concerning those universities, the vast number of their doctors *ber of stu-* and students, their lectures and doctrines, eloquence, and excellent discipline, if those good fathers have not launched out too far in their praise, in acknowledgement of the vast encouragement and success they met with among them. However, we shall, according to our usual way, give the reader a short sketch of one of the most celebrated of those acadé-

<sup>4</sup> CARON, VAREN. l. i. c. 14. & al.

*Bonzas  
great mo-  
ralists and  
orators.*

mies in the margin (U), by which he may frame some idea of the rest. As for the doctors or bonzas who preside in those places, the same authors assure us, among other of their excellencies, that they never heard finer discourses on the subject of morality than they did from those professors, who chiefly value themselves on it; and that they were such masters of oratory, that they seldom failed of drawing tears from their audience, whenever they displayed their skill in that way<sup>e</sup>.

*Laws and  
physic.*

THEY have neither a body of laws, nor system of physic; but guide themselves in the former by reason, and in the latter by experience; and, though their skill in the latter is but scanty, yet are the professors of it in high esteem, and gain great fortunes by it. They depend much upon their medicinal waters, of which they have great plenty and variety both

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Hist. Eccles. Japon. vol. i. Epist. Japonic. XAVER. MAFF. VALLADA, ALMEID, & al. VAREN. lib. i. c. 25.

(U) This noble edifice, or rather collection of buildings, is called *Frenxama*, or, according to others, *Frenajama*, from a celebrated mountain within nine or ten miles of *Meaco*. The mountain [which is intersected by thirteen pleasant and fertile vallies, excellently well watered, and adorned with woods, groves, and a fine large lake stored with all manner of fish] was chosen as a fit abode for the bonzas by some of the dairos, and is said to have had no less than 3800 temples, and almost as many monasteries, founded and endowed at different times by those monarchs, when in the height of their power. They had an income of 200,000 crowns *per annum*, besides two large towns, which were then part of the suburbs of *Meaco*, situate at the foot of the mountain, and which were obliged to supply these monks with all sorts of victuals, dressed in the best manner for them, that they

might have no avocations from their studies and religious employments. It became moreover, the residence of the *Xacco*, or *Jacko*, or head pontiff of all the bonzas; and on that, and all other accounts, grew into one of the most considerable seminaries in the whole empire; but, since the dairos were stripped of their civil power, as hath been lately hinted, great part of those colleges and temples have gone to decay; so that, upon the missionaries arrival there, they were reduced to little more than 500 (24).

They have about five more stately ones within the neighbourhood of *Meaco*, which have between 3 and 4000 students each, besides a vast number of others dispersed in other parts the empire, all richly endowed, finely situated, and accommodated with all the conveniences of life, as well as with large libraries stored with plenty and variety of books (25).

(24) Hist. Eccles. Japon. tom. i. p. 44, & seq. Vid. & Vir. & Epist. Xaver.  
(25) Ibid. Vid. & Varen. lib. i. c. 25.

of hot and cold. The roots of *Jin-feng* and *China*, brought thither by the *Chinese*, are in great vogue, together with other medicinal roots and plants. They pretend to a great skill in discovering the nature, causes, and degrees, of distempers, by the pulse, and by astrology; and some of them make use of charms, and other such superstitious trash. They suffer their patients to drink as much cold water as they will, though they never drink it so when in health: their medicines are commonly blended with something of saltness or sourness. They *Bad sur-* are still more unskilled in surgery; never let blood, except *geons.* in a kind of endemic cholicky disorder frequent among them, and then the operation is performed by pricking the belly artfully with a fine needle made either of gold or silver, and letting out what they think the morbid matter at a certain number of holes.

THIS strange disease, which so cruelly attacks as well *A strange* strangers as natives of all ages, sexes, and complexions, is by *sort of* them called *Senki*, a name not indiscriminately given to all *cholick,* cholics and belly-achs, but only to that particular sort, which, *cured by* besides the violent pains it causes in the bowels, extends itself *acupuncture.* to the whole abdomen and reins, where it causes a general convulsion of the muscles, even when the bowels are free from the effects of the morbid lues latent in the peritonæum, or some other part of the abdomen; but at some periodical times, or from some other cause, excite grievous swellings, spasms, and acute pains.

THESE dreadful symptoms and affections, stubborn and unmoveable as they are by any other means, are nevertheless not only assuaged, but effectually cured, by this easy and curious operation of acupuncture, performed by a judicious hand; inasmuch that, if we may rely upon the learned Doctor *Kampfer*, who had often been an eye-witness of it, the *Senki* pains have ceased almost in an instant, and as if they had been charmed away, as soon as the needle had performed its office on the part of the belly made choice of, after due examination by the skilful artist. We have had occasion to mention *Practised* its being much esteemed among the polite *Chinese*, as well as *in other* by the *Tonquinese*, *Koreans*, and other eastern nations; the *parts of* latter of whom make no scruple to affirm, that it was known *India* and practised from the earliest ages, and even before the invention of physic; whilst the former, according to custom, ascribe the discovery of it to some of their ancient monarchs soon after the flood. However, as the *Japanese* are allowed *but best in* to be by far the most expert and cautious, as well as successful *Japan.* in the performing of that operation, whether, as they pretend, they were the first inventors of it, or no, it was on



that account that we judged this the properest place for giving our readers an account of their method of proceeding in it, as being allowed on all hands as far preferable to that of any other *Indian* nation, as their instruments, which are fabricated by them for that purpose, excel those which are made anywhere out of it.

*Causes of the distemper, and manner of performing the operation, wherein the skill of it consists.*

We cannot indeed say so much in praise of their theory; for which reason we shall not trouble our readers with a display of it, but refer them to the above-quoted Doctor *Kämpfer* for a fuller account of it; and only observe in general, that the *Japanese* physicians ascribe the rise of the disease chiefly to the immoderate use of the *Sak-ki*, a strong wine made of rice, which gradually fills those lower parts with humours of a sour corroding nature; and, when grown to a height, occasion those swellings, convulsions, and exquisite pains, which will hardly be alleviated till let out at those holes which the needle makes for that purpose, and are commonly divided into three rows, three punctures in each row, and the whole disposed in the form of an oblong square.

THE place made choice of for the puncture is commonly at a middle distance between the navel and the pit of the stomach; but often as much nearer to or farther from either, as the operator, after a due scrutiny, thinks most proper; and in this, and the judging rightly how deep the needle must be thrust below the skin, so as to reach the seat of the morbid matter, and giving it a proper vent, consists the main skill of the artist, and the success of the operation is said to depend. Each row hath its particular name, which carries with it a kind of direction with regard to the depth of each puncture, and the distance of the holes from each other; which last seldom exceeds half an inch in grown persons in the perpendicular rows, tho' something more in those which are made across the body; thus, . . .

*The needles how made, and by whom;*

THE needles which perform the operation are made, as was hinted at first, either of the finest gold or silver, and without the least dross or alloy. They must be exquisitely slender, finely polished, and carry a curious point, and with some degree of hardness which is given to them by the maker, by tempering; and not by any mixture, in order to facilitate their entrance, and penetrating the skin. But, though the country abounds with expert artists, able to make them in the highest perfection, yet none are allowed to vend them, but such as are licensed by the emperor.

THESE needles are of two sorts with respect to their structure, as well as materials; the one, either of gold or silver indifferently,

indifferently, and about four inches long, very slender, and ending in a sharp point, and have at the other end a small twisted handle, which serves to turn them round with the extremity of the middle finger and thumb, in order to sink them into the flesh with greater ease and safety; the other sort is chiefly of silver, and much like the first in length and shape, but exceeding small towards the point, with a short thick handle, channelled for the same end of turning them about, and to prevent their going in too deep; and, for the same reason, some of them are cased in a kind of copper tube, of the bigness of a goose-quill, which serves as a sort of gauge, and lets the point in just so far as the operator hath determined it. The best sort of needles are carefully kept in a case made *bone used.* of bull's horn, lined with some soft downy stuff. This case is shaped somewhat like a hammer, having on the striking side a piece of lead, to give it a sufficient weight, and on the outside a compressed round piece of leather, to prevent a recoil, and with this they strike the needle thro' the thickness of the skin; after which, they keep turning the handle about *Their fur-* with the hand till it is sunk to the depth they design it, *that prising* is, till it is thought to have reached the seat of the morbid *effect.* virus, which, in grown persons, is seldom less than half, or more than a whole, inch. This done, he draws it out, and compresses the part, in order to force the morbid vapour or spirit out. The directions and nice rules for the performing of this curious operation are many, and require great skill and attention in the operator; and, when duly performed, *Used* may be of excellent use not only against the excruciating dis- *against* temper above-mentioned, but against many other topical ones, *chronic* which are more commonly cured by the *Indian Moxa*, and *diseases,* other caustics. On the other hand, these last are often tried *more suc-* against the distemper above-mentioned, by applying the caustic *cessfully* to the belly, on each side of the navel, and about the distance *than the* of two inches from it, but mostly without any success, *Moxa.* it being very unlikely that such an application should reach the seat of the distemper; whereas the benefit which hath accrued from the acupuncture, is that one disease, hath encouraged others to apply it indifferently to other parts of the body, where the *Moxa* is used; and, by a due care and precaution not to prick any nerves, tendons, or other considerable blood-vessels, have cured their patients by it, without putting them to the excruciating torture which attends that of the *Moxa*, or other caustics.

THERE is still another method of curing that and other *Another* violent disorders in the abdomen, and lower belly, which is *remedy* still in vogue among the *Japanese*, though nothing so effectual *against the*

Cholera  
Morbus.

The in-  
venter of  
it enriched  
by a pious  
cheat.

Acupunc-  
ture still  
more  
esteemed.

Poetry,  
music, and  
painting.

Pondness  
for fine  
paintings.

as the acupuncture. It is a powder taken inwardly, which is only sold in the village of *Menoki*, in the province of *Oumi*, sealed up with the arms of the inventor, who, by a pious fraud, obtained the sole privilege of making and vending it. This person, at first very poor, gave out, that the god *Jakusi* had revealed it to him in a dream, and shewed him the plant growing in a neighbouring mountain, famous among them for many other fabulous stories said to have happened upon or in the neighbourhood of it. The good effects which this remedy produced soon brought it into repute; and the great consumption of it enriched him to such a degree, as to enable him to build a temple to the god above-mentioned; since which, his family, increasing still in wealth, have added two more, as so many monuments of their gratitude to him. Over-against each of those three grand structures stands a shop, in which the said powder is made and sold. Our author bought a quantity of them; but, upon trial of them, did not find them at all agreeable to his constitution, and of a most distasteful bitter, which he supposes, from some which he saw in the shop, to be the *Costus*, which is brought thither by the *Dutch*, in greater quantities than any other exotic, from *Surat*. However, the powder is chiefly in vogue among the common people in the cholicky distempers above-mentioned; whilst the better sort have recourse to the outward operation of acupuncture, which we have been describing †. This, however, doth not hinder the surgeons from using likewise the other method of craterising; and in some cases, as rheumatism or gout, raise a blister on some nerve with a little powder of mugwort, *Moxa*, or other herb, and some cotton set on fire ‡.

THE *Japanese* are much addicted to poetry, music, and painting; the former is said to be very grand as to the style and imagery, loftiness and cadence, but, like that of the *Chinese* formerly described §, is not easily understood or relished by the *Europeans*. The same may be said of their music both vocal and instrumental, the best of which of either kind would hardly be tolerable to a nice *European* ear. They are better painters than the *Chinese*, but yet much inferior to the *Europeans*; most of their performances in that kind are either in water-colours on paper, fine leather, &c.; or in their jappanning, and fine porcelane-ware, of which we shall speak more particularly in the sequel. However, though they do not come up to our perfection, yet they are very great admirers of good

† Vid. KÆMPFER Append. to Hist. of Japan, p. 29, & seq.

‡ Id. ibid. CARON, VAREN, &c.

p. 198, & seq.

§ See before, vol. viii.

paintings of all sorts; and the rich will give immense sums for a good piece, and place it amongst their richest rareties. As for their own paintings, what is most to be admired in them is the singular beauty of their colours, in many of which they greatly exceed us. They have likewise a much finer way of sweetening their lights and shades, and observe a much greater symmetry in the drawing, than the *Chinese*, who affect to be quite careless about it.

THEY are generally very good and quick accountants, and make use either of the same method as the *Chinese*, described in the last chapter, or of some others equivalent, by round pieces of wood or ivory, and a chequer-board not unlike our game of draughts, both the pieces and chequers of different colours, answering to our units, 10, 100, &c.; but, as to any other arithmetic, we do not find any footsteps of any they have.

THEY pretend, like the *Chinese*, to have been the inventors of printing from time immemorial; and their method is the same with theirs, upon wooden blocks<sup>a</sup>; but they exceed them in the neatness of cutting of them, as well as the goodness of their ink and paper, and the elegance of composition. They likewise lay claim to the invention of gunpowder, tho' they are vastly inferior to them in the use of all sorts of fire-arms, especially of artillery, as well as in the curiousness of their fire-works<sup>1</sup>.

THEIR manner of writing is also much the same as that of the *Chinese*, viz. in columns from top to bottom, and the columns beginning at the right, and ending at the left hand. Their characters were originally the same; but, since then, the *Japanese* have made some alterations in theirs, but whether by way of improvement, or altercation with their neighbours, we dare not say; though the latter seems most probable, because they affect in almost every thing to be opposite to the *Chinese*, for which we shall assign a substantial reason in the sequel; so that there is now such a difference between their way of writing, that, though the learned among the *Japanese* can still read the *Chinese* characters, yet these cannot theirs (W). They use the same pencils, or small brushes, ink,

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 212, & seq.  
& seq.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 151, & seq. 303.

(W) We are told farther, that though this is the common character, in which most of their learned books are written and printed, yet their doctors, merchants, tradesmen, &c. have some others much more convenient and expeditious in use

*Excellent  
method of  
education.*

ink, and paper, with them, and train their youth from their tender years to write and read by an easy and expeditious method (X); insomuch that most of them are masters of both before they are six or seven years old, and some of them even earlier. They have likewise an excellent way of educating their children at home: the boys and girls under their mother; and the latter, when fit to go to school, by their schoolmasters. They never inflict any corporal punishments on them, nor make use of any severe methods, or even threatenings; but strive to allure them to their learning by praises, little rewards, and other such mild incentives; and, where these fail, which seldom happens, they, especially the mothers, will add tears, and, in the most pathetic terms, complain of their ill fate, in being the parents of such heedless, stupid, or undutiful children, and what a discredit they are to their reputation, as well as to themselves; and, by such motives, seldom fail to work them into a sense of pity or shame. They take no less pains both at home and in their schools, as well as in their universities, to inspire them with the love of glory, contempt of dangers and death, to enure them to hunger, cold, pains, labours, inclemency of the weather, and to bear with patience all the miseries and inconveniences of life; contrary to the *Chinese*, and most other oriental nations, who are justly branded for breeding up their own in luxury and effeminacy. They are no less careful to excite them to a laudable abhorrence against lying and lyars, and all kinds of fraud, and to inspire them with a love of modesty, sincerity, and fidelity\*.

\* Vid. VAREN. lib. i. c. 25. & al. sup. laudat.

use among them, particularly one which consists of alphabetical characters, the more numerous and variegated than ours; which hath this farther conveniency, that, being written from the right to the left, and then again from the left to the right (like what the old *Greeks* called *Boustrophedon*, or plowing with oxen), in writings of any breadth, one can neither skip a line, nor fall upon the same again, as is often the case with ours.

(X) This is done by writing something like what we call a copy in a fair hand, and setting a blank sheet of paper over it, which, by its fineness and transparency, discovers all the lines and strokes of the writing under it; so that a child, having been once taught how to handle the pencil, is made by these exercises to understand the power and meaning of each character or letter, at the same time that his hand is guided to form them exactly according to his copy.

THEIR

THEIR language hath some affinity with the *Chinese*; *Language.* though it appears, from its various dialects, to have been kind of compound of that and other languages, according to the various nations that first peopled those islands, of which we shall find a more proper place to speak in the sequel: on that account it falls vastly short of that beautiful and peculiar simplicity, and other marks of antiquity, for which the *Chinese* is so justly admired. We may add, that their affectation of differing as much as possible from that haughty and rival nation hath produced still greater alterations in their language; so that, as the former affect to deal mostly in monosyllables, and these in as small a number as possible, the latter have not only enriched theirs with a greater variety of words, but have studied to lengthen them in such manner, as should give them a much more agreeable harmony. However, upon the whole, the *Japanese* is not only very regular, polite, elegant, and copious, but abounds with a great variety of synonyms, adapted to the nature of the subject they are upon, whether sublime, familiar, or low; and to the quality, age, and sex, both of the speaker, and persons spoken to<sup>1</sup>.

THEY are commonly very ingenious at most handicraft *Trades and* trades; and excel even the *Chinese* in several of their *manu-* *manufac-* *factures*, particularly in the beauty, goodness, and variety, of *tures.* silks, cotton, and other stuffs, and in their japan and porcelane works; on which account they are much more esteemed *Silk and* *other ma-* *nufactures.* all over the east, as well as in *Europe*. But these are so well known, that we shall need say the less of them here; only this is remarkable with respect to their japan and porcelane, that the former bears a much finer black and gloss, is harder and more lasting, and beautifully wrought and painted, the drawing and colours more exact and beautiful, the latter better burned, more finely wrought and painted, than those of *China*; so that, *ceteris paribus*, they commonly bear a much higher proportion in price, which is commonly about ten to one; and a much greater vent they would have of all their merchandizes, notwithstanding their high price, if the emperors did not restrain their subjects so much from trading into foreign countries, or would give greater encouragement to strangers to trade amongst them; but their natural jealousy of *Trade re-* *all foreigners*, and especially of the *Europeans*, since the sad *strained by* catastrophe of the *Christians* there hath occasioned such severe *the empe-* *laws and penalties* to be enacted against many branches of *rors.* their ancient commerce; and such strict search is made, by

<sup>1</sup> VARR. l. i. c. 25. & al. sup. laudat.

the officers, after every commodity exported and imported, as hath greatly impaired it. What occasioned those strict prohibitions, was, their venturing to export sundry forbidden commodities, such as scymetars, swords, muskets, and other such weapons, in the tempering and fabricature whereof they are expert beyond all other eastern nations; to say nothing of the great quantities of gold and silver which were likewise clandestinely conveyed away both by the natives and foreigners, in spite of all the edicts to the contrary. But there is another motive which induces those monarchs to prevent, as much as much as possible, their subjects from going abroad; viz. the vast number of Christians, or, as they style them, Crossmen, that are dispersed in *China*, *Siam*, and other parts of *India*; to say nothing of those that are under the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* government, where they are still more numerous and dangerous, and the fear they are in lest those subjects, by conversing with them, should bring home a more favourable opinion of them than they had, and inspire their countrymen with it (Y).

FOR

(Y) To this we may add another, and perhaps no less inducing motive, viz. their pride, which is not a little raised at the sight of so many foreign nations fervently employed in fetching away all their most valuable commodities, and furnishing them with such a variety of others from all parts of the world, without being at the trouble of stirring from home. Add to this, that their own country affords them such plenty of all necessaries and conveniences of life, that scarce any other under the sun can more easily live without foreign commerce. But it is far otherwise with the *Europeans*, who, knowing the vast gain which this trade would bring to them, have all strove at different times to get it, or at least some part of it, into their hands, tho' the *Dutch* have hitherto been artful enough to prevent it. By what means these last have engrossed the

trade to themselves, and on what foot they carry it on, will be seen in part in a following note, and the rest in the close of the *Japan* history: at present we shall only give an instance or two of the extreme jealousy of the *Japan* monarchs with respect to all the *Europeans* who profess Christianity; and the advantage which the *Dutch*, who deny themselves to be of that number, take from it to disappoint all their efforts to obtain a free trade there.

Some of the *Portuguese* and *Spanish* authors indeed ascribe those ill-grounded fears to an artifice of the devil, to prevent the Christian religion ever taking foot again amongst them, should ever such a trade be opened to either of those nations. As for the *Dutch*, they think he is in no fear about them, and therefore inspires those monarchs with a greater confidence in them; being well assured,

For these reasons the *Japanese* are allowed to trade with none but the *Chinese*, *Koreans*, the country of *Jeddo*, and with the

assured, that they will rather defeat than promote any attempts against his own kingdom. But, without diving too far into those pious reveries, it is but too plain, that interest alone may be looked upon as a sufficient motive to make them strive to cherish and promote all those needless fears and jealousies in the *Japanese* emperors; if they were not indeed the very first that inspired them with them, in order to engross their sole favour and confidence, and prevent all future reconciliation between them and any other *Europeans*.

However that be, the *Portuguese* of *Ma-kau*, who had for a long time tasted the sweets of the *Japan* trade, that it was said they could pave their city with silver, but were to the last degree impoverished since the prohibition of it, would not be wanting in their endeavours to recover it; and, to that end, sent a grand embassy to *Japan*, Anno 1647, with rich presents, in two galleons; though their first, seven years before, had proved so fatal to them, for want of due caution and proper leave, that they were all put to death, through the suggestion, as they pretend, of the *Dutch* merchants, then upon the spot. This second embassy proved not more successful than the former with respect to the end for which it was sent; and the only thing they could obtain from that monarch was, to let them go back with their lives and vessels,

and this was granted to them as a singular favour. However, as their vessels were obliged to wait before the port of *Nangazack* from the 26th of *July* to the 6th of *September* for an answer from the court, during which they refused to let their masts, sails, rigging, guns, &c. be carried into the emperor's warehouse till the answer came, or they were ready to sail away, as is commonly practised with regard to the *Dutch*, it is scarcely to be imagined what precautions the governor of the place took to prevent their landing, or sailing higher up, or lower down, that river; insomuch that if he had expected all the *European* ships then in *India* to have rendezvoused there, he could hardly have done more. He ordered a stout stately bridge, flanked with four strong towers, or forts at equal distances, to be built just above them, over that river, which is near a mile wide there, and batteries of cannon to be placed all along the bridge; all which was done within the space of five or six days: below them he took care to have two squadrons of *Japanese* ships, amounting to near a thousand large and small, and all crowded with sailors, marines, and militia†. His pretence for it was, that he had reason to suspect, from their refusal of giving up all the tackle of their ships, that they had a design of sailing away before the orders from the court were arrived, which would have disoblged the em-

† *Vid. Palafox Cong. of China, cap. xxiv. Dutch Ambass. & al. sup. citat.*



the *Dutch*; neither are they allowed to sail into any of the three former, nor to the latter the settled at *Tay-wan*, the now common

peror in the highest manner: but the real cause of all these great preparations seems rather, that he had been prepossessed with a notion, by his *Dutch* friends, that this pretended embassy was to be followed by a number of other ships of more strength and bulk, in order to execute some grand design in favour of Christianity. However, this may serve to shew what an invincible jealousy they have conceived against the professors of it.

Not many years after, the *English East-India* company, being then in high favour with the king of *Siam*, who had lately married the emperor of *Japan's* sister, having obtained a singular recommendation from the former to the latter, were in great hopes, by so powerful an interest, to have come in with the *Dutch* for a share of the *Japan* trade; to which end they likewise sent an embassy, with very considerable presents of the richest and most valuable curiosities, from *Europe*. The only obstacle to their success was, their professing Christianity; but this was easily removed, by assuring the *Japanese* court, that their Christianity was quite opposite to that of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, and was in a great measure the same which was professed by the *Dutch* in their own country; for the truth of which they appealed to them, who had nothing to say against it. Matters were in this hopeful way, when some private intelligence was given to the emperor, that the king of

*England* was at that time married with the king of *Portugal's* sister; which the *English*, upon inquiry, could not deny; upon which an order came immediately from court for their sailing away with the first fair wind; and at the same time they were given to understand, that they must thank the king of *Siam*, who had so kindly recommended them to the *Japanese* monarch, for their being so favoured as to go off with their lives and vessels; but that they must not expect to be treated with the same mildness, if they should ever offer to come a second time on the same errand, let them bring what recommendations they would from that or any other prince. We need not be at a loss to guess who gave that fatal intelligence to the *Japanese*, seeing there were no other *Europeans* there but the *Dutch*: neither ought we to omit taking notice here, that the *English* company had some time before obtained a considerable part of the *Japanese* trade; and had set up a factory at the small island of *Firando*, Anno 1613, under captain *Saris*, who, in an audience he then had of the emperor *Ongoschiosamma*, at that time at *Surunga*, obtained very singular privileges for it; and for himself particularly that of sailing to, and making discoveries in, the land of *Jesso*, or any other part of his dominions; a favour which the *Portuguese*, when in the highest credit in *Japan*, could never obtain. This trade was, however, lost again in few years, and the factory ruined;

mon emporium of those parts, without the emperor's special licence. In former days, indeed, the *Chinese* and *Japanese* with *Chinese* monarchs lived in such perfect amity, that they sent frequent *na osten* *ambassies* and presents to each other; and permitted their *suspended* subjects not only to trade with, but to settle in each other's country: but that good understanding was frequently interrupted, and their commerce suspended for a time, and sometimes forbidden by both sides under the severest penalties. But, since the *Tartars* have become masters of *China*, those *but now* feuds, the occasion of which is variously related by both *opened by* sides (Z), have so far ceased, that the *Chinese* have now free *the* *Tartars* liberty.

ruined; by what means, or for what reasons, is not known. However, these few instances may suffice to shew the height, as well as the true spring, of the *Japanese* jealousy against all the professors of Christianity. We might add, that the *Dutch* themselves, notwithstanding their disclaiming it, are not exempt from their suspicion, which is the reason of that wonderful caution and strictness with which they are suffered to trade and live among them; about which see the next note but one.

(Z) We read of one of these prohibitions made by the *Chinese* emperor, not only published in the most solemn manner throughout the empire, but the memory of which was preserved by erecting a stately stone pillar, on which both that, and the occasion of it, were engraved in golden characters, and ran to this effect: That a great number of *Japanese*, settled in *China*, having joined themselves in one body, and seized upon, and settled themselves in, some territory there, after having committed the most horrid outrages, such as plundering, burning, murders, rapes, &c.; for these reasons their whole nation was not only judged unworthy of ever

settling, or even trading, in the *Chinese* empire; but the subjects of this last were forbidden, under pain of the severest deaths, to sail to *Japan*, or to trade in anywise with that nation.

On the other hand, upon the conquest of *China* by the *Tartars*, at which time there were vast numbers of *Chinese* settled all over *Japan*, the emperor conceived such an invincible prejudice against that conquered nation, for basely abandoning the interest of their ancient monarchs, suffering the invading *Tartars* to over-run the whole country with so much ease, and in so short a time, and at length so tamely submitting themselves to the yoke of those usurpers, that he caused them all to be banished out of his dominions, without permitting them to carry off any of their effects, or even their families, with them, if they chanced to have married *Japan* wives; and at the same time forbade all future commerce between his subjects and the *Chinese* nation, under the severest penalties.

Neither was this their only misfortune, to be forced to abandon their habitations, families, and fortunes, and to go to seek their bread in other countries;

liberty to trade into *Japan*; and the *Japanese*, tho' fewer in proportion, to trade into *China*; the *Japan* emperor chusing rather to have the commerce carried on by the *Chinese*, than to suffer many of his subjects to stir out of his dominions, for the sake of the small advantage that might accrue to them by it. But it was not without great difficulty that that haughty monarch would suffer them to land in his dominions in the new *Tartarian* dress which their conquerors had obliged them to wear in token of subjection; and it is a question whether he would ever have done it, if the *Tartar* emperor had not threatened him with a powerful invasion<sup>m</sup>.

Trade  
much ob-  
structed by  
pirates.

THERE is still another considerable obstruction to their commerce, occasioned by the multitudes of pirates and corsairs which swarm on those seas; and not only carry on a contraband trade between *Japan*, and other parts, but seize on all the ships of the fair traders, where-ever they can catch them; and are such desperate fellows, that, if they find themselves overpowered at any time, they will blow up or sink their own ships, rather than be taken<sup>n</sup>.

Commodi-  
ties ex-  
ported;

THE commodities exported thence are rice, silk, cotton, &c. wrought. The fine porcelane and japan-work lately mentioned, gold and silver, tho' not in such large quantities

<sup>m</sup> Vid. PALAFOX Conquest of China, ch. 34.  
lib. i. ch. 26. KÆMPH. & al.

<sup>n</sup> VAREN.

but they were made to undergo numberless affronts, insults, and injuries, from the *Japanese*, who treated them as perfidious rebels against, and betrayers of, their prince and country, and as monsters not fit to live, or deserving either mercy or pity; so that thousands of them perished in their march out of the country through want, and other miseries, and a much greater number at sea.

Those who had the good fortune to get into new settlements (for into *China* they dared not return, the *Tartars* making every where the greatest havock there) after having in vain tried the interest of their *Japanese* friends

for a mitigation of the edict, the most that could be obtained for them from the court, was, that such as had left wives and families behind might be permitted to come and see them once a year, but never to settle there any more (26). These things the *Tartars*, then masters of all *China*, could not but highly resent; and as their edict, and the erecting of the pillar, followed pretty near the time of the *Chinese* being banished out of *Japan*, it is not unlikely that the former was only done in mere revenge and retaliation for the affront offered to them by the latter.

(26) Varen. l. i. c. 25. Vid. & Palafox Conq. of China, ch. 24.

as formerly, copper wrought and in bars, iron, steel, and other base and some artificial metals; variety of rich furs, mostly brought from the land of *Jetzo*; tea of all sorts, and much finer, and better cured, than that of *China*, some sorts of which have such an excellent flavour and taste, that they sell even above the price of gold, weight for weight. A great variety likewise of medicinal herbs, roots, woods, gums, &c. which, as well as their tea, are sold genuine, and well dried and preserved, and without the least mixture or adulteration, such as are commonly practised by the *Chinese* in theirs. To these we may add diamonds, and other precious stones, pearls of exquisite beauty, coral, great quantities and variety of fine sea-shells, on which the *Japanese* used to set no price, till the *Chinese* and *Europeans* taught them how to value them by the excessive fondness they shewed for them. And, lastly, ambergrise, which they had so little esteem for, that they called it by no better name than *cusurano fu*, or excrements of the whale, as being found in the bowels of that fish, which licks it up along the coasts, where the sea throws it in great quantities.

In exchange for those commodities, the *Hollanders* bring imported. them glasses of all sorts, which are in great request there, especially looking-glasses; raw and wrought silks, raw hides, hempen and woollen cloths, quicksilver, borax, antimony, spices of all kinds, of which they make an immense gain not only in *Japan*, but in all other parts of *India*, where they sell perhaps as great quantities as they import into *Europe*, and, by them, purchase the merchandizes of one country to sell them in another (A). They likewise import thither some sorts of sugar, musk, camphire, siampan, brasil, and other woods, calembac, elephants teeth, and a great number of small wares which come from *China*, *Tibet*, *Siam*, &c. china, jin-seng, and other medicinal roots from *Tartary*. All these commodities are imported or exported custom-free, which is the chief encouragement given to the *Japan* commerce; and *Frauds* in with this dreadful clause, that, if any contraband goods are *trade* se-

(A) This is not a proper place to inquire how they came to make themselves masters of those islands, and to monopolize all that trade, to which that of bullion is hardly to be compared. We shall have occasion to speak more fully on that head when we come to describe those islands: what comes nearest to our present notice is, the prodigious

advantage which that single branch brings to them, by which alone they purchase almost every thing they carry into *Japan*, whereas other nations are obliged to purchase them with their goods and treasure; besides the vast exchange which the *Japanese* allow them of gold, and other merchandizes, for that one valuable commodity.

verely punished. found upon those vessels, or the commodities be either adulterated or damaged, or any fraud or cheat be discovered in their invoices, &c. they are sure to be punished with the utmost severity, no nation having such severe laws against all

The Dutch  
kept under  
great re-  
straint.

such abuses in trade, as this of *Japan*°. As for the *Dutch*, they are still more strictly watched, and kept under severer restraint, from the time of their arrival to that of their sailing away. At the season in which their fleet is expected, the governor of *Nanguazak* sets centinels on the eminences along the coasts, to give notice of every ship that appears; and, upon their approaching, a boat is dispatched with proper officers, and men under them, to each ship, who, coming on board them, take an account of their number, men, cargo, &c. as soon as they come to anchor, and dispatch it immediately to court by an express; so that they are not permitted to stir, or dispose of any thing, till an answer comes from thence; and then are all confined to their factory, or ships, till the time of their sailing away again, except those only who go to pay the usual homage and presents to the emperor at *Jeddo*.

Factory at  
Disnia.

THEIR factory, confinement there, together with the formalities and occasion of it, the reader will find described in the margin (B). As to the ambassy, it is generally performed with

• Vid. VAREN. lib. i. c. 26. Vid. & auct. sup. citat.

(B) The method they took to engross to themselves the whole traffick of this country, after the dreadful persecution of the Christians there, and the severe laws made against their ever setting foot in that empire, was, first, by pretending that they were the only people of *Europe* that were not Christians, for which they were hated by, and often at war with, all the rest; next, by informing the court of the various cabals and efforts of the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* to regain some footing among them, in order to make themselves masters of so rich a country; and, thirdly, by directing them how to discover any of them that

should come thither in disguise, viz. by obliging them to trample upon a cross or crucifix. By these means they so far ingratiated themselves with the *Japanese*, that they were admitted to trade with them upon such advantageous terms, that that sole branch was worth to them an immense sum yearly. It was not long, however, before they abused the confidence which the *Japanese* placed in them, by building a strong fort, instead of a storehouse, for their merchandizes, and bringing into it a considerable quantity of artillery, and warlike ammunition; in doing of which they were detected by the breaking of one of the

with great pomp and ceremony. The first visit, accom-  
panied with some considerable present, is paid to the go-  
vernor *Their am-  
bassy to the  
Japanese  
emperor.*

the carriages; upon which all these stores were seized for the emperor's use.

They found means, however, if not to clear themselves from their foul design, at least to palliate it so far, by pretending to mean no more by these preparations than to secure themselves from any insults or injuries that might be offered to them, but more especially from numerous pirates that infest these seas, and frequently commit horrid depredations on the maritime parts, that they were again permitted to trade with them, but under such severe restrictions, and disadvantageous terms, to what they enjoyed before, as has considerably lessened their gain. They are now obliged to send and give notice of their arrival to the governor of *Nanguazak*. and, with it, an invoice of their men, their names, age, stature, &c. and of all the merchandizes they import; upon which a proper magistrate is dispatched on ship-board, to examine all their men and merchandizes, and see that they agree exactly with the invoice, and then both are suffered to land. There they are again mustered up by proper officers; their names called one by one, to which they must answer, and give themselves an account of their age, quality, and office. Their stature and complexion are carefully examined, to see that all agree with the first invoice in every respect; and then the invoice being translated into the *Japanese* language, and ratified by the commissary, is or-

dered to be dispatched immediately to court by a particular express. The next thing he is to do is, to take an exact inventory of, and to cause all the sails, masts, ropes, rudder, guns, arms, ammunition, &c. and all the tackle of the ships, to be conveyed into the emperor's warehouse, there to be kept under lock and seal till the time comes for their departure; at which time they are restored to them, according to the inventory taken of them, of which both parties have an exact duplicate. As soon as the ship's tackle is sent on shore, all the hatches are shut up and sealed by the same officer; nor can they be opened, whatever the crew that is left on board may want, without express leave from the governor, who always sends a man to take notice of whatever is brought into, or taken out of, each ship, and to seal them down again. The crew of one ship is not permitted to converse with that of the other, neither are they allowed so much as to light a candle; and, if any noise or quarrel happens among them, they are liable to be severely punished. All the time that they ride in the harbour, no *Japanese* is permitted, under the severest penalties, to go on board them, or to trade with the sailors. Those that are allowed to carry them provisions, are forbidden to take any money, or other barter, for them, till the permission for trading is arrived from the court, and then they deliver up their accounts to the factors, and are paid by them. Every

vernor of *Nanguazak*, by whom they are sent, with a very numerous escort, to the emperor. There they are introduced into the presence-hall upon their knees; and, with their hands joined together after the *Japanese* manner, and upon notice given that he is coming to his throne, which is usually sur-

round ship then is permitted to send six men on shore, to buy and sell for themselves; and to stay four days either in the island where their factory stands, or in the city, as they think fit; and, when they are returned to their respective ships, six others are allowed to come on shore to trade, for the like space of time, and so on.

As to their factory, it is situated on the point of a rock in a small island, or, as *Thevenot* calls it, a peninsula, named *Difnia*, or *Difima*, which is parted from the city of *Nanguazak* only by a river and a wall, which excludes them from all communication with the town. The island, according to *Thevenot*, is about two miles in compass; and no *Dutchman* dares stir out of it, during the whole time of their stay, which is about nine months in the year, without danger of being cut to pieces by the guards, which are set over them, and to guard the bridge over the river that parts them from the city. They are neither permitted to converse with those guards, nor with any natives, except such as are appointed by the governor as factors, brokers, or in some other such office. They are not so much as suffered to have a lighted candle in their houses, any more than on ship board; and, if the centinels hear any uncommon noise, or perceive any disturbance, among them, they give immediate notice of

it by blowing a horn; upon which a party is dispatched by the governor, with an officer at their head, to inquire into the occasion of it, and doth not return till he hath discovered and either punished, or at least severely threatened the offenders. To this slavish condition, and to these severe restraints, they are forced to submit, the sailors and merchants near eight months, and the people of the factory the whole year (except the six weeks of open trade, during which great numbers of *Japanese* come into the island, and set up their rich booths, furnished with all manner of merchandizes), without any other diversion except gaming, drinking, and hiring a parcel of handsome wenches for their pleasure; for these are easily procured from the *Bayos*, or *Japanese* lords, who think it no disgrace to their dignity to trade with strangers in that sort of commodity.

Mr. *Daniel Brames*, accountant-general of *Batavia*, in his report made to the states-general, adds to this account of their factory there, that they are obliged to make use of brokers, who transact all the business between them and the *Japanese* merchants; and that the governor of *Nanguazak*, who, he believes, engrosses the greatest part of the trade to himself, compels them to deal with him upon what terms he pleases †.

† *Kämpfer, Caron, & al. ubi sup.*

rounded with a kind of thin gawse curtain, they are obliged to prostrate themselves upon their faces; and then one of the lords cries aloud, *The ambassador from Holland*, three times; which done, they retire in the same manner they came in; and, having received some presents from the emperor, are conducted back, under the same escort, to *Nanguazak*. This journey takes them up near, if not quite, three months and an half; during which they are not allowed to converse with any of the natives, except to answer such questions as the emperor's officers ask of them, much less to make any inquiry into the state of the empire, whether at war or in peace, whether under the former or a new emperor, &c.

As for the merchandizes brought by the company, the price *Traffick* of them, as well as the quantity and quality of the goods, *with Ja-* are specified in the invoice; which, being translated into *Ja-* pan, *how* *panese*, is affixed on the gate that leads from the sea-port to their factory. To this last the *Japanese* resort for six weeks, *Exchange* to buy, sell, and barter with them, either for tea, porcelain, *of goods.* japan-work, and other commodities we have already mentioned, or for gold, silver, or copper bullion (C); but, the former of these being forbidden, the traffick of it is carried on by stealth, and with no small risque. As soon as the six weeks are ended, the commerce is shut up for that year; and the *Japanese* are no longer permitted to go into the factory, nor the *Dutch* to go out of their ships, but sail away with the next fair wind, whilst those that belong to the factory remain alone in the island till the monsoon of the next year <sup>p</sup>.

SHIPS of any considerable buik or strength the *Japanese* have *Shipping.* not had since the secular monarchs have thought fit to shut up their commerce with foreign nations. Heretofore, indeed, whilst the *Dayros* entertained large fleets, their men of war were mostly large and stout, built chiefly of cedar-wood, and

<sup>p</sup> THEVENOT, part iii. chap. 11. KÆMPFER, & al.

(C) Both the silver and the copper are first weighed in scales made on purpose, and then put into boxes sealed with the emperor's seal; and the chief magistrate of the city of *Nanguazak* is security for the true weight and value of the metal in every box so sealed. Each box of the former is said to amount to 1000 crowns of *Dutch* money; and those of the latter to 130 pounds weight, and valued at twelve crowns each (27); and the *Dutch* company there makes about 600 boxes of silver, and 2000 of copper, of the merchandizes they sell there, one year with another.

(27) *Conf. Dutch Ambassy* & *Thevenot*, lib. iii. cap. 11. *Kæmpfer*, & al.



fit for those tempestuous seas, and much after the *Chinese* manner; so were also then their merchant-men, with which they were wont to sail along those coasts, as far as *Tong-king*, *Siam*, *Bengal*, and other parts of *India*; but, since that time, the former have been, by order of those monarchs, either laid up or destroyed; and the latter reduced to a lesser number and standard, and built after such a manner as to render them quite unfit to venture far on those seas, or upon any long voyages; so that, excepting those which are used to carry on a contraband trade, and are still very numerous, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions against them, all the rest are only fit to cross over to *China*, *Korea*, or *Jetzo*, or to transport men and goods from one island or province to another of the empire.

*Their  
length, &c.*

Those which are the largest now in use are commonly between 80 and 90 feet in length, and between 22 and 25 in breadth, and built as well for rowing as for sailing. They all run tapering from the middle to the stem, and both ends of the keel stand a good way above the water. The body is not built roundish, as our *European* are; but that part which is below the water runs almost in a strait line towards the keel. The stern is broad and flat, with a wide opening in the middle, reaching a good way downwards, and designed to prevent the subjects attempting to sail beyond their boundaries. The deck, which is somewhat raised towards the stern, consists only of deal boards laid loose together without any fastening, and rises but a little above water when the ship hath its full lading. It is covered with a long cabin about six feet high, and running the length of the vessel, excepting only a small part towards the stern, where the anchors, tackle, &c. are deposited. This cabin juts out about two feet on each side of the ship, with folding windows all round, which may be either opened or shut at pleasure; and is divided into a number of partitions by folding screens, which may be taken off, or put on, in order to make them wider or lesser, for the convenience of the passengers. The farthestmost of them is always reckoned the best, and is appropriated to the noblest guest. The roof of the upper deck is almost flat, and of neat boards, curiously joined, and covered with mats, especially in wet weather.

*But one  
mast, and  
one sail.*

The vessel hath but one mast, and one large sail, both which are taken down when it rains; and the latter, which is large, and made of hemp, is spread out, for the sailors to shelter and lie under it. The anchors are of tough iron, and the ropes of twisted rice-straw, but very strong. Ships of bulk have commonly 30 or 40 hands to row when the wind fails; their benches are towards the stern, and their  
oars

oars made bending, with a moveable joint in the middle. With these they row much after the manner of the *Chinese*, *Manner of* and other *Indians*, that is, by sinking them perpendicularly *rowing.* into the water, and raising them up again; which is done with greater ease and advantage than ours, which only skim the surface of the water. The ship's timber and boards are fastened at each end, and in their joints, with hooks and bands of copper, and the stem is adorned with a knot of fringes made of thin, long, and black strings. Whenever any *Men of* men of quality take their passage in these merchant-vessels, *quality* not only their cabbins are lined and adorned with their coats *often pass-* of arms, and other insignia; but their pike of state, or badge of their authority, is planted upon the stern, on one side of the rudder, whilst the other hath a weather-flag waving for the use of the pilot. In smaller ships, as soon as one comes to an anchor, the rudder is wound up, and put on shore; so that one may pass through the opening of the stern as through a back-door, and walk over the rudder as over a bridge to the land. Most of their vessels, both large and *The mate-* small, are built of fir or cedar-wood, both which are there in *rials.* great plenty, and only differ in their make according to the purposes, or the chanel or seas, they are designed for.

THE most beautiful of all are the pleasure-boats of the nobility, *Boats of* which are either made for rowing, or sailing on rivers, canals, *pleasure.* lakes, &c. or to cross some narrow chanel from one island to another. These are not only very curiously wrought, carved, and gilt, but adorned with several decks and stories, and other embellishments, according to the dignity or fancy of the owners. The first or lower deck is flat and low; upon which stands a second, more high and lofty, with open windows, and may be divided into more or fewer apartments, at pleasure, by means of folding-screens. Over this are built a low kind of turrets, with galleries and ornaments more or less lofty, according to the season, and in order to have the fuller prospect, when that will permit it. These are commonly adorned with the flags, and other insignia, of the possessor; the head and stern are raised likewise a great height above the water, and adorned with variety of carving, painting, gilding, &c. and the cabbins, or apartments within, furnished and embellished with every thing that is curious and costly †.

THE coin of *Japan* is either of gold, silver, or copper. *Gold coin.* The most valuable of the three is well known to all the curious *Obans,* for its largeness and beauty, and the fineness of the metal, *Copans,* under the name of *Obans*, and *Cobans* or *Copans*, the former *their* *worth.*

† De his, vid. CARON, KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.  
of

Silver  
coin.

Copper.

Archi-  
tecture.

Private  
buildings  
low and  
neat.

of which goes for 10, though *Kempfer* says it weighs but  $9\frac{3}{4}$  of the latter; and this he reckons to be equivalent to  $23\frac{1}{2}$  *Dutch* gilders, or between 42 and 43 shillings sterling. Others reckon the former to be worth 48 *Taillos*, each *Taillo* nearly equivalent to our crowns, and the *Cobans* in proportion. Besides these, they have half and quarter *Cobans*, and others still smaller, down to the value of a *Taillo*; these, as well as some of the largest in silver, are of a beautiful oblong oval, stamped with *Japanese* characters expressing the *Dayro's* or emperor's name, that of the mint they were coined at, with that of head master of the mint, &c. to which private persons, especially merchants, added their own, or their mark, to know such as have passed through their hands. All these are too well known to the curious to need a farther description<sup>1</sup>. Their silver money is rather a variety of flatted pieces of silver of different shapes, weight, and figure, than a coin; and, tho' some be cast more regularly, some oblong, others round, &c. yet there was no certain rule either for that, or their thickness or weight. These they commonly make up in bundles, or rolls, each weighing exactly fifty *Taillos*, for large payments; but they had others of a less size and weight for smaller payments, some of them not unlike those little ones current thro' most parts of *India*, and the islands adjacent, 1000 of which were equivalent to 26, and others only to eight, of our pence; but these were all called in by the emperor *Cubofamma*, on account of the various cheats that were committed by those that dealt in them; who, in their stead, ordered a copper coin to be stamped, or rather cast, of near an equivalent value, which, being less liable to fraud, hath been since current through the whole empire<sup>2</sup>.

THE *Japanese* architecture is much in the same taste and style as that of the *Chinese* elsewhere described<sup>3</sup>, especially as to their temples, palaces, and other public buildings; but, in private ones, they affect more plainness and neatness than shew. Their temples and monasteries are very numerous, and magnificent even to profusion; and both poor and rich gladly contribute towards the adorning the former with every thing that is grand and sumptuous, and the latter with all the delightful conveniences suitable to a solitary life. But the private houses are plain, low, and mostly built of wood, and what they want in height they make up in length and depth; the frequent hurricanes and earthquakes, to which they are subject, not permitting them to have stories one over another; nor to use

<sup>1</sup> De his, vid. VAREN. lib. i. c. 27. TAVERNIER, part II. book i. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. ibid. CARON, & al. supra citat.

<sup>3</sup> See before, p. 23, & seq.

stone in the building of them, except perhaps a platform about a foot above the ground, on which the wooden fabric stands. This makes their cities exceedingly liable to dreadful *Cities sub-* conflagrations, which reduce the greatest part of them to ashes; *jest to* they having neither engines, nor any method of abating the *fires.* fury with which those dry materials usually burn. Whenever, therefore, such disasters happen, they only seek to save themselves, and their most valuable effects, by retiring into some low apartment built all of stone, and separate from the rest of the building; there being scarcely any tradesman or artificer that hath not some such place to flee to at such times, whilst the timber fabric serves them for dining-rooms, bed-chambers, workshops, &c.

THEIR furniture is commonly plain, but neat. The floor *Furniture* of the house is a pavement covered with mats, and always *plain and* kept very clean; on these they sit with their legs across under *neat.* them, like other eastern nations; and, with some small improvement, the common people make them serve for beds to lie upon. The houses of the noblemen are large, and hand- *Noblemens* somely furnished, yet without any affectation of grandeur or *houses.* gaudiness. They are commonly divided into two, some into more courts or apartments, in the most remote and retired of which their females live recluses; whilst the others are occupied by the men, and never looked into by the women. Their houses have usually a spacious court, with an ascent before, and a descent behind of three or four steps; and this last leads into the gardens, which are always adorned with variety of *Gardens.* flowers, trees, verdure, baths, terraces, and other embellishments, all which yield a delightful view from the very entrance, from which the prospect lies open through all the courts of the edifice. Their apartments are neatly wainscoted with japan-work of various colours, or are hung with curious paintings on paper neatly put together; and disposed some in the manner of landshapen, others of pannels. Both *Apartment-ments how* the apartments of the men and of the women are divided *divided.* into a great variety of rooms; and the partitions between them so contrived, as to be taken down on any public occasion, so that five, six, or more of them may be easily thrown into one. This is commonly done in their festivals and grand entertainments, in the grandeur and magnificence of which they are affirmed to exceed all other nations, and to which they invite not only their living, but dead relations and friends; the latter of which is done by going in troops to their graves with burning lamps in their hands, calling each of them by their names, and entreating them to favour them with their presence.

*Rich furniture.*

IN the furniture of those apartments the grandees rather study neatness than costliness. Their beds, couches, screens, cabinets, tables, &c. are all made of the best materials in their kinds, and with proper embellishment, but without gaudiness or profusion. The chief ornaments of their rooms, next to them, consist in a great variety of porcelain jars, vases, tea equipage, and other vessels, figures, &c. in which they vastly excel the *Chinese*; but what they take the greatest pride in, is, the fine disposition and symmetry of a great number of swords, guns, scymetars, and other armory, with which they embellish the sides of their rooms, from about

*Rich cielings.*

six or seven feet, quite up to the cieling. If they appear extravagant in any thing, it is in the richness and beauty of those cielings, which are commonly of the best cedar finely carved and gilt; and sometimes plated with gold and silver curiously wrought, and intermixed with variety of ornaments.

*Grand retinue.*

In their retinue they are no less profuse; their being obliged to wait at court six months in the year obliges them to make the best and grandest figure they can, if it were only in honour to the emperor, on whom they are bound to wait at all proper occasions: and this it is which makes them vie with one another in the splendidness of their dress, coaches, and equipage. Their coaches and litters are exquisitely rich and grand within and without; though they are most of them close, especially those which are for the use of the women. Their retinue is more or less numerous and splendid according to their rank; but there are few of the lords that have less than 50 or 60 men richly clad and armed, some on foot, but most on horseback. As for the petty kings and princes, they are seldom seen without 200 or 300 at least, when they either wait on the emperor, or attend him abroad<sup>t</sup>.

*Close coaches.*

*Their dress.*

THE *Japanese* dress is much like that of the *Chinese*, only somewhat more elegant and neat, and most commonly of silk or cotton. It consists of one or more short vests underneath, according to the season; and a long gown over it, which reaches down below the ankles. These are tied in such a manner about them with a silken girdle, that, if they have ever so many one under another, as in extreme cold weather, they are all to be seen from the pit of the stomach upwards. To this upper gown they add a large and loose one over all the rest, when they come into their houses, but put it off when they go abroad. They wear wide breeches like the *Chinese*, which come down below the calf; and their stockens underneath are made in the shape of a short boot, commonly either

<sup>t</sup> See CARON, KÆMPFER, HAGENBERG, & al.

of silk or cotton, and generally quilted in winter. Their slippers or sandals are much after the *Chinese* manner, and *The men* without heels. They wear nothing on their heads either in *go bare-* winter or summer, though they shave themselves close all *head'd.* over, except one lock, which is left hanging on the top by way of ornament; but, to guard themselves from sun or rain, they always carry an umbrella in one hand; and, if rich enough, have them held over their heads by a servant. The poorest have, instead of that, either a fan, or short screen. All the men, down to the lowest rank, wear a dagger hanging on their girdle; and the better sort a large scymetar, or broad sword, hanging on their right side by a silk belt. As for the fashion of their clothes, it is much the same among people of all ranks, the difference consisting only in the richness of the stuffs, and the fineness of the colours. The children only are clothed in all the gaudiness of colours; and the youth, of their flowered silks. The dress of the women is not unlike *Women's* that of the men, except in its being closer to their bodies, *drejs.* and that they wear close drawers instead of wide trousers. They commonly have a black covering over their heads, under which are seen their tresses hanging down in buckles: these, as well as their head-dress, the women of fashion, the young ones especially, usually adorn either with flowers, feathers, pearls, &c. according to their rank; but are seldom seen abroad, or even at home to any but those of the family, without a veil. They differ, however, in several of their customs, *Mourning.* not only from the *Chinese*, but from most other nations, in making black the proper colour for their festivals, and white for their mourning. In the like manner, instead of rising at the approach of a superior, they set themselves down (D);

(D) This opposition, which some authors have exaggerated to a monstrous degree without any foundation, is so far from proceeding from a contempt of the rest of the world, as they are falsely charged, that they can readily comply with the customs of other nations whenever a fair occasion offers itself; and it is no less plain, that they approach their emperor with bended knees, and prostrate themselves before him, or

even before their own petty kings and lords. But it is their singular contempt of the *Chinese* stiffness, and affected formality, which we have elsewhere described (28), as rather deserving to be laugh'd at than followed, that hath driven them so near the opposite extreme of ceremonial, that, in revenge, they have represented them as downright antipodes to the rest of mankind in this and most other respects.

(28) See before, vol. viii. p. 259, & seq. See also *Varen. Caren, & al.*

and,

and, instead of bowing or prostrating when they salute, they stand upright. They chuse to have their teeth and nails of a shining black, and to let the latter grow to an excessive length.

**Diet.**

THEY are very moderate in their diet, eating but little, if any, flesh, and that only of such beasts as they take in hunting. They are no less sparing of their fish and fowl; and scarcely take any of the latter, except of the wild kind. Several of their sects look upon it as inhuman to kill or eat any thing that hath life; all which flows from their belief of the transmigration of the soul, mentioned in a former article; and some of them carry their scruple to such a height, that they will neither eat milk, butter, cheese, nor eggs, of any kind, nor even wear any sort of clothing that hath belonged to any animal; but these are chiefly to be found among the monkish tribes of both sexes, the laity being less scrupulous

**Chief food.**

about such niceties. However, the chief food of the *Japanese* is rice, pulse, fruits, roots, and herbs; but mostly rice, which they have in great plenty and perfection, and dress in so many different ways, and give to it such variety of tastes, flavour, and colour, that a stranger would hardly know what he eats. In their kitchens, and at their tables, they are surprisingly neat. They sit at the latter cross-legged; and, instead of knives, forks, and spoons, make use of the same sort of small sticks as the *Chinese*; and with such dexterity, that they will take up the smallest grain of rice or millet with them; and, as they never touch their meat with their hands, they have no occasion for napkins or tablecloths. They use variety of dishes among the great, which are commonly served in fine earthen bowls or plates.

**Drink.**

THEY affect the same niceness in drinking, never touching the cup with their lips, but holding it at some small distance, and letting it run down into their mouths without spilling a drop. Their chief liquor at their meals is water made a little warm; but, as soon as they have dined or supped, they drink a pretty large quantity of tea, which they use as their common drink or refreshment whenever they are thirsty, weary, or faint. But they have variety of exhilarating liquors, like the *Chinese*, and other orientals, some made of wheat, others of rice decocted with sugar or honey, and both made more or less strong, as they like best: some spirituous ones they likewise distil from those two grains, especially from the latter. Other liquors they make of fruits, like our cyder and made wines; others they tap from the palm, birch, and other

**Strong liquors.**

▪ See before, vol. viii. p. 277.

trees, at a proper season, which are rather used as cordials, they being too intoxicating when drank in a larger quantity. We must however observe, that none of those strong liquors are ever tasted by the women, except in some extraordinary cases; nor even by the men, except on public festivals, and grand entertainments.

On these occasions they indulge themselves in great variety *Festivals.* of diversions, as music, dancing, masquerading, and plays. These last are most encouraged at court, where the emperors seldom fail to be present at them, and the chief actors are some of his principal ministers and nobility. These plays are *Plays, &c.* neither so regular nor so elegant as ours, either with respect to the diction, plot, scenes, or imagery. They are commonly accompanied with some musical interludes; but neither the composition nor instruments can please an *European* ear; though some of their voices might, if the music were better. These kind of entertainments are not only usual at court, but in a lower degree, more or less, among most ranks of people, either on public or private solemnities. We have already spoken of the former in another place\*; and, by the latter, is chiefly meant either their marriages or funerals.

THEIR marriages are commonly celebrated before some of *Weddings.* the bonzas, at the foot of some idol. The common people go thither on foot, the bride and women attending, being veiled, and preceded by some kind of music; and the richer sort are conveyed thither in close coaches, and a more splendid retinue. The bride and bridegroom have each a lighted flambeau or lamp put into their hands, whilst the bonza performs the ceremony; after which, the company congratulate them; and the bride throws all her childish trinkets into the fire, in lieu of which she receives suitable presents from them. The ceremony over, they return with the same solemnity to the bridegroom's house, which is fitted in the best manner, according to his rank; and the rejoicings usually last seven or eight days, accompanied with sumptuous banquets, music, dancing, plays, and other diversions suitable to their rank; and, among other promoters of mirth, the strong liquors lately mentioned are seldom forgotten or spared. The feast *Married* once concluded, the new wife is consigned to her own apart-*women's* ment, whence she hardly ever stirs, except once a year to the funeral rites of her family, of which we shall speak by-and-*recluse* life. by; nor is she permitted to see any men, except perhaps some very near relation, and that as seldom as can be. From that

\* Vid. sup. p. 23. CARON, KÆMPFER, HAGENER, & al. vid. & XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. VAREN. & al.



time all the comfort of her life must result from the good oeconomy she can establish in her family, and among those servants she hath under her; and the preserving of her husband's favour by all endearing methods, till her pregnancy and fertility intitles her to new delights and employments (E).

THE

(E) The *Japanese* have a common proverb, that a woman hath no habitation of her own from her cradle to her coffin: whilst a daughter, she is with her parents; when a wife, with her husband; and, when a widow, with her children. However, if she hath not the misfortune to be married to a brutish husband, she stands a good chance for a pretty comfortable life, especially if above the lower rank; for not only the grantees and princes, but the rich merchants and tradesmen, take care to make her apartments as agreeable to her as they can, not only in the furniture and conveniences, but likewise in the quality and number of servants under her, and in the fine gardens, walks, groves, baths, canals, fishponds, and other delightful scenes, because they seldom visit those apartments but with a view of unbending their minds, and indulging themselves in all the pleasures that the place can yield to them; so that she hath no other care but to receive him with a modest and dutiful cheerfulness, and to see that servants, and children if she have any, and every thing about her, appear and behave before him in such a manner as to give him delight; that the discourse, pleasures, and diversions, she proposes, be suitable to his temper; and b, all means to avoid talking

or hinting a word about his own affairs, for that would be esteemed an unpardonable infringement on his prerogative, and send him away in a passion, if not perhaps give him such a disgust as to forsake her apartment, and go and solace himself in that of his concubines; for they are never allowed to inquire into any thing without the limits of their own apartment, or to know more of his affairs, or of what passes in the world, than he is pleased to communicate to them.

When the *Japanese* are asked the reason for their thus immuring their women, and keeping them up with such strictness, they gravely answer, that necessity compelled them to it; for that, in former times, they used to allow them greater liberty; but that it was attended with such dreadful and tragical consequences, of which they say their history is full, that they were forced to restrain it, and confine them, in the manner they do, to more suitable and useful employments (29): for, besides the care of their children and family, they commonly spend part of their time in some profitable work with their women, such as painting, flourishing, japaning, breeding of silkworms, making of clothes, and other pretty ornaments, for their children, and adding some new

(29) Caron, *Kämpfer*, *Varen*, *Xaver*, *epist.*, & *al.*

thing

THE wives here, as well as in *China* and other parts of *Bring no* the east, bring no portion with them, but are rather bought *portion.* by the husband of her parents or relations; only with this difference, that, during the marriage-solemnity, these send him some considerable presents, which he as generously returns back with some addition and compliments. The courtship, marriage-contract, and other previous ceremonies, are carried on by third hands, mostly by some relations of both sides; so that the bridegroom most commonly sees his bride for the first time upon her being brought to his house from the place of the nuptial ceremony; for, in the temple where it is performed, she is covered with a veil which reaches from the head to the feet.

THE men allow themselves a plurality of wives, of which *Polygamy* the first is reckoned the principal; and the rest, who are sub- *allowed.* ordinate to her, are only wives of the second rank. Besides these, the richer sort commonly keep a number of concubines; and the man hath this advantage over them all, that, if they do not please him, he can divorce any of the former, and turn away the latter, without being obliged to give any reason for either. He can even put them to a more or less severe *Infidelity* death, if they give him any cause of jealousy by being seen *severely* barely to converse with another man, or suffering any of them *punished.* to come into her apartment; but, if caught in the act of infidelity, the husband never fails of revenging it in the most severe manner\*: and, though these examples can rarely happen where the women are so strictly confined, and narrowly watched, yet that guilty passion hath often found means to break through all those restraints, and to leap over or break through the strongest fences, to bring the lover to the object beloved; the reader may see two dreadful instances of this in the margin (F).

To

\* XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. vid. & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

thing to the furniture of their apartment, or making such alteration in their house and gardens as they best know will be most agreeable to their husbands; so that, considering that they are brought up with no other notion of happiness than this, their lives are nothing so uncomfortable as we are apt to suppose them, provided their

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husbands be but commonly humane, and they can behave so as not to give them any cause of jealousy.

(F) The first is of a prince or lord of the small island of *Firando*, who having discovered that one of his wives had admitted a young nobleman to some private conference, from which he concluded she had or intended

*Nobles  
marry  
within  
their rank.*

*Female  
retinue,  
how dis-  
posed of.*

To conclude this article, the *Japanese* generally marry within their own rank, the princes with princesses, nobles with noble women, and so downwards, but with respect only to the wives of the first class; the others they may take out of any inferior rank, yet not without the emperor's leave. They commonly get a number of young virgins of birth and education, and above the age of fourteen, to attend their wives, and be a kind of companions to them. These go usually dressed with the utmost gaiety and splendor; and, when they have continued some years with them, are given in marriage to some of their lord's favourites, with the addition of a certain sum of money, and other presents, according as they have behaved. Others perhaps chuse to continue in their place whilst they live; and it would be accounted

intended to admit him greater favours, condemned her, and two young ladies her confidants, to be shut up in a large vessel full of sharp spikes with the points inward, and to be rolled up and down in it till they were dead; and ordered her young paramour to rip up his own bowels.

The next is still more dreadful, and the only one of that kind that happened within the time of Caron's being in that country. A person of middle rank, suspecting his wife of carrying on an intrigue of the same kind, pretended to his family, that he was going upon some long journey; but returned so suddenly and unexpected, that he caught the man with her in her apartment, and immediately killed him. The wife he tied to a ladder by the head and feet, and left her in that condition all that night. On the morrow he invited all her friends to a splendid entertainment; and, upon their asking why she did not make her appearance among the rest of

his family, told them, that she was taken up with preparing the remainder of the banquet; and, when it was almost over, went to the dead body of the paramour, cut off his genitals, and, having stuck them all over with flowers, clapped them in a covered vessel; then, untying his wife, bade her dress herself in her best apparel, and sent her with it to the guests, with these words, *Go, and try whether they will plead for thee, and prevail upon me to forgive thy fault, for the sake of what is here inclosed.* The wife, half-dead with fear and shame, did as he bade her; and, with wild haggard looks, entered the room, and laid the covered vessels on the table, not knowing what was in it, and fell on her knees trembling before them; but, upon uncovering it, and finding what it contained, she swooned away; and the husband, drawing out his scymetar, cut off her head; which soon put an end to the entertainment, and sent every guest home in the utmost surprise at what they had seen (30).

(30) Caron, *ubi sup.* Varen, lib. i. cap. 12 & 13.

the greatest disgrace either to the grandee, or to the ladies themselves, to be taken from that rank, to become his concubines. The wives of the mercantile and handicraft rank are not without such companions, their husbands hiring or buying them from their parents for that purpose, to what number they can best afford. Their maintenance in clothes, &c. is made the more easy to him, as they are generally employed in some profitable work; but the chief design of having them, is, rather to prevent, as much as possible, all intrigues with the wife; for it would end as fearfully with the maids as with the mistress, if any such discovery were made against her, of which they had not apprised the husband, as may be seen by the first instance we have given in the last note.

THE other private festival of the *Japanese* is that which *Festivals* they celebrate in honour of their dead relations, and is per- *in honour* formed with at least as much ceremony and grandeur as their *of the dead,* weddings; only in these, feasting and carousing become much more necessary ingredients, if it were but to dispel the gloominess which naturally attends those funerals and annual obsequies; which is not a little heightened by the mournful songs, verses, speeches, and gestures, of the bonzas who attend at them: for these jugglers have an excellent way of chousing the people out of their money, by describing the state of the deceased in the most moving colours, in order to procure them all sorts of assistance from the living, such as money, victuals, cloathing, &c. which they make themselves the conveyors of to them, according to their several wants, even to bills of exchange, to procure them their freedom from some dreadful servitude to an ill-natured demon, or to procure them better habitations, or to dispel those evil spirits which obstruct their passage thither; all which the credulous laity take for granted, and contribute all in their power, or even beyond it, to their supposed relief. On these anniversary occasions all the kindred of the deceased, rich and poor, without distinction, assemble at the house of the head of the family, whence, after an en- *performed* tertainment accompanied with songs and music, they proceed *at their se-* with great ceremony to the sepulchres of their dead, which *pulchres:* are commonly a good way out of their cities or towns, some carrying the streamers and insignia of their ancestors, and the rest torches in their hands. There they find another banquet prepared for them, to which they invite all the deceased by name; funeral orations in prose and verse are made in praise of them; songs and music conclude the ceremony; and the remains of the banquet, as well as the presents which

are brought thither for the dead, are left behind for the bonzas to dispose of to them, as they see fit. The feast lasts usually several days and nights, during which, the richer part of the kindred take care to supply it with fresh provisions, and strong liquors; and, at the end of it, they all return, in the same order, to the town, beating upon their drums, brass pans, and other instruments, before every temple and nobleman's house they pass by<sup>z</sup>.

**Funeral ceremonies.** THEIR funerals are performed with much the same pomp, but with this addition, that when a prince or great man dies, there are commonly about ten, twenty, or more youths of his household, and such as were their greatest favourites, who put themselves to a voluntary death, at the place where the body is buried or burned (G). It is the common opinion of the *Japanese*, that the more pomp and grandeur is observed at their funeral, of which those voluntary victims are reckoned a considerable part, the better they shall fare in the next life.

**A barbarous custom.** On which account, the survivors spare no cost to have it performed in the grandest manner. Among the rich, the corpse, splendidly dressed, is carried in a sumptuous litter, made of cedar, and exquisitely wrought; the women that accompany it are also carried in litters, coaches, or sedans, but closely covered, and the men relations walk on foot, not in that ragged and dirty guise which the *Chinese* do †, but dressed in the richest manner, in white cotton stuffs, preceded and followed by multitudes of bonzas, some carrying the streamers and banners of the deceased, others singing, or playing on instruments, and by all the domestics and acquaintance of the family, all likewise clad in white.

**Bodies of their rich, how burn- ad.** WHEN they are come to the place where the funeral pile is erected, which is generally very magnificent, and composed of the most odoriferous woods, gums, spices, oils, and other

<sup>z</sup> XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. vide & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

† See before, vol. viii. p. 264.

(G) It is, it seems, a common thing with these young gentlemen to engage themselves, by an oath, long before, that, upon their lord's death, they will attend him into the other world. This is done with a design to ingratiate themselves to them, and with a kind of solemnity, in which they own their great and undeserved favours, for which they cannot make them any better returns, than by sacrificing thus their lives to their manes. The speech ended, is confirmed by drinking a cup of wine; which last ceremony is esteemed so binding, that no *Japanese* dares break an oath that is ratified by it (31).

(1) *Caren, ubi sup. Varen, lib. i. cap. 28. & al. sup. citat.*

odoriferous

odoriferous ingredients, the litter on which the corpse is laid is conveyed, by twenty or thirty bonzas, on the top of the pile. Then follow the funeral oration, songs, and other ceremonies. After which, the fire is set to several parts of the pile at once; and, whilst that burns, the relations and friends throw their presents into it, such as cloaths, arms, victuals, money, sweet herbs, flowers, and other things, which, they suppose, will be of use to him in the other world. The young men above-mentioned, after a solemn, yet seemingly joyful, farewell to all their acquaintance there present, rip up their own bowels, with their own hands, and then are flung into the pile, in order to follow their lord into the other world. We omit a great many other superstitious ceremonies performed by the bonzas, to drive away the evil spirits, and invite good ones to conduct the deceased into his new abode, and others by the rest of the company, to wish him a happy one; of the sons, daughters, wives, and concubines, to express their sorrow, as having nothing worth notice, but their odd singularity and excess. The ceremony concludes with a *Sumptuous* sumptuous banquet, of all sorts of dainties (flesh, fish, and *banquets.* fowl, excepted), and variety of liquors, music, &c.; and whilst the company are enjoying themselves at it, the sons, or nearest relations, who never taste of it, are employed in casting up and paying the expences of the funeral, of the sacrifices, pile, gums, lamps, music, &c. to the bonzas, who are *Bonzas the* the general undertakers there, and commonly add some further sums for the use of the deceased. The feast being ended, *undertakers.* the same bonzas carry off the remainder, together with what other things they find unconsumed in the pile, that had been flung into it by the relations. On the next day, the sons come and gather up the bones and ashes of the deceased, and put them in some rich urn, and deposit them among those of their ancestors, either in the same place, or in some new-built one; and these are commonly sumptuous edifices, adorned with niches and altars, on which these urns are set up, together with the insignia and pedigree of each person, their characters, actions, &c. written or engraven on large tables, with all proper ornaments <sup>a</sup>.

THOSE of the middle or lower rank commonly bury their *Burials of* dead without any other burning than that of some odoriferous woods, gums, &c. and rear some kind of mound, with *those of the* trees or sweet plants, over their graves, or perhaps some sort *lower* of altar tomb. They are obliged to invite the bonzas and relations, and to pay the former, and feast the latter, in the

<sup>a</sup> XAVER. Epist. FROES, & al. vide & VAREN. lib. i. c. 12.

best manner their circumstances will allow, and commonly bury some valuable things with the corpse, for the use of the deceased. These sepulchres are also to be at some distance from the town; and those who can afford it usually surround them with some inclosure, planted with variety of trees, which make a handsome shew <sup>b</sup>.

*Diseases.*

THE *Japanese* are commonly healthy, strong, and long-lived, their moderate living and industry keeps them from a great variety of distempers common in other parts of *India*. They have one, however, which is of a dreadful and nauseous nature, and against which they have as yet found no remedy, viz. the leprosy, which, in some parts especially, is so rife, that it gradually corrodes and rots their flesh and limbs. Those unhappy persons who are infected with it, are immediately secluded from the rest, and obliged to live at a great distance from towns and inhabited places, and if of the poorer rank, are confined to little low huts, without either assistance or even pity, till death gives them a happy relief out of their extreme misery <sup>c</sup>. Next to that we may reckon the small-pox, diarrhæa, and bloody-flux, which are frequent and rife, though not of a dangerous nature; and yet the two latter prove sometimes so excruciating, that some of the *Japanese* will chuse to put an end to them, by some speedy death, rather than endure the exquisite pain they give them. They are likewise afflicted with a variety of other cholicky distempers, one of which, called by them spasms, or convulsions of the bowels, and is, in some measure, endemial to that country; is attended with strange symptoms, not unlike those of the hysteric affection, and often puts the patient in fear of being suffocated; the whole region, from the groin up to the false ribs, and higher, being strongly convulsed; and, after it hath tormented the patient for a long time, will end in tumors and swellings in several parts of the body, particularly in the testicles of the men, and the pudentia in the women, and turn to abscesses and pustules, attended with the falling of the hair <sup>d</sup>. These, and several other kinds of cholicks, particularly that which they cure by pricking with needles <sup>e</sup>, are so rife among them, that scarcely one in ten grown persons are wholly free from them. As for gout, stone, or gravel, they are hardly known among them <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> XAVIER. Epist. FROES, & al. vide & VAREN. lib. i. cap. 12.

<sup>c</sup> VAREN. lib. i. c. ult. KÆMPF. FROES, & al. <sup>d</sup> KÆMPF. Append. ad Hist. Japan. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 39. & seq.

<sup>f</sup> KÆMPFER, VAREN. & al. sup. citat.

We have, by this time, gone through the most remarkable particulars relating to the *Japanese* empire in general. But, before we come to speak of the origin, antiquity, and history, of that nation, it will be necessary to give our readers some account of the division and topography of it, which, for clearness and method's sake, we have reserved for this place, on account of the connection they have with some material changes that have happened in the government, and of which we have been obliged to speak of, in a former section <sup>2</sup>, for the better understanding of what we have to say on that subject in that we are now going upon.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the Division and Topography of Japan.*

THIS large empire consists of three principal islands; viz. Japan, 1. *Nippon*, or *Hippon*, by far the largest of all, from <sup>how di-</sup> which the whole hath its name; 2. *Ximo*, the next in bigness; and 3. *Xicoco*, the smallest of the three, and situate between the two former. Around these lie a great number of others, of different sizes; the most considerable of which shall be taken notice of in their order; and as for the rest, concerning which we know little, except their names and situation, we shall refer our readers to the map adjoining. To these we may add the large continent of *Jedzo*, on the north side of the great island of *Nippon*, the southern parts of which, at least, are subject to the emperor of *Japan*, as well as all the islands above-mentioned. To these we might add *The Li-* a vast number of other small ones, called by the *Japanese* the *quejo*, *Liquejo*, or *Rinku* isles, extending themselves southward, in <sup>and other</sup> a kind of string, from that of *Ximo*, almost to that of *Formosa*, <sup>islands.</sup> the greatest part of which are inhabited, and under the *Japanese* government, if not originally peopled by them <sup>3</sup>.

THE whole empire was antiently divided into seven principal regions or territories, and these into sixty-two provinces, which were again subdivided into 604 districts (A); for a farther

<sup>2</sup> See before, p. 26. & seq.

<sup>3</sup> KÆMPFF. Hist. Japan, lib. i.

c. 1. & seq. VAREN. lib. i. c. 1. & seq.

(A) The names of those chief mountainous eastern region, regions, and the provinces belonging to each, are as follow; eight; 3. *Koku-rokudo*, or northern region, seven; 4. *Sa-nindo*, or cold mountainous region, eight; 5. *Sanjodo*, or



farther account of which, we must refer our readers to the relation which Mr. *Kämpfer* hath given of them <sup>b</sup>.

*The island of Nippon described.* THE island of *Nippon* lies about thirty leagues east of *Korea*, last described \*, and extends itself from  $33^{\circ} 10'$  to  $41^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and from  $132\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  to  $147\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  east longitude; and is divided on the north side from the land of *Jedzo*, above-mentioned, by the double streights of *Sangaar* and *Jedzo*, erroneously called, in some of our maps, the streights of *Kamt-schatta*, between which lies the island of *Matsuma* (B), and a number of smaller ones on each side, all of them belonging to the north-eastern province of *Oxu*. Its form is very irregular, and not unlike that of a jaw-bone, and with such a vast number of windings, as makes it impossible to ascertain its true circumference, only it is computed to be about 1500 miles at least. Its length, from east to west, is about 660 miles; and breadth, from north to south, where broadest, about 400, but in other parts, only between 150 and 200 miles. It was divided, in the times of the *dairo's*, into fifty-three or fifty-five kingdoms, all tributary to them; but, since

How di-  
vided an-  
tiently.

<sup>b</sup> KÄMPFER, ubi supra.

\* Vol. viii. p. 521.

warm southern mountainous region, eight; 6. *Saikaido*, or western coast, nine; 7. *Nankaido*, or southern coast, six.

The five first, are situate in the great island of *Nippon*, the other two are in those of *Ximo* and *Xicoco*, and some others adjacent, and of a smaller size. To these we may add those of *Isuzima* and *Iki*, with a group of little ones about them, which the *Japanese* took from the *Koreans*, in their war with them. These are under a tributary prince, and are neither large nor fertile, and are only famed for a vast multitude of temples and idols, and the vast concourse of people to them, from all the adjacent countries (1).

(B) This last particular is not yet fully agreed on, there being still some authors who

think, that the north part of it joins to the land of *Jedzo*, and therefore chuse to call it a peninsula, concerning which, the reader may consult Mr. *De Lisle's* elaborate letter on that subject. But, if we may rely on the late discoveries of the *Dutch*, *Russians*, and the maps they, as well as the *Japanese*, have given us of it, but especially the latter, who carry on so considerable a trade with that country, there is no room to doubt but they are really divided from each other, by the large streights above-mentioned. The *Japanese* maps above-mentioned were in the hands of the late Sir *Hans Sloane*; and a copy of it may be seen in the *English* version which Mr. *Scheuchzer* hath given us of *Kämpfer's* history of *Japan* (2).

(1) *Kämpfer*, *Caron*, *Varen.* & al. and *plac's* 3. at the end of tome i.

(2) See the introduction to that version,

the cubo's deprived these monarchs of their secular power, *Kingdoms* those divisions have not only undergone very great alterations, *in a con-* but have been since in a state of constant fluctuation, it being *stant fluctuation.* a constant policy of these last-named monarchs to suffer their tributary kings to war against, and encroach upon, each other, to depose some, if grown too powerful and obnoxious, and divide their territories between two or three of their favourites, and erect each into kingdoms or principalities; at other times, to join two or more into one, as suits best their interest or humour, but always with a view of preventing their growing too strong, and shaking off their allegiance; which hath been often the case heretofore under the daïro's, and is sometimes still under the cubo's, as will be seen in the sequel.

THESE kingdoms are again divided into provinces, and the provinces into so many districts; both which are likewise in a constant fluctuation, and at one time belonging to one prince, by-and-by to another, and still from the same cause, and with the same views; for which reason, we shall not say more of them here, but confine ourselves to one remarkable one, which takes in almost the whole island, and is styled, by the *Japanese* books, the *Gokinai*, or *Goka-kokf*, or five provinces of the imperial revenue; because the whole revenue of them is appropriated to the maintenance of the emperor and his court.

1. THE first is called *Jamafia-jro*, extends about 100 *Ja-The five* *panese* miles, from north to south; hath a fertile soil, several *provinces* considerable cities and towns, and is divided into eight di- *appropriated to the* stricts. 2. *Jamatto*, alias *Vos-tu*, of about the same extent *imperial* and fertility, and divided into fifteen districts; it had for- *revenue.* merly many considerable cities, great part of which are gone since into decay. 3. *Kasju*, or *Kavatju*, of about two days journey extent, tolerable good soil, and fifteen districts. 4. *Idsumo*, alias *Sensju*, a large, though not very fertile, tract, extending 100 *Japanese*, or 250 of our miles, from south to west; it is bounded by the sea on one side, and a ridge of mountains on the other; it hath plenty of fish, corn, and pulse, and is divided into three districts. 5. *Sit-zu*, *Siz-ju*, alias *Tfino-kuni*, extending itself about two days and a half journey in length, from south to north, the former situate on a considerable bay, and in a warm climate, abounding with variety of pulse, fish, and salt, and reckoned a plentiful country; it is divided into thirteen districts<sup>c</sup>. Which, with those of the other four provinces, amount, in all, to

<sup>c</sup> KÆMPFER, ubi supra, c. 5.

Principal  
cities.

Meaco de-  
scribed.

A noble  
bridge.

fifty-four, each of which hath its capital, besides a number of other considerable towns, which we have no room to mention. The four principal cities in this island are, *Meaco*, *Jeddo*, *Osacca*, *Gurunga*, and *Saccaï*.

*MEACO*, or rather *Miaco*, so styled on account of its being the antient metropolis of the whole empire, and the residence of the antient and present daïro's (C), is situate near the middle of the southern coast, in a fertile and spacious plain, surrounded, at some distance, by delightful high mountains, which yield a most noble prospect to the town, and country about it, they being, for the most part, covered with stately temples, monasteries, burying-places, and pleasure-houses, all of them surrounded and adorned with gardens, orchards, and the greatest variety of verdure, watered by a vast number of rivulets which come down from those mountains. Three rivers, the largest and deepest of which springs from the great lake *Omi*, or *Oitz*, and the other two from the adjacent hills above-mentioned, after having crossed some part, unite their waves in the centre of the city, where a noble bridge, about 200 paces long, is built over them. Thence bending their stream towards the south-west, after a course of about twenty or thirty miles, fall into the large bay of *Osacca*. Hence the city is divided into upper and lower, the former of which was by far the noblest, on account of the vast concourse of the quality, who then resided in it, as well as of the daïro's palace and court, which is situate on the

(C) The word *Miaco* signifies a city, and is here emphatically used, to express its metropolitan dignity, as the *Romans* styled their capital *urbs* (3). But tho' it hath still continued to be the residence of the daïro's, who keep a magnificent court in it, yet it is considerably decayed from its pristine grandeur and largeness not only by the removal of so great a part of its glory, viz. all the tributary kings, princes, nobles, and grandees, to the other capital of *Jeddo*, where the emperor resides, but much more so by the devastations it suffered during the civil wars, when the greatest part

was reduced to ashes by the cubo's troops (4). It was indeed rebuilt not long after, but in nothing so grand and splendid a manner. The greatest part of its palace were left to go to decay, and others, which had been destroyed by the wars, were never rebuilt; because the owners of them were obliged to reside at the court of *Jeddo*. We are likewise told, that some parts of the city were never rebuilt. So that from 180,000 houses, which it contained when in its full splendor, it had, in the time of the missionaries being there, not above 100,000 (5).

(3) *Kampfer, ubi supra, lib. v. c. 9. pag.*

(4) See before, p. 11. G. & alib.

(5) Vide Epist. Xaver. Maffei, Froes, Varen. & al.

north side of it, and divided from it by a high wall and broad ditch, and of which we shall give a sketch by-and-by. On the western side of the city stands a noble stout castle, all of square stones, and formerly built for the security of the *dairo's*, during the civil wars. It still serves as a palace for the *cubo's*, or emperors, when they pay their visits of homage to the *dairo*, and all the rest of the time is kept by a small garrison, with a commander at their head. It is about 600 yards in length, and surrounded with two ditches, the one dry, the other full, and abounding with fish, particularly carp, of a delicious kind. In the center of the castle stands a tower, of a considerable height, which commands the whole city, and parts adjacent.

THIS twofold city appears, by the stately high walls of it, to have been about twenty miles in length, and nine or ten in breadth, when in its full splendor; besides its large suburbs, and the imperial palace, which is a city by itself, and divided from the rest. The streets are generally narrow, but long and strait, and so full of inhabitants, that, upon a public account being taken of them, according to their several sects, the whole amount was found to be near 500,000, exclusive of the several thousands that compose the *dairo's* court, and a much greater number of bonzas, nuns, and other recluses, who, on another list taken of the city, were found to amount to above 52,000, and the rest of the inhabitants to 477,557, in all 529,726, exclusive still of the *dairo's* court, and of an infinite multitude of strangers, who flock to it from all parts of the empire<sup>d</sup>.

WE have already mentioned its university, and stately colleges, both within and without the walls, and at small distances from it<sup>e</sup>. The number of its temples is much greater, and some of them even magnificent beyond conception<sup>f</sup>. The number of those that belong to the *Budſſo* sect or religion, which is that which was introduced hither from *China*, and other parts, amounts to no less than 3893, small and great ones included, and those belonging to the *Sintos*, or antient religion, to 2127; princely palaces are reckoned 157; streets 1858; bridges 87; and houses 138,979<sup>g</sup>. This, as well as the estimate of the men, women, children, ecclesiastics, &c. is taken once a year, and the sects each belong to, with great exactness; a sample of one of which may be seen in the

<sup>d</sup> KÆMPFER, lib. ii. cap. 5. Vide & VAREN. lib. i. cap. 22. CARON, FROES, & al. Vide & Epist. XAVER. &c. <sup>e</sup> See before, p. 19. & seq. <sup>f</sup> Ibid. p. 20. & seq. <sup>g</sup> Vide KÆMPFER, lib. v. cap. 9.

*Private  
houses.*

margin (D). As to the private houses, they are but low, not above two stories high, mostly built of wood covered over with clay and lime, and but slightly thatched. Most of them have either a reservoir, or some troughs full of water, with proper vessels and conveyances for extinguishing fire, to which they are very liable. In other respects, they commonly are neat, plain, and convenient, and scarcely one of them, either in the city or suburbs, that doth not deal in some sort of commodity or other. So that, notwithstanding its great decay, on the accounts above-mentioned, it is still the grand storehouse of all the manufactures of Japan, and

*Fast trade.*

(D) *Kämpfer* hath given us That which follows was in the one or two of those *Aratames* twelfth year of the reign of the numberings, which were taken Emperor *Kinshin*, anno 1675; during his abode among them. and is as follows:

*A List of all the Religions and Sects professed at Miaco; together with the Number of Persons belonging to each.*

	Persons.
1. Of the <i>su</i> or sect of <i>Ten-dai</i> } — — — 1,009	
2. ————— of <i>Singon</i> — — — 18,095	
3. ————— of <i>Sen</i> — — — 16,058	
4. ————— of <i>Riffin</i> — — — 9,998	
5. ————— of <i>Fosso</i> — — — 4,513	
6. ————— of <i>Fokke</i> — — — 97,728	
7. ————— of <i>Sico-dofui</i> — — — 159,113	
8. ————— of <i>Dai-nembudsu</i> — — — 289	
9. ————— of <i>Nis-fonguan</i> — — — 54,586	
10. ————— of <i>Fogas-fonguan</i> — — — 99,016	
11. ————— of <i>Bukkuwo</i> — — — 8,576	
12. ————— of <i>Takkadā</i> — — — 7,576	
13. ————— of the <i>Jammabos</i> , or moun- } tain priests — — — — — } 6,073	
14. ————— of the <i>Siukke</i> , or priests of } the <i>Budsto</i> religion — — — — — } 37,093	

So that the whole amount of the sectaries came to 477,557 persons, and the priests, or ecclesiastics, to 52,169 (6), besides above 9000 *Negi*, or secular persons attending the temples. All that needs be added, to explain what is said above, is, that the twelve first are sects which take their names from some of their gods, or princi-

pal temples; and the *Jammabos* and *Siukke*, are regular monks, living reclude from the world, the former in monasteries built on mountains and retired places, the latter in plains, cities, towns, &c. So that the two latter orders are different from the bonzas, or priests belonging to the twelve first sects.

of all foreign and home merchandizes, and the principal seat of their commerce. Here they refine their metals, and coin *Variety of* their money, print books, and carry on all sorts of manu-*ware.* factures; here they weave and dye the finest and richest silks and stuffs, make and sell the most beautiful japan work, porcelain, musical instruments, paintings, carvings, all sorts of gold, silver, and copper work, in the greatest perfection, but more particularly steel of the finest temper and curious workmanship; all sorts of gowns, and other dresses, ready made for both sexes, and an infinite variety of toys and trinkets: in a word, there is hardly any kind of commodity but is to be sold there, nor any sort of ingenious workmanship which they will not imitate. In this, as in most other trading cities *Govern-* of the east, every trade hath its own particular street, ward, *ment.* or quarter; if they be too numerous, every one under their proper officers and inspectors; who are all accountable to the grand minister or president of justice, as he is there styled, and is a person of the greatest authority in the whole empire, next to that of the emperor. He always resides in the city, where he has a magnificent palace in one of the finest parts of it; all the grandees, governors, and other officers, who have posts in any of the imperial cities, revenue, &c. are under his inspection and authority, and he alone is the judge and moderator of all the differences that happen between them.

Of all the sumptuous edifices of this metropolis, the dairo's *Dairo's* palace is by far the largest and most magnificent, and is a kind *palace.* of city by itself, being situate on an eminence on the north side of the town, and surrounded with stately walls flanked with high towers, and with a double, some say a treble, ditch, of a considerable breadth and depth. The inside consists of twelve or thirteen streets, or double rows of buildings, in which his court reside. In the centre are his own, and his wives and childrens apartments, all built and furnished in the grandest manner, and embellished with gardens, orchards, summer-houses, terraces, and every thing that is curious and rich in art and nature, exclusive of what travellers are apt to add of their own<sup>a</sup>. In the centre of the whole, as well as in that of the castle, is a stately tower, with seven or eight stories, much like those of the *Chinese* formerly described<sup>b</sup>, except that they do not decline so gradually in their thickness, but are broader, and more squat, in proportion to their height.

<sup>a</sup> See it described in our English Atlases, Dutch Embassy, VARENIUS, and others. <sup>b</sup> See before, vol. viii. p. 291.

*MEACO* is situate in the province of *Jamatto*, in latitude  $45^{\circ} 38'$ , or, according to others,  $46^{\circ}$ ; east longitude,  $138^{\circ} 15''$ , and about 276 miles west from *Jeddo*\*.

**Jeddo** *described.* *JEDDO*, *Jedo*, or *Yeddo*, the other metropolis of *Japan*, since the cubo's, or crown generals, gained the supreme civil power, is situate in a fine spacious plain in the province of *Musashi*, and at the end of a large bay of its own name, famed for its vast plenty of fish, particularly its excellent lobsters, crabs, and other shell-fish; but so shallow, as to admit of no ship of any bulk to come up to the city, they being forced

*Vast commerce.* to unlade about a league or two below it. It is in all other respects the most considerable city in all *Japan*, not only for its richness and vast commerce, but for its largeness and population,

who, with their numerous trains and families, swell up the court, city, and suburbs, to an incredible number. The city, towards the bay, forms the figure of a crescent; and is affirmed by the *Japanese* to be seven of their miles long, five

*Compass.* broad, and twenty in circumference (E). It is not inclosed with any walls; but, instead of them, is, like most other

*Canals and ramparts.* cities in *Japan*, intersected with many large canals and broad ditches, with high ramparts on both sides, and planted with rows of trees, not so much for defence or ornament, as to prevent the spreading of those dreadful conflagrations to which it is frequently subject; only towards the castle those ramparts are observed to be shut up by strong gates, where they probably serve likewise for a defence against any assault from the city.

*River.* *JEDDO* stands on the large river of *Tonkag*, which runs from the west, through it, into the haven, and there discharges itself by five different streams, each of which hath a bridge over it; whilst a considerable branch of it surrounds the castle, and fills its ditches with water. The most considerable of the bridges above-mentioned is called *Niphonbas*, or the bridge of *Japan*; and from it all the roads, and distances

*Principal bridge.*

\* KÆMPFER, VAREN. RICCI, & al.

(E) The *Japan* miles are still much larger, viz. above above double the length of our 20 of our miles in length, 15 common ones, four of theirs making about ten of ours; so that in breadth, and almost 60 in compass. Most authors, who *Jeddo* must be above 17 of these have copied after him, do indeed take him in this latter sense; but, if our author meant *Dutch* but we rather think that he leagues by them (7), it will be speaks of those of *Japan*.

(7) Conf. Kæmpfer, Caren, Varen, Ricci, & al. sup. citat.

of places, in the empire, are taken. It is about 250 yards long, and is laid over that branch of the river which surrounds the castle, and thence opens on both sides into a fine long street fifty paces broad, which crosses the whole city, and is always thronged with people of all forts, and with some of the highest quality of both sexes, richly dressed, and carried through it in their chairs and palankins.

THE city is populous, and the number of the natives, foreigners, and ecclesiastics, is almost incredible; neither can it be well otherwise, considering the multitudes of nobles and officers of all ranks and posts that compose the imperial court, but more especially the families of all the princes of the empire who reside there almost all the year round, with numerous retainers suitable to their quality; whilst those princes themselves are permitted to absent themselves from court only six months in the year, to go and take care of their hereditary dominions; after which they are obliged to return, and spend the remainder of the year in that capital. *Jeddo* is not near so regularly built as *Meaco*, and other cities of *Japan*, because it swelled up by degrees to its present bulk since the cubo's began to make it their chief residence. However, as a great part of it hath been rebuilt since the various conflagrations it hath undergone, and the other devastations made to it by earthquakes, mentioned in a former section, the streets are become more regular, wide, and handsome; the far greater part of them cutting each other at right angles, and the palaces, temples, monasteries, and other public buildings, being since built more answerably to them, as well as in a more beautiful style. We shall say the less here of the latter edifices, which, though they are very numerous, are built so like those of *Meaco*, and others elsewhere described<sup>1</sup>, that it were needless to enlarge upon them. As to the palaces, which must be supposed to be here in great number, they are separated from other houses by large court-yards and stately gates, a flight of steps elegantly wrought and varnished leading to the porch. The building is divided into a great variety of apartments all on a floor, and not above one story high, and some of them very magnificent, but without any of those high and stately towers which adorn their castles and palaces in their own hereditary dominions. One singularity they all have, that the principal gate is always kept shut up, and is styled the emperor's gate; the reason of which is, that, as soon as a new palace is built, that monarch is invited thither to a grand entertainment;

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 20. & seq.



and, upon his going away, that gate is, out of respect to him, kept shut ever after.

*Private  
houses.*

As to the private houses, they are chiefly low and mean without, though neat and convenient within : they are mostly built of fir-wood, covered over with thin clay, adorned and divided in the inside with paper screens and lattice windows ; the floors covered with clean mats, and the roofs with wood shavings, so that the whole fabric is hardly any thing but a composition of combustibles, which makes them liable to be set on fire, and obliges the people to keep vessels always full of water on the top of their roofs, and a good number of firemen with their prongs, hooks, &c. to patrol all the night.

*Imperial  
palace.*

THE most stately edifice of all, not only in this city, but in the whole empire, is the imperial palace, especially as it hath been rebuilt since that terrible fire mentioned elsewhere, which had reduced it to ashes. It stands pretty near the centre of the town ; and is of an irregular figure, rather round than square or oblong, and computed about five *Japan* miles, or

*Threefold  
cincture.*

between eleven and twelve of ours. It consists of three inclosures, or, as our author chuses to call them, forecastles, the third and innermost of which is that where the emperor resides, and hath some large and noble gardens behind, embellished with every thing that is beautiful, and suitable to such a place ; the other two, which are strong, and well fortified, but smaller on the sides, and have likewise their gardens and other ornaments, are occupied by the rest of his court, and the princes and lords that compose it ; and these may be properly enough styled three castles, as they are divided from each other, and surrounded each by their particular cincture of walls and ditches.

*First cin-  
cture.*

THE first or outward cincture, which takes in such a large space of ground as to inclose the second, and part of the third, or imperial palace, consists of a great number of streets, in which stand the palaces of the princes of the empire, large and finely built, with spacious courts shut up by stout and heavy gates, within which they live with their families and retinues ; and the whole group of streets or fabrics is inclosed within its own walls, ditches, drawbridges, &c. the

*Second cin-  
cture.*

gates of which are kept by a constant guard. The second takes up a much smaller spot of ground than the first, and fronts the third, in which the emperor resides, and is likewise separate from the other two by walls, ditches, &c. The guard of this second is much stronger, and more numerous, than that of the first, and in it reside the greatest princes, ministers, and other officers, of the empire, who are all obliged to pay a more immediate attendance on the emperor.

THE

THE third cincture, or imperial palace, properly so called, *Third, or* stands higher than the other two, and on the top of an *imperial* eminence made flat on purpose for this large fabric to be built *residence.* on it. It is inclosed with a thick and strong wall of free-stone, flanked with saliant angles not unlike our *European* bastions. The wall is supported on the inside by a rampart *Ramparts.* of earth raised against it; and the top of it is adorned with several long buildings, high square towers, and other guard rooms. The structures, on that side where the emperor resides, are of uncommon strength, being all built of free-stone of extraordinary size, barely laid on one another without mortar or cement, or braces of iron, to join them together (F). Within the centre of this inclosure a square white tower rises aloft above all the other edifices, which is many stories high, adorned with roofs, doors, windows, galleries, and other embellishments, particularly bended roofs projecting out from the building, with dragons, dolphins, and other creatures, at the angles and top, which make the whole fabric at a distance look altogether magnificent, and amazing to the beholder; especially as every palace within the whole imperial cincture is covered with gold, or perhaps rather with tiles finely gilt, which makes the vast fabric look like a mountain of that bright metal. On the side of this stupendous building is a second *Second and* castle, but vastly smaller, and built more like a citadel, and without any ornaments on the outside. It hath but one gate and one passage, and that is from the emperor's palace over a high and long bridge. A third castle stands by the side of *third castle* this second, and much of the same structure with it, and both are strongly inclosed with lofty walls surrounded with deep ditches, filled by the great river. In these two last *for the* castles are kept the princes and princesses of the imperial *wives, &c.* family, the emperor's queens, or wives of the second rank, and all his concubines, all in their separate rich apartments; the empress, and wives of the first rank, being the only ones who are admitted to have apartments within the grand or imperial inclosure. Behind this imperial cincture rises still a *Noble gar-* delightful gradual eminence, adorned with magnificent *dens, and* gardens, orchards, terraces, and other embellishments, according to the country *fashion,* the top of which is terminated by *wood be-* *hind.*

(F) This is done to prevent whole strong walls from receiving any considerable damage from the frequent shocks and earth-

quakes to which this island, and especially that part of it, is subject (8).

(8) *Confer Kempfer, Caron, Va. en. Ricci, & al. sup. citat.*

a pleasant wood planted with plane-trees of two different but curious kinds, whose starry leaves, variegated with yellow, red, and green, yield a most delightful prospect, especially as they are said to be in their full beauty, the one in the spring, and the other in autumn.

*Stately  
apart-  
ments.*

THE palace itself hath but one story, but exceeding lofty. It takes in a large space of ground, and hath several long galleries, and stately rooms, which, upon putting on or taking off the screens which make the partitions between them, may be enlarged, or brought into a smaller compass, at pleasure; and are so contrived, as to receive at all times a sufficient quantity of light. The principal apartments are distinguished by their proper names, such as *the hall of attendance*, where all that are to be admitted to audience either of the emperor, or his prime minister, are to wait till they be introduced; *the council-chamber*, where his chief counsellors meet; *the hall of 1000 mats*, where the emperor receives the homage of all his tributary and vassal princes, and the ambassadors of foreign ones; the several *halls of audience*, the apartments for the emperor, his family, household, &c. Thus much may suffice for a taste of the outside of this magnificent structure, on which we may the more safely depend, as each part above described lies open to every eye, and may be easily viewed from the adjacent hills and towers. But with relation to the inside of it, the structure, symmetry, ornaments, furniture, &c. of those numerous and sumptuous apartments, we cannot have the same reliance on the descriptions which we meet with in most authors, because the entrance into them is forbidden not only to all strangers, except to ambassadors and persons in public character, but likewise to the natives, except to the emperor's ministers, and those who belong to his court, and both of them admitted only to such apartments as are appropriated to their character or office, as the former to the great hall of audience; and the latter to the council-chamber, and other offices belonging to their respective posts. For that reason we shall only venture to give our readers a short sketch in the margin (G), of what those writers have said

*Rich fur-  
niture, &c.  
within.*

(G) The hall of audience, where ambassadors are admitted to the emperor's presence, is a most lofty and sumptuous edifice, the roof of which is either plated or covered with gold and silver of exquisite workmanship. It is supported by stately

pillars of a considerable height, beautifully carved and painted. The throne is one of the most magnificent that can be imagined, being all of massy gold, according to some, or plated over with it in the most elegant manner, and enriched with pearls,

said of it, that carries the face of probability; for, though we need not doubt but the inside of that immense and sumptuous fabric is in every degree answerable to the outside, and to the pomp and grandeur of those monarchs; yet, as to the particulars of it, we cannot but think that they have given us a great part of them upon very slender authority; however, we may conclude, that they are in general very grand, and of exquisite materials and workmanship, according to the architecture of the country. The ciplings, pillars, stairs, galleries, &c. are of cedar, camphire, or of jeseri-wood, the grain whereof naturally forms itself into flowers, birds, landscapes, and other curious figures, which are therefore covered only with a thin transparent varnish; whilst others are finely carved, painted, and gilt, or overlaid with some of their finest japan. This palace was not built till the reign of *Tayko*, By whom who took upon him the supreme civil authority about the year 1600. It hath been since then the residence of his successors, the fifth of whom from the emperor *Jejas*, head of the then reigning family, was on the throne when our author was there, who reckons them in the following order: 1. *Jejai*, who, after his death, was called *Gonjin*; 2. *Teytokwin*,

*Rich materials and fine symmetry.*

by stout iron bars and gates, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, of surprising bigness, and inestimable value. The tapestry is of the finest silk, wrought by the most curious hands, and adorned with pearls, gold, and silver, and other costly embellishments.

The areas between each court, some of which are large enough to marshal a small army, are adorned with statues, high towers, galleries, fountains, waterworks, and other decorations; and that which is before the third, or innermost court, hath a noble spacious theatre, on which plays are frequently acted for the diversion of the court. Two strong rooms are said to be within that cincture, in which the immense treasures of those monarchs are kept; and these are secured from fire and thieves

and roofs of solid copper.

The apartments belonging to the princes of the blood, to the tributary princes, nobles, &c. are no less magnificent in their furniture and ornaments, as well as structure, each striving to outdo the rest in the richness and grandeur of them, as well as in the splendidence of their retinue; it being looked upon as a mark of high respect to their monarch, to make the noblest appearance they can, according to their rank; so that, to conclude this description, the whole imperial inclosure, with all its various courts, palaces, and apartments, looks like a city within itself, inhabited only by kings, princes, and persons of the highest rank (9).

(9) *Confer Kampfer, Caron, Varen. Ricci, & al. sup. citat.*

the son of *Jejas*; 3. *Daijojin*, the son of *Teytokwint*; 4. *Genjojin*, the son of *Daijojin*; and, 5. *Tsinajos*, the brother's son of *Genjojin*, who was then reigning. And thus much may serve to give an idea of the imperial palace<sup>m</sup>.

Govern-  
ment of  
the city.

*JEDDO* hath two chief governors, who take the command of the town by turns, each for the space of one year; next to them are the burgomasters, as our author styles them, who have the government of some particular quarters of the city; and under these are the *Ottomas*, who preside over every street, or over a certain number of tradesmen, handicraftsmen, &c. In other respects their government is much the same with that of most other large cities in the empire, already described<sup>n</sup>. This city and suburbs are a nursery of artists and handicraftsmen, of tradesmen and merchants, of all sorts. It hath variety of noble markets; and the streets abound with open shops, richly furnished with all sorts of merchandizes, and other wares; but these, as well as most kinds of provisions, are sold much dearer than in any other city in the empire, partly on account of the prodigious concourse of people that flock thither from all parts, and the vast number of idle monks and courtiers with which it swarms; and partly also from the difficulty of importing most commodities and necessaries thither. It stands in 35° 48' of north latitude, and 144° 10' of east longitude.

Sacca de-  
scribed.

*OSACCA* is the most considerable city, next to the two capitals above described, for riches, grandeur, and populousness, being most conveniently situate near the mouth of the river *Jedogawa*, about fifteen leagues below *Meaco*, in the province of *Setzu*, and is esteemed one of the most considerable sea-ports in the whole empire. It is between four and five miles in length, and three in breadth; and so populous, that it is able to raise an army of 80,000 men barely from among its inhabitants. It swarms with tradesmen and artificers of all kinds; hath a vast number of rich merchants settled in it, besides a great many nobility and gentry, who live in one of the most pleasant parts of it on the other side of the river above-mentioned, and is consequently filled with the finest houses and small palaces. The *Jedogawa*, which is here about as broad as our *Thames* at *London* bridge, hath its spring from the lake *Oomi*, or *Oits*, lately described; and, running through the towns of *Utzi* and *Jeddo*, takes its name from the latter; and, whilst one of its branches parts itself

Vast com-  
merce.

<sup>m</sup> See before, p. 27.

<sup>n</sup> See before, p. 77.

from

from it, and runs directly into the sea; the other continues its course towards *Osacca*, where it receives two other rivers, viz. the *Firano* and *Jamata*; and, continuing its course thro' that city, falls into the bay of its name, which is capacious *Port*. and deep enough to receive the largest vessels.

THE port is defended by a stout square castle on the north-east end, which was built by the emperor *Taycho*, so as to command both the city and river. The walls are strong and lofty, flanked with bastions and towers, supported by spurs of a considerable thickness, and are about an hour's walk in compass. It hath always a numerous garrison, and is commanded by two officers in greatest favour with the court, one of whom hath the care of the castle, in which are kept part of the emperor's treasure and stores, and the other presides over the garrison; but neither of them hath any thing to do with the government of the city, which hath its own governors and officers in the same form as that at *Jeddo*, and is kept under the same strict regulations as the other chief cities of the empire (H). *Osacca* abounds with all sorts of provisions, *Great* merchandizes, and diversions. The neighbouring country *plenty*. affords a sort of earth of a beautiful orange colour, with which they cover their houses, and great quantities of it are conveyed into other parts of the empire for the same purpose. *Osacca* is situate in north latitude  $35^{\circ} 50'$ , according to *Kämpfer*; but, according to others, in  $35^{\circ} 15'$ , and east longitude  $137^{\circ} 20'$ .

*SURUNGA*, *Suruga*, *Syringa*, capital of the province of *Surunga*. its name, is another maritime town with the imperial title,

(H) We cannot omit one singularity observed in this city, which is, that the watchmen, instead of telling the hours of the night, by striking the number of them with two wooden cylinders one against the other, as they do in other places, they make use here of a different instrument for every third individual hour. Thus the first hour after sun-set is signified by the beating of a drum; the second, by striking of a *gumgum*, or loud brass instrument like a bason; the third, by striking on a bell

with a wooden stick. At the first hour after midnight they again beat the drum; on the second, the *gumgum*; and, on the third, the bell. This third hour after midnight, or sixth hour of the night, always ends with the rising, as the first of all began with the setting, of the sun, which is in this respect the same all over the empire; so that the hours of the night are either longer or shorter, according to the season of the year (10).

(10) *Kämpfer*, *ubi supra*, lib. v. c. 9.

though it hath neither walls nor gates. What it is chiefly famed for, is, its having been once the residence of some of the cubos, or emperors, as it was when captain *Saris* was there, who says it was then as large as *London* and *Southwark*, and that the *English* were allowed to trade there; the suburb being chiefly then inhabited by merchants and tradesmen, whilst the quality and gentry chiefly resided in the city; and, though it hath been since left to go into decay, yet it still preserves some of its antient privileges, particularly that of coining gold and silver money, especially *Cobans* and *Itzebos*, the former worth about five, and the latter two, ducats. It hath a stout castle on the north-east side, of a square form, and well fenced with walls of free-stone, and ditches; and had a high stately tower, which, we are told, was since consumed by fire down to the ground (I). In this castle usually resided the emperor's eldest son, or, according to others, his eldest brother, who were governors of that and of the city; on which account the latter is by some authors styled *Sumpu*, and by others *Futzju*, both which are the names of the former. The last prince that seems to have lived in it was called *Tejimonani*, a natural son of the emperor *Genju*, who resided here, and had made him lord of it, and of the province; but, as he rebelled afterwards against his brother, then on the throne, *Anno* 1620, the castle was turned into his prison, where he put an end to a long confinement by ripping up his own bowels. From that time we are told the best of the inhabitants abandoned the place, which hath gone ever since into decay.

*SURUGA* stands in latitude  $35^{\circ} 22'$ , and east longitude  $142^{\circ} 30'$ .

*Saccai*. THE last city we shall take notice of in this island is *Saccai*, which some have taken to be the part of *Osacca* over the river we have lately mentioned, though it stands about four or five leagues distant from it. It is not only famed on account of its inhabitants, who boast themselves to be sprung from an-

\* KÆMPFER, ubi supra.

(I) This accident is said to have been caused by a quantity of pigeons dung being set on fire on the upper story of the tower, by the heat of the great number of those birds that were hatching their young there. This, it seems, was so common among them, and so many fires occasioned by it, that they have since taken all proper precautions to prevent their coming into their garrets, and upper parts of their towers, to lay their eggs (11).

(11) *Dutch Ambassy, Kæmpfer, lib. v. c. 11.*

tient

tient kings and princes of *Japan*; but also of its advantageous situation, having the sea on the west side, and the other three being surrounded with a wide deep ditch, except only that part which lies near the foot of the mountain, and which is defended by a high and stout stone wall. It hath moreover a *Stout* very strong castle on the top of the mountain, which hath no castles less than fifteen bastions, and is accessible only by a steep and narrow way, and commands both the city and parts adjacent. On the declivity of the mountain, on one side of the castle, *Towers* is a second fortress, whose walls are fifty feet high, and of hard stone; and on the other side of it stands a magnificent palace flanked with two lofty towers, the highest of which is nine stories high, and both ending in a point; this is the usual residence of the tributary princes of that territory.

OVER-AGAINST the harbour is the island called *Pie-nes*, *Small* famed not only for the beauty of its walks, to which crouds *island of* of people resort from the city, but for a deity worshipped *Pie-nes*. there, to which vast numbers of persons devote themselves; and, in the greatest formality, go from his temple to the sea- *A piece of* side, where they enter into a boat fitted for the purpose; and *horrid su-* then, launching into the deep, throw themselves overboard, *perdition.* and sink to the bottom through the weight of stones that are tied about them. The temple of that deity, which is called *Canon*, is very large and lofty, and so are many others in the city itself; one in particular, which is dedicated to the gods of other countries, and is thought one of the finest in the whole empire. Both the city and parts adjacent are full of such and other fine edifices, mostly built with stone, which the neighbouring mountains afford in great plenty; and adorned with lofty towers, which yield a noble prospect from the sea and land. And thus much may suffice for the great island of *Nippon*.

II. THE next in bigness and dignity is that of *Ximo* (K), *Island of* lying on the west end of that of *Nippon*, and divided from it *Ximo de-* scribed.

\* Dutch Ambass. CORNEL. Dist. sub voc.

(K) This island is also called from their capitals, and were *Bungo* from its capital; *Say-* formerly so many petty king- *hah*, or *western country*, from doms; but are now under a certain number of tributary *Kiu-siu*, or *the* princes, whose territories have been in a constant fluctuation, and circumscribed within no *land of nine*, because it is di- certain limits but the will of *vided into so many provinces;* viz. 1. *Bungo*; 2. *Fiungo*; 3. the emperors, as hath been for- *viz.* 1. *Bungo*; 2. *Fiungo*; 3. *Meruma*; 4. *Saxuma*; 5. *Fingo*; *6. Tsi-cungo*; 7. *Figen*; 8. *Chi-* *cugen*; and, 9. *Buigen*; every *one of which take their names*

(12) See before, p. 26.



only by a narrow chanel or streight, especially on the north-west side. It reaches from  $31^{\circ} 45'$  to almost  $35^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and from  $131^{\circ}$  to  $135^{\circ} 20'$  of east longitude, and is computed about 290 miles in circuit, exclusive of its creeks and bays. Its soil, air, climate, product, &c. are pretty much the same with what we have said of *Nippon*; and hath a considerable number of cities, besides the nine capitals mentioned in the last note, of which we know little else but their names and situation; the most considerable of which are *Bungo*, *Cangoxima*, and *Nangbazak*.

Chief-cities.

*Bungo*.

*BUNGO*, or, as some write it, *Boengo* or *Boungo*, though said to be the capital of the whole island, is scarcely mentioned in the church history of *Japan*, notwithstanding the surprising progress which Christianity is affirmed to have made in it; which it could hardly have omitted, had any king, or tributary prince, then resided in it; whilst it mentions others of less note; it is therefore most likely, that the royal residence was then removed on some account to the city of *Funiu*, of which it takes notice; and which *Caron*, and other *Dutch* writers, tell us was a city and castle, and the seat of a prince of this island.

*Cangoxima*.

*CANGOXIMA*, *Cangoxuma*, alias *Cogoxima*, situate on the most southern verge of the isle, is the very first sea-port the *Portuguese* landed at; and which they chose since to make the centre of their commerce, on account of its advantageous situation, and commodious harbour. There are indeed a great number of rocks at some distance from it, which render the entrance into it very dangerous; and upon one of them stands a noble stout castle built by *Ongoschio*, the grandfather of the emperor *Gongan*, or *Gangin*, with a view of securing the city, which is the key of the kingdom of *Saxuma*, and of the whole island, and to defend the road thither. It is built in the sea, and of large square stones, and is of a quadrangular form, with bastions not unlike our tetragons. At the entrance of the haven stands a square lighthouse, built on a very high rock, which is seen at above twenty miles distance off, at sea; and hath four or five balls on the top, one less than the other; and at the foot of the rock is a convenient road for ships to ride in.

Castle.

Lighthouse.

Quay.

Guard.

THE quay is guarded by a stout stone dyke, which runs quite into the sea, and hath a stone rampart breast-high, covered with copper. At one end of it are built two large wings, in each of which 500 men keep constant watch night and day, not only to guard the port, but to be a kind of check on the kings of *Saxuma*, who had often revolted, to avoid paying tribute to the emperor. The town is watered by

by a river which descends from the adjacent mountains into *River*. a canal made on purpose, in the heart of it, from which it falls with great rapidity into the sea. On the south side of *Public* the river is a stately building, or custom-house, where pass- *buildings*. engers pay a second custom, besides that which is paid at the first castle. Here are other large and sumptuous magazines belonging to the emperor, some of which are proof against fire. As for temples, they are as numerous and stately as in other great cities, one of which is in the centre of it, and is said to be full of riches, carried thither by one of the kings of *Saxuma*, who was forced to retire thither, and to turn monk, to save his life, for having refused to pay the usual tribute.

*CANGO XIMA* stands in north latitude  $31^{\circ} 42'$ , and east longitude  $133^{\circ} 16'$ .

THE last place of note in this island is *Nanghazak*, alias *Nangha-Nangazaki*, situate on the western coast of it, in the province *zak*. of *Figen*, or *Fifen*, and famed for being the only place in the whole *Japanese* empire where the *Dutch* are permitted to come and traffick. We have on another occasion given a sufficient account of their factory there, and the hard conditions on which they are allowed that liberty; but reserved the further description of the town and harbour to this place. It *Bay and* stands at the farther end of a deep commodious bay of its *harbour* name, and extends itself in the form of a crescent, which, *described*. together with the mountains which surround it on the land side, and which, though not considerably high and steep, are always verdant, yield a most delightful prospect as you approach it; especially as it is heightened by the many stately temples, and other sumptuous buildings, that are built on the top of those hills, and terminate the view in a most surprising manner. The mouth of the harbour, which lies north of the town, is narrow, and but few fathom deep, but grows wider and deeper as you sail farther in, till you come to a rocky island (L), which hath a good riding about it,

\* Dutch Ambass. CORNEL. Dicū sub voc. before, p. 52, & (B).

† See

(L) To this island, or rock, in the time of the persecution. which the *Japanese* call *Taka-jama*, and *Taka boko*, or *bamboe mountain*, the *Dutch* have given the name of *Papenberg*, on account of the many popish priests that are said to have been thrown from the top of it into the sea And near this island, where the harbour properly begins, is another small one, called by the *Japanese* *The burning-place of hostile ships*, because it was there that the ship sent by the *Portuguese* from *Msaco* was ordered to be

it, and at which all the ships bound from this port to *Batavia* come to anchor, to watch a proper time to sail out of the harbour; which might be done, with a good wind, in less than two hours, were it not for the many shoals, banks, rocks, &c. which make it both difficult and dangerous"; and to avoid which, the ships must steer westward, leaving the continent to the right, and so, sailing between some small islands, get out to the main. About half a mile from the town are two imperial guards opposite to each other, and inclosed with palisades, and consisting each of 700 men, including those that are upon duty. There are also several forts, built like bastions along the harbour, but have no cannon. The haven is long and deep, and seldom without 50 or 60 merchant-men. The sea rises from four and a half to six or seven fathoms; and the bottom is a stiff clay, which affords a firm anchorage.

*Two strong guards.*

*City described.*

THE city lies at the farther end of the harbour, where it spreads itself widest; but hath neither walls, castles, nor any other defence. The streets are neither strait nor wide, but commonly run up, and end in some temple. Three rivers run through the town, which descend from the neighbouring hills, the middlemost of which is the largest, and crosses it from east to west; the misfortune is, that they have scarcely water enough during a great part of the year to water their rice fields and gardens; though they swell to such a degree, after some long rains, as to sweep away whole houses with their fierce current. The town is divided into inner and outward, the former of which contains twenty-six, and the latter sixty-one, streets; in none of which strangers are suffered to dwell, but have particular suburbs allotted to them, where they are narrowly watched by the emperor's officers.

*Public buildings.*

THE chief public buildings in and about it are, 1. Five *Janagura's*, or large houses built of timber, not far from the shore, where are kept three imperial *Jonks*, or men of war, with all their tackle, ready to be launched at command. 2. The powder magazine, built on the shore, over-against the town; but, to prevent all accidents, a large vault hath been dug in the neighbouring hill, where the gunpowder is kept. 3. The palaces of the two residing governors, which take up a large

▪ KÆMPFER, Dutch Ambass. & al.

be burnt, with all its goods on board, Anno 1642 (13); ever since that time this island hath been made use of for executions of criminals, &c.

(13) *Kampfer, ubi supra, lib. ix. c. 2.*

spot

spot of ground, and stand somewhat higher than the streets; they are strong, regular, and well guarded. 4. The palaces of about twenty other princes and grandees of the first and second rank, some of whom constantly reside there, and others only on particular occasions. 5. About sixty-two temples within and without the city, most of them stately built on eminences, and serve not only to devotion, but also for recreation; they being surrounded with fine shady walks, and fragrant verdure, to which the people resort for the sake of the fresh air, and fine vistas they afford. 6. Their bridges, in number thirty-five, twenty of them of stone, and the rest of timber, all plain and strong. 7. The *Goknia*, Prison, or hell, called also *Roja*, or the cage or common prison, standing near the middle of the town, and consisting of about 100 small and large huts or cages, separate from each other, wherein prisoners are kept, and accommodated according to their rank, or the nature of their crimes; other apartments, where they are either put to the torture, or privately executed; places for them to wash themselves in, and such-like (M). 8. The brothel, which consists of two handsome streets,

(M) These prisons, in most maritime towns, besides criminals of state, have commonly between 60 and 100 prisoners, mostly either smugglers or Christians. The former of these two they execute as soon as convicted; and so they do the latter, if strangers; but, if natives, they only confine them in those huts above-mentioned, where they are kept at hard labour and short commons, and where they prefer a miserable life, rather than renounce that little Christianity they have been taught, for the greatest part of them know little more than the bare names of our Redeemer and his mother, and of a few saints, to whom they present such prayers as they have been taught; and it is, it seems, in mere pity to their ignorance that the government hath abated so much of the severity of the laws against them.

They are permitted, or rather obliged, however, to come out of their huts at least six times in a year, to wash and air themselves in apartments built for that purpose, to prevent sickness and infection, and may be released whenever they abjure their religion, but there are few such examples to be heard of. Those prisons are kept very strictly, and as neat and healthy as possible; most of the prisoners, except great criminals, are allowed to air themselves for some time every day, and the rest of the time are confined to their separate cells or apartments. The women have one square court of the same nature built for them, with which no men have any communication, except through a grate, and with permission first obtained from the governor (14).

(14) *Kämpfer, lib. iv. c. 7: vid. & Caron, Varen. & al.*

shut up at each end by strong gates, where women are kept to be hired either by natives or foreigners; and, being bought young, and brought up under the old ones who are past service, are taught to dance, sing, play on instruments, write, work, &c.

*Private  
houses.*

THE houses are low and mean, though well filled with inhabitants, who are mostly merchants, tradesmen, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, brewers, &c. The manufactures of the town are not near so good here as they are in other parts of the empire, except what is wrought in gold and silver, and designed for exportation, which, we are told, is made with a much better taste, and more curious workmanship. Most merchandizes here sell dearer than in other parts, and so do their victuals, tho' they are plentifully supplied with all kinds; the country about furnishing them with fruits, pulse, and herbage; the sea with fish; and the neighbouring countries with cattle, grain, and other provisions; but their water though clear and well-tasted, is apt here, as well as in most other parts of the empire, to cause very violent and painful colics, such as we have elsewhere described.

*Adjacent  
country.*

NANGHAZAKI stands in latitude  $32^{\circ} 36'$ , and east longitude  $131^{\circ} 22'$ . And thus much shall suffice for the island of Ximo<sup>w</sup>.

*Island of  
Xicoko.*

III. THE last considerable island, though much less than that of Ximo last described, is called Xicoko (N), and lies between that on the west, and the great one of Nippon on the east. It is almost of a square figure, and extends itself from  $33^{\circ} 20'$  to  $35^{\circ} 6'$  north latitude, and from  $134^{\circ} 24'$  to  $136^{\circ} 40'$ . Its circumference, exclusive of its bays and creeks, is computed to be about 190 miles, and its climate, product, &c. much the same with the great one at Nippon. It hath several commodious ports round it, and many towns in the

<sup>w</sup> KEMPFFER, Dutch Ambass. & al.

(N) The name of Xicoco, or rather Xicocoff, signifies in their language *The country of four*; and is given to it on account of the four chief districts or provinces of which it consists. It is also called *Tonfa*, or rather *Tofa*, from one of its largest provinces, once perhaps the head kingdom of the four, as it is also called *Tokocsi*, or rather

*Sanokoi*, and *Jio*, or more properly *Hiu*, from two other provinces, then perhaps the most considerable. Lastly, it hath the name of *Ava* from the capital of a fourth province of that name, and now the most considerable maritime town in it, if not the metropolis of the whole island (15).

(15) *Kempfer, Caron, Varen. & al. ubi supra.*

inland,

inland, besides the capitals of the four provinces mentioned in the last note, but of which we know little except their situation and names, and so need not dwell longer upon them<sup>2</sup>.

NEXT to the three large ones above-mentioned, there is a *Other* prodigious number and variety of smaller ones, some inhabited, *small* and others desert, all around the coasts of *Japan*; but very *islands*. few of which are described, or indeed more than barely mentioned, by travellers, and the maps of that country; whilst others, we are told in general, are large enough to maintain a governor, and to yield not only corn, fruits, cattle, rice, sugar, and other provisions, but likewise to produce variety of metals, minerals, precious stones, quarries of marble, and such other valuable commodities.

THE only one worth our notice is that of *Firando*, which *Firando*. the *Dutch* at first pitched upon to be their principal settlement. *Dutch* It is situate near the western coasts of the island of *Ximo*, *factory*. extending itself from about 33° 20' to almost 34 degrees of north latitude, and lying between the 131° and 132° of east longitude; and, though much smaller than many others around these coasts, is honoured with the title of kingdom. It hath a port of its name, which, though narrow, and somewhat dangerous at its first entrance, is yet large, and commodious enough within to contain a large number of vessels, and to shelter them from all winds. It owes indeed its first *Fine new* rise to the *Dutch* fixing their grand staple in it, and building *buildings*. their magazines, fine houses, and some fortresses, upon it; by which, and other improvements, it became so considerable for its commerce, and great resort, that from one street, which it had at first, it had got above forty, most of them large and well built. Not content with this, they began to pull down some of their old magazines, which were only of timber, and gone to decay, in order to build new ones of stone. This happened in 1640, when the emperor began to suspect them of some private views of designing them rather for forts than magazines; whereupon an order was *Dutch* immediately sent to them to quit the island, and to confine *driven out*. themselves to their factory at *Nanghazaki* <sup>3</sup>.

THE rest of the island hath nothing considerable in it, ex- *Stately*. cept its castle, a noble and stately edifice, formerly belonging *castle*. to *Firandono*, brother to the then king of the island. It stands on an eminence, in the midst of a spacious plain; and hath a noble bridge leading and reaching quite to the

<sup>2</sup> KÆMPFER, Dutch Ambass. & al.      <sup>3</sup> Ibidem, & CORNEL. DIŒ. &c.

first court of it, and is defended at each end by a guard of arquebusers. It is seen at a great distance at sea, by reason of its advantageous situation, and much more on account of its lofty tower, which is several stories high, each decreasing in breadth and height as they rise upwards, from the lowest. On the sides of the castle are eight gates, with each a flight of steps leading to it. At the foot of the hill on which the castle stands are seen four pavilions or cupolas, answering to its four angles; and from each of which runs a gallery to the other, supported by a row of pillars<sup>2</sup>.

Liqueio  
or Riuhu  
islands.

THE *Liqueois* islands, or, as *Kämpfer* also calls them, *Riuhu*, are, as we have elsewhere hinted, a chain of them, reaching from that of *Ximo* to that of *Formosa*, or from the 24th to the 26th degree of north latitude. They are in great number, but only six of them are of any considerable bigness, and take their name from the biggest, called *The great Liqueio*, or *Lé-quio*. They are supposed to have been first peopled by the *Chinese*, because the inhabitants mostly speak their language, though corruptly; but were conquered by the king of *Saxuma*, one of the tributary kings, of the isle of *Ximo*, to the emperor of *Japan*, with whose capital alone, of all the *Japanese* sea-ports, they are allowed to traffick. They likewise pay a tribute to that prince, besides a yearly present they send to the emperor of *China*, with whose subjects they likewise carry on a considerable trade. But we do not find that they make any present, or pay any tribute, to that of *Japan*, tho' in some measure subject to him.

Their com-  
merce with  
Japan and  
China.

THE goods they commonly import into *Saxuma* are silks, cottons, stuffs, and other commodities, which they bring over from *China*, as also some products of their own, such as corn, rice, fruit, pulse, *awamuri*, which is a strong spirit made out of the remainder of their crop; mother of pearl, and a variety of other shells, those in particular called cowries, which pass in several parts of *India* for current coin. Another sort they calcine, or prepare into a kind of white varnish, with which the boys and girls paint themselves; and a third sort of flat shell polished very thin and transparent, which the *Japanese* use instead of glass, or oiled silk, for their windows, besides some scarce flowers, roots, and plants, esteemed by the *Japanese*, which we have no room to enumerate, all which they transport in their own jonks, or small vessels. However, according to the *Japan* laws, this trade should not exceed the value of 150,000 thails, or crowns, *per year*, beyond which nothing should be bought or sold; but it plainly appears, that

<sup>2</sup> KÄMPFER, Dutch Ambass. CORNELI, & al. sup. citat.

they dispose of much greater cargoes, through the connivance of the *Japanese* directors of that trade, who find their *Inhabitants* account in it <sup>a</sup>. The rest of the inhabitants of these islands are either husbandmen or fishermen, who are good-natured and affable, lead a merry life, diverting themselves with music, dancing, and drinking of their rice-beer; and, if we may believe the *Japanese*, some of their islands are so fertile, that they yield rice harvests twice a year. As for their religion or government, we know but little of it, only that they acknowledge the king of *Saxuma* for their sovereign; yet, like the *Hereditary Japanese* and *Tonquinese*, they have a *Daye*, or ecclesiastical *high-hereditary* monarch, whom they affirm to be descended from *priest*. the gods of their country, and pay him a suitable respect: he commonly resides at the island of *Jajama*, one of the chief of the *Liquies* <sup>b</sup>.

WE shall conclude this section of the division of *Japan* *Curiosities* with an account of its most remarkable curiosities, both *natural* and *artificial*. Among the former we may reckon, 1. Their volcanoes, which they compute to be no fewer than eight in the empire; and some of them very terrible, having been known to cast out continual streams of fire and flame, without intermission, for several centuries. Of this nature is that which issues out of a small rocky island over-against *Nanghazak*; and another over-against *Saxuma*, which hath been known to burn for many ages, and throw up at different intervals vast quantities of sulphur, and other combustible stuff. The mountain *Burning* of *Fesi*, in the province of *Suruga*, is no less remarkable, not only for its vast height (in which it is only exceeded by the famed *Pic of Teneriff*, though in shape and beauty it excels it, and most others of that kind), but for its top being covered with everlasting snow, which, being frequently blown about by the force of the winds, represents a kind of smoking hat. This mountain, the *Japanese* tell us, was formerly a burning one; but, upon a new opening being made by the violence of the flames, the fire ceased some time after; the sulphur, and other combustibles, being in all probability exhausted by the fierceness of its burning, as it hath happened in many other such places in the empire <sup>c</sup>.

2. THE next rank of *natural* rareties are their hot baths *Natural* and mineral springs, many of which are reckoned by the *Japanese* to be infallible remedies against the venereal and other inveterate diseases. Some of these springs are so hot as to *Hot* exceed boiling water; and one of them, we are told, which *springs*.

<sup>a</sup> KÆMPFER, lib. iv. c. 9. <sup>b</sup> Id. lib. i. c. 4. <sup>c</sup> Id. ibid. lib. i. c. 8. vid. & CARON, VAREN. & al.



is equal in heat with boiling oil, only breaks forth twice a day, for about an hour, at which time the eruption is so violent, that it will lift up and carry off the biggest stone that can be laid on the mouth of the spring; and comes up with such a noise, that it resembles that of a cannon<sup>d</sup>. These hot springs are in great number, and mostly used for bathing; but the *Japanese* commonly content themselves with repeating it five or six times, and leave off as soon as they find themselves better; whence it often happens that they are but half cured, for want of knowing how long they should continue it, and what proper regimen to observe (O). They have likewise a great variety of cold mineral springs, from which their sick might reap much greater benefit, if their physicians and quacks were more expert in the right use of them.

*Cold mineral springs.*

*High mountains.*

3. They have mountains of a prodigious height in several parts of the empire; and on some of them the roads are so steep and rugged, that they that travel on horseback are forced to alight, and either walk on foot, or be carried in *Cangos* (P); notwithstanding which, as they yield most part

<sup>d</sup> VAREN. ubi sup.

(O) Their method is, to proceed from a less hot bath to one that is more so. They stay in it but a few moments; then go into a bed, and cover themselves well, in order to sweat, and keep to a warming hot diet all the time they use the bath.

The monks who live in the neighbourhood of those baths give particular names to their several springs, according to their nature, and degrees of heat, the froth that rises on the top, the sediment at the bottom, or the noise which they make as they bubble out of the ground; and, in their old way of gulling the superstitious populace, affirm them to be designed as so many purgatories for tradesmen and handicraftsmen, whose profession bears a relation to the properties above-mentioned. Thus they assign those which have a soul sediment to bad rice brew-

ers; those who throw up much froth, to bad cooks and pastry-cooks; those that spring with murmuring or frightful noise, for backbiters, wranglers, and quarrelsome people, &c.

These hot springs were put to a still more barbarous use during the time of the persecution of the Christians there thousands of whom were flung into and kept in them either till they renounced their religion or till their flesh dropped of their bones (16).

(P) These are not unlike our chairs here, only not so high because the person sits on the bottom of it with his legs across under him; and, instead of being carried with two poles, has only one that goes across the top of the machine, and heaved on two or more men shoulders.

of the year a beautiful verdure and a variety of fragrant smells, and abound with springs and rivulets, it makes in a great measure amends for the trouble and charges they put one to. The highest and most famed mountain in the empire is that of *Fuji*, mentioned under the last article, which is visible almost forty leagues off at sea, though about eighteen miles distant from the shore. These rivulets, by joining with a multitude of others in their windings and descent, grow up into considerable rivers, and in some places form a fourth kind of natural curiosity, viz. large and surprising cataracts, like those famed *Cataracts*. ones we have formerly mentioned in the description of *Egypt* \*. The most remarkable of those in *Japan* is that which falls from the famed lake of *Togitz*, or *Facone* (Q), which, being surrounded on all sides with high mountains, hath no outlet for its waters, but through one of them called *Fitangajama*, which lets them out through three different apertures, from whence they fall down by the side of the mountain in the nature of cataracts, from a considerable height, and with a dreadful violence and noise; thence the three streams, gathering again into one, and receiving others into it, runs down with a prodigious vehemence, and dreadful noise, by a narrow channel, through a deep valley, over rocks and precipices, into the sea †.

AMONG the animal kind we may reckon their white ants, *Curious* in shape, bigness, and other particulars, like our common animal. *pisinires*, but white like snow. The *Japanese* call them *Do-White* *toes*, or *piercers*, because their snout is armed with four sharp *ants*. crooked pincers, with which they will pierce thro' any thing but stone or ore in a very little time, and will do a great deal

\* See before, *Antient Hist.* vol. i. p. 407, & seq. † KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. v. c. 11. CARON, VAREN. & al.

(Q.) *Facone* is a village of about 250 houses on the road between *Meaco* and *Jeddo*. The lake, which takes its name from it, is about two miles long, and a mile broad; and the mountains are so steep, some of them perpendicular over it, that there is no possibility of going round it, but it must be crossed in boats. It yields plenty of fine fish; and one of those mountains, towards the north, yields a fine gold ore. The inhabitants affirm this lake to have been caused by an earthquake; in proof of which they allege the vast quantity of incorruptible cedar trunks, of a prodigious size, which lie at the bottom, and are fetched out whenever the lord of the place pleases to order it; for all the country about it abounds with those trees, which are the tallest and finest in all *Japan* (17).

(17) *Kæmpfer, lib. v. c. 11.*

of mischief whatever they get into ; and no other way is yet found of keeping them from merchandizes, and things of value, but by strewing some salt under and about them. These small creatures are not able to bear the fresh air ; but, in their excursions, make themselves such ways under-ground as our moles do ; or if above-ground, as over a floor or table, will rear themselves arches or trenches all the way they go, which they leave behind, and are about the bigness

*Fine ducks.* of the little finger. Their male ducks are no less curious for largeness, the beauty of their shape, and variety of their colours and feathers. Their heads are crowned with a stately large topping, their tails rise in a beautiful oblique manner ; and their wings, which stand over their back, add still to the elegance of their shape. They have nightingales with such sweet pipes and notes, that the curious will give twenty cobans for one of them. They have a great variety of beetles ; one sort of which, called *Sehi*, or *Semi*, from the music they make, which begins pretty low and slowly, and then grows quicker and louder, and gradually decreases again. They

*Night-fly.* begin to sing with the rising sun, and end about noon. But the most curious of all the *Japanese* insects of the flying kind, is that which they call the night-fly ; and which the ladies and virtuoso's keep among their greatest curiosities, on account of its extraordinary beauty<sup>2</sup>. It is about a finger long, slender and round-bodied ; and hath four wings, two of which are transparent, and cover a pair of others which are shining and polished, and most beautifully variegated with blue and golden lines. Its extraordinary beauty hath given rise to an ingenious fable among them, which the reader may see in the margin (R).

*Camphire-tree.* AMONG the vegetable curiosities the camphire-tree is well worth our notice, which is classed among the laurel kind, and bears a berry of a purple or blackish colour. Some of those hot springs we have lately described have them in great num-

<sup>2</sup> Amœnit. Japan. p. 770. KÆMPFF, lib. i. cap. 9. TEN. RHEIN, Hort. Malab. CARON, & al.

(R) They say that all other night-flies fall in love with it ; and that, to be rid of their troublesome courtship, it maliciously, though under pretence of trying the sincerity and constancy of their passion, sends them to fetch it some fire. The blind lovers readily obey ; and, flying to every candle or fire they meet with, burn themselves to death. However, it is the male, and not the female, which is so justly admired for its beauty (18).

bers growing about them, of an uncommon size, and full of water. The best manner of extracting the camphire *How ex-* from this noble tree, we have described at full length in *tracted.* the foregoing volume †, together with the *Chinese* manner of purifying it, and the virtues attributed to it by them. But, in this empire, it is extracted mostly by the country-people of the province of *Saxuma*, and isle of *Gotho*, by a simple decoction of the roots and wood cut into small pieces; whereas that of *Borneo* is said to be a natural substance, gathered on the stumps of old camphire-trees, upon incisions made between the bark and the wood<sup>b</sup>. They have several *Curious* trees, whose wood, when sawn and polished, is so beautifully *works, &c.* veined and variegated with different colours and shades, representing landshapen, birds, beasts, &c. that they look as if they had been painted by a skilful hand; some plane-trees of a singular beauty, besides their varnish and other trees, great variety of marble, and other curious stones of all colours. We pass by several curious shells, which we have no time to dwell upon<sup>c</sup>. The truth is, the *Japanese* were too wise a people to be fond *Pearls not* of any such trifles; and if at any time a fisherman happened *valued till* to catch any of these in his net, which is often the case, they *bought by* had no better way of disposing of them than by carrying *the Chi-* them to the nearest temple of *Febi*, which is the *Neptune* of the country, and making a present of it to that deity. Even pearls, of which great quantities are caught on their coasts, especially those of *Sayhoff*; and in several kinds of shell-fish, besides the mother of pearl, they formerly set but a small value, though large and of a fine orient, till the *Chinese* taught them the price they bore in their and other countries; since which they have carried on a considerable traffick of them with *China*. The largest and finest of them are found in a small kind of oyster called *Akoya*, whose shells are as large as a man's hand, closely knit together, very thin and smooth without, but rough within, and of a shining white.

THE sea likewise throws great quantities of ambergrise *Amber-* upon some of their coasts, but upon which they set little or *grise not* no value, giving it no better name than that of whales dung, *valued by* probably on account of its being found in the belly of that *the Japan-* fish, as well as of its being thrown on the shore in large dabs, *ele.* not unlike those of cows dung. These, when taken up fresh, and before they have lain any time exposed to the sun and air, are of a soft glutinous nature, and yield a disagreeable burnt kind of smell, instead of a perfume; but the most

† Pag. 316, & seq.    <sup>a</sup> Amœnit. Japan: p. 770. KEMPF.  
L. i. TEN. RHEIN, CARON, & al.    <sup>b</sup> lid. ibid.

odoriferous and profitable is that which is taken off the surface of the sea, and is soft enough to be kneaded together into a round form, which condenses and hardens in time. *Made into larger round pieces.* *Kämpfer* tells us, he saw one of them which weighed 130 lb.

weight, and had been gathered on the coasts of *Kimakuni*. We are told of a much larger and heavier, which was bought, by the *Dutch*, of the king of *Tidori*, for about 50,000 gilders, and is now to be seen in the museum of the *Dutch* company at *Amsterdam*; it weighs 185 lb. and is of a greyish colour, of a flat round, and very perfect in its kind †. This last we observe, because the *Japanese* are said to adulterate it by mixing a quantity of ground rice, storax, benzoin, or other sweet-scented gums, with the substance of the ambergris, whilst it is still soft; the fraud of which is easily found out by the greater copiousness of the smoke it yields, and the greater quantity of ashes it leaves behind, when burnt upon a flat iron. However that be, the *Japanese* prefer the yellow, tho'

*How used in physic.* less valued by other nations; and, according to *Kämpfer*, only use the grey, though by far the most odoriferous and valuable of the two, only as a kind of specific against natural decays, and particularly that of impotency, which is done by mixing one third part of the purest opium with it, and making the whole into small pills; one of which, being taken some time before going to bed, seldom fails of creating a new vigour in the patient, suitable to his wish. The reader may see the receipt at full length in *Kämpfer* above-mentioned\*.

*Artificial rarities.* BEING now insensibly dwindled from the natural to the artificial rarities of this empire; we shall proceed to give a short account of their most considerable ones in that kind; among which, besides their fine temples, idols, palaces, stately towers, and other edifices already mentioned, we may reckon a great number of their fine lofty bridges, mostly built of cedar; and kept in such good repair, that they look still as if they were but very lately finished. They are all raised on both sides, and toll-free; we shall give our readers a sketch of three or four of the most remarkable ones for structure and largeness, besides the famed one formerly mentioned, before the imperial palace of *Jeddo*, and called by way of eminence *Nipponbas*, because all the distances of places through the empire are taken from it †. These are, 1. That of *Seltanofas*, over the river *Jedogawa*, which springs from the lake *Oomi*, elsewhere described, and is supported, near the middle, by a small island, and consequently consists of two parts, one whereof is

† KÄMPFER, ubi sup. Append. p. 47. & seq. p. 50, & seq.

\* See before, p. 78.

• Ibid.

thirty-six *ku's* or fathoms, and the other ninety-six, in length. 2. That of *Jafagibas*, near the city of *Okazaki*, in the province of *Mikawa*, which is 208 fathoms long. 3. That of *Jafdanobas*, near the city of *Jofida*, in the same province, which is 220 fathoms long, and lofty enough for the largest barges, even at high-water, to pass under it to the city. They are all in general very strong, wide, and lofty, and laid over the banks of the rivers at least two fathoms on each side, and widen with their rails like two wings, so that these last four fathoms may be still added to the dimensions above-mentioned<sup>1</sup>.

THEY are no less expert in the construction of their dykes *A remarkable dyke,* to resist the force of their tempestuous seas, and neither spare time nor cost in making them effectual. That of the harbour of *Fiege*, in the province of *Setz*, is one of the most remarkable, and is chiefly made of sand, of a considerable breadth, and near two miles long. It proved a work of immense labour and expence, cost the lives of many thousands of men, before it could be brought to perfection, the storms and furious seas having several times spoiled, and twice thoroughly destroyed it. It was at length completed to the emperor *Feki* or *Fege's* satisfaction, and hath proved a lasting fence both to the harbour and to the adjacent country ever since<sup>m</sup>. It lies on the south of the town, and hath a good number of houses built upon it (S).

THE *Japanese* are fond of large bells, but theirs are such *Huge bells,* as have no clear sound, but rather a dull heavy one, answerable to the name of *gumgum*, by which they call them. They are cast much after the same odd manner as those of *China*, elsewhere described<sup>n</sup>; and struck with a wooden clapper or hammer, which deadens the sound still more. The famed *The japan* *catechu*, or japan earth, is made chiefly in *Mcaco*, and the *earth.* town of *Odowara*; it is compounded of some inspissated juice, brought thither from other parts by the *Dutch* and *Chinese*; and here it is mixed with some quantity of amber, the best camphire, and some other ingredients, and made into

<sup>1</sup> See KÆMPFER, lib. v. cap. 3. VAREN. lib. i. c. 25. CARON, & al. <sup>m</sup> KÆMPFER, ubi sup. l. v. c. 8. <sup>n</sup> See before, vol. viii. p. 301, & seq.

(S) The *Japanese* add, in as others say, thirty of them), their superstitious way, that it suffered himself to be buried could never have been finished, alive, to pacify their angry *Je-* had not one of their heroes (or, *bit*, or god of the sea (19).

round little balls, cakes, idols, flowers, &c. and then put into neat boxes for sale and exportation. It is in great esteem, particularly among the women, because it fastens the teeth, and gives an agreeable sweetness to the breath \*. They are also very curious in some other of their medicinal compositions; and as they are, like other *Indians*, much given to the search after the grand panpharmakon, or universal medicine, their fondness for that study hath led them to many curious discoveries, tho' of a different kind, as it hath in all other places where that notion prevails. As to their curious japan and porcelaine, and other curious works, they have been mentioned in another place. We shall conclude this article with a factitious metal of theirs called *Sovaas*, which is a composition of copper, with a small mixture of gold, and some other minerals; and comes so near to the beauty and colour of gold, that things made of it, when they come first out of their shops, might be easily mistaken for it; but, in time, will grow somewhat blackish. A great variety of utensils are made of it, very curiously wrought, and greatly admired; and one may say in general, that the great men of the emperor's court, who are very ingenious at most of those arts, make it their chief amusement, when in disgrace or banishment, to study after some new improvement or discoveries in this and other curious arts and manufactures, the benefit of which quickly spreads itself among the laborious part.

*Factitious metal, like gold.*

#### S E C T. IV.

##### *The Origin, Antiquity, and History, of the Japanese,*

*Japan, by whom first peopled.*

THE generality of *Europeans* believe the *Japanese* to be descended from the *Chinese*; whilst the former, scorning so base an origin, boast themselves to be the offspring of their own gods, and their nation to be much more antient than the *Chinese*, or any other upon earth. The reader may see a sketch of the fabulous account they give of themselves in the margin (A); but the *Chinese*, who pretend to have been the first peoplers

\* KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. v. cap. 11.

(A) The *Japanese* have two incomprehensible number of genealogies of their deities, the first of which is a succession of ages. The second a race of celestial spirits, or beings absolutely free from all mixture with terrestrial spirits, or good men, not quite possessed with that pure being which was peculiar only to their predecessors, and these governed the *Japan* empire during an undetermined and in

peoples of the *Japan* islands, found their pretence on two *The Chinese* different records of theirs, which, though owned in part by *nese pre-* the *Japanese*, do not carry a sufficient degree of evidence to *tence to it* be relied upon. The first is, that, upon a great revolt in *China*, in which the rebels were defeated, and taken prisoners, their number was so great, that the emperor was prevailed upon, after a severe execution of the ringleaders, to decimate them, and to banish the remainder to the then uninhabited islands of *Japan*. The *Japanese* own part of the fact; but affirm, that they were banished not for rebellion,

in a lineal succession, each during a long but limited term of years; till at length they begat a third race of them, who had nothing of the purity and perfections of their progenitors, and these are they by whom *Japan* is now inhabited.

Of the first sort they reckon seven, whose names are only metaphorical, nothing else being recorded in their writings, either of their actions or government, except that the three first lived without wives, and the four last had each of them one, by whom they begat each his successor in a manner far above the reach of human comprehension. The last couple called *Isanaki Mikoto* and *Isanami Mikotto* (which last word is the epithet peculiar to those spiritual beings), are held in great veneration by the *Japanese*, and were by their new converts to Christianity called their *Adam* and *Eve*, and are said to have been born, and to have lived and died, in some part of the province of *Ise*.

This *Isanaki*, they pretend, was the first, who, taught by a peculiar bird of theirs, lay with his wife in a carnal manner, and begat sons and daughters of a far superior nature to the third, but vastly inferior to the first or

spiritual rank, of beings. This second succession is styled by them that of the five terrestrial gods, for so many they reckon them; viz. 1. *Tenso-Daw-dsin*; 2. *Ooswo*; 3. *Ninikino*; 4. *Demino* and *Awase-Dsuno*. The first of these, being the eldest son of *Isanaki* above-mentioned, is supposed by the very law of primogeniture to have been intitled to a superiority over his brothers and sisters; and upon him is founded the right of the *Dayros*, or antient monarchs, whose eldest sons always claim the succession upon their father's demise. And with the last of the five ended what may be called the second or silver age of the *Japanese*; and from him proceeded the third generation, or that of the now living inhabitants of *Japan*. They attributed a kind of supernatural power, and unlimited authority, to the descendants of *Awase Dsuno* in a direct line, or, in case of failure, to their next heir; and give to this day the highest titles to the whole family, especially to the chief of it, who sits upon the throne, tho' they have been so long stripped of their secular power, as we have elsewhere shewn (1).

(1) See before, p. 27, & seq. *Kempfer, lib. i. c. 7. Foren.*



but for their strenuous adherence to their lawful princes against the then usurper of the *Chinese* crown<sup>a</sup>; which is not unlikely to have been the case in some of those revolutions we have formerly mentioned, wherein the government passed from one dynasty or family to another, and that sometimes a strange one.

Founded on,  
two dif-  
ferent sto-  
ries.

THE other is, that one of the *Chinese* monarchs, who had been long in quest of an effectual medicine to make him immortal, was at length told by one of his physicians, that such a medicine might be made, but that the simples which were to produce that effect only grew in the desert islands of *Japan*, and could neither be gathered nor brought over, by polluted hands, without losing their virtue; to prevent which, he advised that monarch to send him thither with 300 healthy boys, and as many handsome girls; which was actually complied with; and the physician, who only wanted to go and live peaceably, and at a distance from so whimsical and tyrannic a master, settled himself there, and from them all those islands came to be peopled (B). We have shewn another account of this transaction out of the *Chinese* records<sup>b</sup>, which affirm it to have happened in the reign of *Shi-uhang-ti*, the second monarch of the fourth dynasty, whose admiral persuaded him that nothing could be more advantageous to the trade of the empire than to have a colony settled

<sup>a</sup> Vide LINSCHOT itiner. HAGENER not. in Caron. before, vol. viii. p. 412, & seq. & (A).

<sup>b</sup> See

(B) The *Japanese*, we are told, are so far from denying this story, that they still shew a place upon the south coasts, where he landed, and afterwards settled, with his gallant colony; and the remains of a temple said to have been erected to his memory, for having brought over to them, from *China*, good manners, and useful arts and sciences (2).

This is, however, so contrary to what we mentioned in the last note out of their own writings, that we see no way of reconciling it, but by supposing that such a colony might come

and settle there from *China*, tho' several parts of these islands might have been inhabited by other nations long before, who not only might give him a kind reception on account of his introducing some arts and sciences, and a greater degree of politeness than they knew before, but might erect some temple or monument in memory of it; and this might be sufficient to make the haughty *Chinese* boast themselves the first peoplers of that country, though they appear to have had kings of their own several centuries before.

(2) *Kämpfer, ubi sup. l. ii. c. 2,*

there;

there; and, to engage him the more effectually to consent to it, told him, that one of the islands produced an universal medicine against all diseases, and even death itself, and was accordingly sent thither with the three hundred young persons of each sex above-mentioned. He was no sooner arrived there, but, by the help of the sailors and soldiers he had taken with him, he began to build a city, of which he declared himself sovereign; and from him the whole country was soon after peopled, and the inhabitants are proud of deriving their original from the *Chinese*. But, notwithstanding the pretended *Both of* concurrence between the *Chinese* and *Japanese* on this head, *them con-* we shall shew in the sequel, that the latter had begun to be *suted.* governed by kings of their own above 400 years before this transaction, so far was their country from being uninhabited till then. However, at present we shall only observe, from what we have mentioned in a late note<sup>c</sup>, out of their own writings, how far they are from owning themselves descended from the *Chinese*, and shall now shew how unlikely it is they should be so.

DR. KEMPFER hath observed such a vast difference between *Kamp-* them with respect to their language, writing, genius, laws, *fer's sup-* customs, and religion, that he makes no scruple to suppose *position of* them an original nation, and their language one of those pri- *their com-* mitive ones that started up at the *Babylonish* confusion of *ing streight* tongues; so that, according to this supposition, they must *from Ba-* have travelled from the place of the general dispersion directly *bylon,* eastward, without stopping any-where, till they came to the peninsula of *Korea*, from which they had but a short passage into *Japan*; and in all probability failed over thither soon after, as to a country the most agreeably situated for their convenience and safety<sup>d</sup>. But what seems wholly to overthrow *exploded.* this conjecture, as well as the *Chinese* pretence above-mentioned, is, not so much the great difference that is found between their language, religion, customs, genius, complexion, &c. and those of their neighbours, which might and hath been accounted for by some authors in another way (C),

28

<sup>c</sup> Vide *supra*, not. (A).  
vid. & COUPLET, & al.

<sup>d</sup> KÆMPFER, lib. i. cap. 5.

(C) *Linschott*, and, after him, *Hagener*, in his notes on *Caron*, tell us, on the authority of the *Japanese* themselves, that they conceived such an invincible hatred to the *Chinese*, upon their being banished from that country for their loyalty to their natural princes, that they agreed one and all to eradicate as much as possible the memory of their origin, by gradually altering their

Japan  
probably  
peopled by  
shipwrecks  
of other  
nations.

as from that which is still observed to this day to reign among themselves in all those respects; and this not only between one island and another, but even several parts of one and the same island, or even provinces, notwithstanding their having been so long united under one monarch. All which seems to us to prove evidently, that these islands were at first peopled by different nations, driven upon their coasts by storms and contrary winds, and at different times, and not by any single one at any one certain period. What still farther confirms this assertion is, that the difference between their languages, customs, stature, complexion, &c. from those of other nations, is so far from being so universal as is pretended, that one may rather observe such a visible conformity between them and all the neighbouring trading nations, as far at least as the coasts of Malabar (D), as seem plainly to point to us the origin from

their religion, laws, language, and character, and introducing new customs and manners quite opposite to those they had brought from thence. And we have had occasion to observe, that in many things they seem to strive to be downright antipodes to the Chinese; but that this should be done with a design to root out all remembrance of their extract, and that they should so readily own both, is too inconsistent to be urged as a proof of either, where ever they had it from; and, if real fact, can only be true of one part of the inhabitants, as will be farther seen in the sequel.

(D) The Japanese records mention an island discovered by them some centuries ago, called *Genkaishima*, lying on the north coasts, and inhabited by *Oni*, or black devils, against whom they waged a bloody war, till they had cleared the place of that vermin, as they called them, and sent thither a colony of their own in their stead. These black devils are supposed with

great probability to have been some Malayan merchants who were lost or shipwrecked upon that uninhabited island, and peopled it, because the history of that war takes notice of their wearing long hair spread over their shoulders, like what is done by the Malays to this day; and that they drove a great commerce along those seas, from Madagascar quite to China, and islands adjacent, is evident not only from the title which their monarchs assume of Lords of the winds and seas to the east and to the west, but much more from their language, which spread itself almost over all those eastern countries (3).

Other black inhabitants are also mentioned, in the Japanese history, to have been found in some other islands on the south coasts of Nippon, which could hardly be other than some Malayan merchants, or else inhabitants of the Molucca islands, who were cast upon them by stress of weather, and settled themselves in them.

(3) *Vid. Kampfer, ubi supra, lib. i. c. i. ad fin.*

from which each of them sprung. To this might be added, *Where first* that the oldest inhabitants are said to have settled in the province of *Isje*, now *Iga*, on the southern coasts, on which account it is still remembered, and honoured with pilgrimages; which makes it more probable, that they were cast there by chance, or some tempest, than that they travelled thither from the northern parts of that large island, after their crossing thither from *Korea*, in search of a warmer climate to settle in. However that be, it would be doing them an injury to suppose them descended from the effeminate *Chinese*; and, if we must needs allow them the offspring of one single nation, that of the *Tartars* bids fairest for it, for they have indeed more of the genius of it, though softened by a degree of politeness above them.

WHEN these early settlements were first made, it is hard to guess at, unless we will suppose with *Kampfer*, that they came thither by land, and directly, and by constant marches from *Babylon*, in which case a few years might suffice to bring them thither; but, as we have shewn the other hypotheses to be better founded, it cannot be supposed with any probability to have happened till navigation began to be frequent on those seas; but how soon that was, it is impossible to determine with any tolerable certainty. Whilst these were busy in *Their first* fixing, improving, and enlarging their settlements, in this *settle-* fertile and delightful spot, other colonies might land in other *ments*, parts, and be readily admitted, as there was no want of room, but rather of hands to cultivate those vast tracts that were still uninhabited; and so by degrees each colony might draw nearer to the other as they grew more numerous, till at length they were forced to set boundaries to each other; and, where any wanted room, they might send some of their own people to seek new habitations among the other adjacent isles.

THIS conjecture (and more than conjecture cannot be *and go-* offered in a case of such distance both of time and place) *vernment.* will lead us to another equally probable; viz. that each of these colonies had their own respective heads or sovereigns, under whom they lived: much after the same manner as most other nations did, or even as the *Tartars*, *Arabs*, and others, do to this day in hords or tribes; and wandering with their

To all this we may add the *Chinese, Tong-kinese, Siamese, Malabaric*, and other maritime nations along those seas; all of whom seem to have put a helping hand to the peopling of these islands.

First mo-  
narchs.

families and cattle from place to place, for the convenience of pasture. This polyarchal government might last some series of centuries, each hord or tribe having its own laws, customs, language, &c. and in time, as they grew more numerous, they began to encroach upon, and war against, each other, till at length, either their continual feuds and depredations obliged them to put themselves all under the government of one sole monarch; or, which may be as probable, and hath often proved the case among other nations, till one chief more potent and politic than the rest might bring them all under his subjection, and assume that universal power, both ecclesiastical and civil, and pompous titles, which we have formerly observed the *Japanese* dairo's did\*. But, before we come to speak of the succession of those monarchs, it will not be amiss to give our readers a short account of the *Japanese* chronology.

Chrono-  
logy.

WE have observed lately, that they have, like other ancient nations, three æra's or epochs; the first, of their seven gods, consisting of an almost infinite number of ages; the second, of their demi-gods, or five heroes, which, that they might not come behind the *Chinese* in point of antiquity, they pretend lasted 2,342,467 years; and the third, that of the mortal men, or ecclesiastical hereditary emperors, the successors of *Avase-djuno*, the last of the heroic race; and this last is agreed to have begun about 657 or 660 years before Christ, which was the seventeenth year of *Kaiwa*, or, as the *Chinese* call him, *Hui-wan*, or rather *Whey-wang*, the seventeenth emperor of the *Chew*, or third *Chinese* dynasty. From that time to the year of Christ 1693, they reckon 114 emperors, all of the same family, to have successively sat on the *Japanese* throne; and these value themselves highly, upon being the eldest branch of *Tensio-dai-sin*, the first founder of the *Japanese* monarchy, and the lineal issue of the eldest son, and so downwards (E).

THE

\* KÆMPFER, lib. i. cap. 5. Vide & COUPLET, MARTINI, DU HALDE, CARON, & al. See also before, p. 26, & seq.  
† See before, vol. viii. p. 404.

(E) The *Japanese* make use of two different æra's; the first and the most common of which is styled by them *Nin-o*, which properly signifies a great or powerful monarch. And here, by way of emphasis, the very first begins from *Sin-mu*, their

first emperor, who began his reign 660 years before Christ. So that, according to this æra, the present year of Christ 1756 is with them the year 2415.

The other, called *Nengo*, was anciently invented by the *Chinese*, but not introduced into *Japan*.

THE title those monarchs are commonly called by, is that *The pomp of Mikaddo*, which is a kind of diminutive of *Mikkotto*, the *ous* titles grand title by which their pretended divine predecessors used of their court than their dignity, though they are frequently called by it. To these we may add those of *Day*, *Oo*, *Kwo*, and *Tay*, all which signify a sovereign prince, a supreme lord; that of *Tensin*, which signifies the son of heaven; and some others equally august; but when he speaks of himself, he only styles himself *Tsin*, or prince; and when he signs, it is by that of *Maro*, the signification of which, our author hath not told us &c.

2 KÄMPFER, ubi supra, lib. ii. cap. 4.

Japan till the reign of their thirty-sixth emperor, and takes in only a period of few years, sometimes under twenty, and seldom above it. Its beginning, and name or character, which is commonly taken from some memorable accident, is appointed by the emperor, and by him continued at will. It is made use of in their proclamations, orders, journals, letters, and almanacs, and, upon proper occasion, the first grand æra of *Nin-o* is added to it. When our author came into Japan, anno 1693, the *Nengo* was called *Gen rok*, which signifies, the happiness of nature and art, and was so called by the then reigning emperor, on account of his father's resigning the crown, in order to lead a retired life, and that year was then the sixth of that æra, and the 2353 of the grand one, or *Nin-o* (4).

Besides these two, they have a third way, of computing by cycles of sixty years, which they have adopted from the

*Chinese*, whose third emperor *Whang-ti* is said to have been the inventor of (5): but with this difference, we are told, that whereas the *Chinese* mention the number of the cycle, as well as the year of it, the *Japanese* only mention the latter, without the former; the reason of which is, to avoid acknowledging themselves inferior to the *Chinese* in point of antiquity; who can shew a succession of cycles for many centuries, before the foundation of their monarchy.

The beginning of their year falls in between the winter solstice and spring equinox, about the 5th of February; but as they are extremely superstitious in celebrating the day of the new moon, they commonly begin it with the nearest new moon which either precedes or follows the 5th of February. They likewise make use of leap-years, every other or every third year, or seven leap-years in the cycle of nineteen years (6).

(4) Vide Kämpfer, ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 2. Vide & Caron, & Hagener, not. in eund.

(5) See vol. viii. p. 368, (O).

(6) *Ibid.* *ibid.*

*Their history much too succinct.*

BEFORE we come to the history and succession of these monarchs, it will not be amiss to apprise our readers, that to avoid all confusion in their chronology, their historical books always begin the reign of each of them with the next new year, though they have been in possession of the throne several months before, which are added to that of their predecessors. But, in the historical remarks upon them, they always take notice of the day and month in which every *Mikaddo* came to the crown. As to the *Japanese* histories, they say but little of the lives, virtues, and vices, or political government, of their monarchs, but chiefly take notice of their names, descent, birth, succession, length of their reigns, the *Nengos*, or short æras, instituted by them, the place of their residence and the most material occurrences that happen in the empire, such as wars, fires, earthquakes, rebellions, comets, strange meteors, building of temples, palaces, &c. births or deaths of great men, or great saints, downfall of great ministers, introduction of new sects, Idols, priests, and festivals, from other countries, miracles, prophecies, and other wonders, performed by their gods, saints, and priests, and other such superstitious trash; to which they add what other remarkable occurrences have happened in *China*, and other neighbouring countries; from which, we shall only extract out of our authors what we think most deserving a place in a work of this nature.

*Emperors of Japan.*

### *The Reigns of the Mikaddos, or original Emperors of Japan.*

I.  
Sin-mu.  
Bef. Chr.  
660.

I. *SIN-MU*, founder of the *Japanese* monarchy, began his reign, as hath been already hinted, in the year before Christ 660, and seventieth of his age (F). He civilized his subjects, made a thorough reformation of the laws and go-

(F) *Sin-mu* was the fourth and youngest of all his brothers, and they all reigned before him in their turn; but their reigns proved so short, and so obscure, in comparison of his, that they were not thought worth recording, but were purposely passed by in silence, that the whole honour of founding the *Japanese* monarchy, and æra of *Nin-o*, might intirely redound to him; so that he hath been ever since looked upon as the *Julius Cæsar* of that nation. His name, before he ascended the throne, was *I-wa-fikono-mikotto*; but he then changed it for that of *Sin-mu-ten-oo* (7).

(7) *Kämpfer, ubi supra, cap. 3.*

vernment,

vernment, and introduced chronology amongst them, dividing the time into years, months, and days. In the sixtieth year of his reign, were first introduced the worship of foreign idols, brought thither from *China*, and other parts of *India*, which we have mentioned in a former chapter <sup>b</sup>. *Sin-mu* reigned seventy-nine years, and, having secured the throne to his posterity, died in the 157th year of his age; and with his reign begins the grand *Japanese* æra of *Nin-o*.

II. *SUI-SEI*, *Sin-mu*'s third son, succeeded him, in the eightieth year of that æra, and fifty-first of his age. He reigned thirty-three years, and died in the eighty-fourth of his age. He was succeeded by his son,

III. *ENEI*, in the 113th year of the æra, and twentieth of his age; who, after a reign of thirty-eight years, left the crown to his second son *I-toku*.

IV. *I-TOKU* mounted the throne in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the 151st of the æra. He removed his court to *Keitz*, where he died, after a reign of thirty-five years, in the seventy-seventh of his age. He was succeeded by his son,

V. *KOSIO*, in the year of the æra 186, and thirty-third of his age; and, in the fifth year of his reign, a war arose between the provinces of *Go* and *Jetz*, which is the first that is mentioned by any *Japanese* history. He reigned near eighty-three years, and died in the 115th of his age, and was succeeded by his second son *Koan*.

VI. *KOAN* mounted the throne in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and 269th of the æra; and removed the imperial residence to *Muro*, in the province of *Farima*, and some years after to *Khuroda*. Under his reign there happened a great eclipse of the sun, and a comet appeared in *China*. He reigned 101 years, and died in the 137th of his age.

VII. *KOREI*, alias *Koffii*, the eldest son of *Koan*, succeeded him, in the fifty-third year of his age, and 371st of the æra. In the sixth year of his reign the lake and river of *Oomi* are said to have sprung up suddenly, in one night, in the province of that name, by some earthquake, or subterranean eruption; and, in the forty-sixth year of his reign, the *Japanese* empire was divided into thirty-six provinces. *Korei* reigned seventy-six years, and lived 128. He was succeeded by his son,

VIII. *KOWKIN*, in the year of the æra 447, and sixtieth of his age; and removed his court to *Karutz*. In his time

II.  
Sui-fei.  
Bef. Chr.  
580.

III.  
Enei.  
548.

IV.  
I-toku.  
Bef. Chr.  
511.

V.  
Kosio.  
Bef. Chr.  
476.

VI.  
Koan.  
Bef. Chr.  
392.

VII.  
Korei.  
Bef. Chr.  
290.

VIII.  
Kowkin.  
Bef. Chr.  
214.

<sup>b</sup> See before, vol. viii. p. 110, & seq.  
p. 6, & seq.

<sup>1</sup> See before,



300 young men and women sent into Japan. reigned the first of the three Chinese Neros, who sent the 300 youths, and as many maids, into Japan, to fetch him the universal medicine promised to him by his physician. The Japanese history calls him *Sickuo*, and *Sino-fico*; but he is the same whom the Chinese call *Sbi-whang-ti*; an account of whose reign we have given, in the history of their country \*, and have lately observed how absurdly they ascribe the first peopling of Japan to those 300 couples, at a time when they had been already governed by their emperors near 450 years. *Kowkin* reigned fifty-six, and lived 116 years, and was succeeded by his second son,

IX. IX. *KAY-KWO*, or *Kay-qua*, in the fifty-second year of his age, and of the æra 504. He removed his court to *Isagava*, in the third year of his reign; and in the nineteenth of it, was began in China the first *Nengo*, or short æra, lately mentioned, but which was not introduced into Japan, till about 780 years after, as will be seen in the sequel. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the moon appeared of a purple colour. *Kay-kwo* reigned fifty-nine years, and died in the 111th of his age.

X. X. *SIUN-SIN*, or *Siu-sin*, his son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 564, and fifty-second of his age. In the fourth year of his reign, he removed his court to *Siki*; and in the seventh, a great mortality spread itself over the empire. In the eleventh, he erected the title and office of *Seogun*, who hath the direction of all military affairs, and command of the army, in case of war or rebellion, and bestowed it upon one of his sons. In the nineteenth year of his reign, the first men of war and merchant ships were built in Japan; and in the last year of it, two moons were seen in the east. He reigned sixty-eight years, and lived 119.

XI. XI. *SYNIN*, his third son, succeeded him, in the 632d year of the æra, and forty-first of his age. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, it rained stars from heaven; and in the fortieth year, comets and uncommon meteors appeared in the air, followed with a firey rain. In the sixtieth, they began to make fish-ponds in Japan, to cultivate rice-fields, and inclose them with ditches. A famous horse, that could run 1000 miles a day, is recorded to have been brought into Japan, from some part of the Indies. In the ninety-fifth year of his reign, *Bupo*, otherwise called *Kobot*, landed in Japan, from the Indies, and brought with him, on a white horse, a book, called *Kio*, containing the mysteries of his religion; not long after which, a temple was erected to him, which is still called

\* See before, vol. viii. p. 112, & seq. & (A).

*Fakkubusi*, or the temple of the white horse. From that time, the worship of *China*, and other parts of *India*, began to spread through this empire; and the number of temples, idols, monasteries, &c. daily increased. *Synin* reigned longer than any of his predecessors or successors, viz. ninety-eight years (F), and lived 139. The twenty-ninth year of his reign, which was the 661st of the æra, was remarkable for the birth of the Redeemer of the world; and the sixty-sixth was no less dignified, by his crucifixion, and resurrection, supposing it to have happened in the thirty-third year of his age, as is generally believed. CHRIST born, crucified, and glorified.

XII. *KËR-KO*, the third son of *Synin*, mounted the throne, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, 731st of the *Japanese*, and seventy-first of the Christian æra; and in the twenty-third year of his reign, a new island is recorded to have started out of the bottom of the sea, near the great one of *Nippon*. It had the name of *Tsicuba-sima* given to it, and was consecrated to *Nebis*, the *Neptune* of the *Japanese*. Three years after, a *Mia*, or temple, called *Takajo-nomia*, was built on the island, in honour of him, and a sufficient number of priests or bonzas appointed to attend his worship. Both temple and island became famous and rich, on account of the great concourse of people to it; and the latter is affirmed to have been always free from earthquakes. *Seyko* reigned sixty, and lived 143 years. XII. Keyko. After Chr. 71. A new island out of the sea. A temple built on it.

XIII. *SËY-MUU*, his fourth son, succeeded him, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and 791st of the æra; and removed his court to *Siggu*, in the province of *Oomi*. He settled the confines of all the provinces of his empire, in the sixth year of his reign; and died in the sixtieth year of it, and the 108th of his age. XIII. Sey-muu. After Chr. 131.

XIV. *TSLAU-AI*, the second son of *Seymuu*'s sister (who was married to *Jamatta-takino-mikotto*), and was grandson to *Keko*, or *Keyko*, the twelfth emperor, mounted the throne, in the 852d year of the æra, and forty-fourth year of his age. He made his way to it by the murder of *Kumasi-usonu-kuno-mikotto*, and died in the ninth year of his reign, and fifty-second of his age. XIV. Tsiau-ai. After Chr. 192.

XV. *SINKU-COGU*, or *Tsin-gukwoo-guu*, succeeded him, in the thirtieth year of her age, and 861st of the æra. She was the late emperor's relict; and had a farther title to the crown, by the relation she bore, in the fifth degree, to the XV. Sinku-cogu. After Chr. 201.

(F) Our author should have error to have crept either into excepted their sixth daïro *Koan*, his, or his *English* translator's to whom he gives a reign of 101 copy f. years; \*, unless we suppose an

\* See before, p. 111. . . . . of *Coff. Kempt. Engl. p. 161. & 163.*

Her great  
exploits.

Emperor *Keyko*. She carried on the war against the *Koreans*; and, in the beginning of her reign, went over thither, at the head of a numerous army, which she commanded in person. Here finding herself pregnant, she hasted back to *Japan*, and was delivered of a son, in the town of *Tsikusen*, in the province of *Mikassa*, which was then her residence. This son was called *Vacono-ossi*, but, after he mounted the throne, took the title of *Oofin-ten-oo*, and after his death, had that of *Jamata-fatz-man*, or *Mars of Javata*, given him, and was, for his martial exploits, numbered among the gods of *Japan*. His mother was no less honoured after her death, and, after a glorious reign of seventy years, was ranked among the goddesses of that country, with the title of *Kassino-day-misfin*. She was succeeded by her warlike son above-mentioned,

Divine  
honours.

XVI.  
Woofin.  
After Chr.  
270.

XVI. *WOOSIN*, or *Oofin*, in the 930th year of the æra, and seventy-first of his age. He proved a great prince, both in peace and war, and a true father of his country, which he governed with great prudence and clemency, during a reign of forty-three years. He lived 113 years, and left the crown to his fourth son,

XVII.  
Nintoku.  
After Chr.  
313.

XVII. *NINTOKU*, who mounted the throne in the 973d year of the æra, and twenty-fourth of his age; and proved likewise a good and virtuous prince, and was highly revered by his subjects, to whom he remitted the taxes, a: several times (G). He reigned eighty-seven years, and died in the 111th of his age. There is a temple built to his honour in the city of *Tsinokuni*, where he is honoured with the title *Naniva*, *Taka-kuno*, *Mia-koresirano*, *Day-mio-tsin*, all pompous in their kind.

XVIII.  
Ritsiu.  
After Chr.  
400.

XVIII. *RITSIU*, his eldest son, succeeded him, in the 1060th year of the æra, and seventy-second of his age. His usual residence was at *Kozur-koos*, in the province of *Jamatto*; where he reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

XIX.  
Fan-sey.  
After Chr.  
406.

XIX. *FAN-SEY*, who mounted the throne, in the year of the æra 1066, and in the fifty-fifth of his age. He removed the imperial residence to *Sivagakki*, in the province of *Kaawaatz*; where, after a short reign of eight years, he left the crown to his younger brother,

XX.  
Inkioo.  
After Chr.  
414.

XX. *INKIOO*, in the year of the æra 1074, and thirty-ninth of his age. This prince resided at *Asha*, in the province of *Jamatto*; and sent for a *Chinese* physician, to take care of his health, and died in the fortieth year of his reign and eightieth of his age.

XXI.  
Ankoo.  
After Chr.  
454.

XXI. *ANKOO*, his son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1114, and fifty-fourth of his age; and resided at *Ji*. (G) In his reign a child is said to have been born in *Fida* four feet.

matti

matto. He had not reigned three years before *Maijuva*, a near relation of his, rebelled against him, defeated, and killed him. He was, however, succeeded by,

XXII. *INRUKIA*, his younger brother, and *Inkito's* fifth son, in the year of the æra 1117 (H); who revenged his brother's murder, by putting the traitor *Maijuva*, or, as others style him, *Maijuvânô-ô-sin*, to a condign death. In the seventh year of his reign, he married the princess *Vakaki*, whom he declared empress; and made a law, which still subsists, importing, that the children of such of the dairo's wives as should be declared empress, should be acknowledged as lawful heirs to the crown. In the ninth year of his reign, the first putjes, a round copper coin, with a square hole in the middle, for the conveniency of stringing them, after the manner of those of the *Chinese* †, were first coined in Japan. He reigned twenty-three years; but how long he lived is uncertain.

XXIII. *SENEI*, his second son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1140, and of his age thirty-seven, and reigned only five years, and left the crown to,

XXIV. *GEN-SOO*, a grandson of *Riaku*, who succeeded him, and reigned three years; and then resigned the crown to his brother. He lived eighty-five years.

XXV. *NIN-KEN* reigned eleven years, and lived fifty-seven.

XXVI. *BURETZ*, the son of *Nin-ken*, succeeded his father, in the year of the æra 1159, that of his age is not mentioned. He proved a cruel tyrant, and took delight in cutting off people's heads unawares, and ripping up pregnant women, and other such acts of barbarity (I). He reigned but eight years, and was succeeded by,

† De his, vide vol. viii. p. 246. & seq.

(H) He is reported to have been born with grey hairs; and hence it is thought, that some historians put his accession to the crown in the seventy-first year of his age, though it be plainly inconsistent with the chronology and the age of his predecessors (8).

(I) Some add, that he was, on that account, like to have been consumed with fire from heaven; and that, to prevent farther damage from it, he

caused a subterranean room to be built, all of stone, in some part of the palace, to which he used to repair, whenever it thundered.

He took delight in plucking people's nails off their hands and feet; their hair from all parts of their bodies; to make people climb up to the tops of trees, and then shake or shoot them down, and laugh heartily at their falling.

(8) *Kampfer*, lib. ii. cap. 4.

H 2

XXVII.

XXVII. XXVII. *KEI-TEI*, who was the great grandson of the Kei tei. emperor *Oosin*, and mounted the throne in the 1167th year of the æra, and fifty-fourth of his age. He removed his court from *Tsutsumi*, his usual residence, to *Fotoguan*, in the province of *Jamatto*. His reign, which lasted twenty-seven years, is recorded as a glorious one, though we are not told for what; and, after his demise, in the eighty-first year of his age, his successor deified him with the titles of *Ashano*, *Day*, *Mia*, *Sin*.

XXVIII. XXVIII. *AN-KAN*, his son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1194, and of his age sixty-nine; and, after a short reign, was deified, and is still worshipped as the protector of the province of *Jamatto*.

XXIX. XXIX. *SENK-VA*, his brother, succeeded, and deified him, in the 1196th year of the æra, and, after a reign of four years, died, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

XXX. XXX. *KIM-ME*, vulgarly *Kin-mei*, another brother of *An-kan*, succeeded *Senk-va*, in the thirty-second year of his age, and 1200th of the æra. He was a religious prince, but much addicted to the foreign pagan worship, especially that of *Budsiso*, which spread itself in his dominions, and caused the idols of *Buds* or *Fofoque* to be carved in *China*, and set up in *Japan*. What inclined him to this sort of superstition, is the pretended miraculous apparition of some of those idols in *China*, and other parts of *India*; particularly in *Japan*, that of the god *Amida*, which was seen at the entry of a pond near the city of *Naniva*, environed with golden rays, no one knowing how it was conveyed thither. In memory of it, the emperor instituted the first *Nengo*, or short æra, in *Japan*, and called it *Conquo*. The *Japanese* historian adds, that this miraculous idol was afterwards carried, in great pomp, into the country of *Sinano*, and deposited in the stately temple of *Sinquosi*; where it wrought many miracles, and hath rendered that place famous all over the empire. *Kim-me* reigned thirty-two years, and lived sixty-three.

XXXI. XXXI. *FIT-ATZU*, or *Fin-tatz*, his second son, succeeded him, in the 1232d year of the æra, but no mention is made of his age. He was no less superstitious than his father, nor his reign less pregnant of wonders; and particularly, the birth of the great apostle of *Japan* *Sotoktais*, which was preceded and followed by very surprising circumstances, some of which the reader may see in the margin (K). This proved

(K) His mother, before her still rays, as bright as the sun pregnancy, saw herself, in a dream, surrounded with celestial light, and heard herself addressed in the following words: *I, the*

proved a rare time for idol-carvers, priests, and temple-builders, who flocked thither from other parts; so that idol-worship spread far and wide over his dominions. He was no less superstitious in other respects; particularly, with relation to brutes, in whose behalf he enacted a law, that, on six several days of each month, every living creature whatsoever should be set at liberty; and that every one who had none of them, would do well to procure some, that they might not want an opportunity of giving some proof, on those days, of their merciful disposition towards those creatures. In the eighth year of his reign, the first image of *Siaka*, or *Xacca*, was brought over from beyond sea, and conveyed into the temple of *Kobusi*, in the city of *Nara*, where it hath been held in great veneration ever since, and still occupies the most eminent place in that grand edifice. In the fourteenth year of his reign, one *Moria*, an enemy to *Moria*, a great opposer of *Sotohtais*, raised great commotions in the empire. He bore such a mortal hatred to all the idols of the country, that he took, burnt, and destroyed them, where-ever he came; but, in about two years time, his party was quite defeated, and he put to death for his presumptuous enterprize. They add, that having thrown the ashes of those burnt idols into a lake, there arose suddenly a most dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightening. *Fit-atzu* reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

XXXII. *Joo-mei*, in the year 1246 of the æra; and in his reign, a temple was built, in the small province of *Tamotsucuri*, in memory of the defeat of *Moria*, above-mentioned. *Joo-mei* reigned only two years, his age is not mentioned, and,

XXXIII. *SIU-SIUN*, his brother, succeeded him; in the third year of whose reign, and in the seventh month, the empire of *Japan* was divided into seven large tracts of land,

*body Gufo-hofatz, must be born again, to teach the world; therefore, I am come down to enter into thy womb.* Upon which she awoke, and found herself with child. Eight months after, she heard the babe speak distinctly in her womb; and in the twelfth month she was, not only without pain, but with great pleasure and delight, delivered of a son, who was then named *Fatshino*, but afterwards *Tais*, and *Sotohtais*. He

began, from his tenderest infancy, to give singular tokens of his future greatness, and extraordinary piety, and took the greatest delight in prayers, and other parts of devotion; inasmuch, that once, when he was but four years old, and had been praying very fervently, the burnt bones and relics of the great *Siaka* were, in a miraculous manner, put into his hands.

called *Goki-sitzi-do*, which division still subsists, and is to be met with in all the *Japanese* maps. We have taken notice of it in the last section †. *Siu-siun* reigned only five years, and left the crown to,

XXXIV. *SYKO*, or *Swiko*, grand-daughter of the Emperor *Kim-me*, and relict of *Fit-atzu*, in the year of the æra 1253. In the sixth year of her reign a peacock and a crow were brought from beyond sea, among other presents to her, the breed of which still subsists, and the latter have multiplied to such a degree, that they are become a nuisance. The next year was signalized by dreadful earthquakes, which spread almost over the whole empire, and caused great devastations every-where. The next was still more remarkably terrible, not only from fire that fell from heaven, but from the heavy rains which fell down immediately after, and laid many towns under water. In the twelfth year, she caused the statue of *Siaka* to be cast in brass, which was not long after melted, and coined into small money, and another of plaster put in its room. In the same year, gold was first brought into *Japan*, from *Korea*. In the twenty-first year of her reign, died the celebrated *Sotoktais*, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. And in the thirty-fifth, a swarm of strange flies was observed in the country, which made a great humming noise, and did a great deal of mischief. *Syko* died in the thirty-sixth year of her reign. Her age is not taken notice of.

XXXV. *DSIOME*, grandson to the late Emperor *Fit-Dsiome*. *atzu*, succeeded her, in the 1289th year of the æra; and resided at *Jamatto*. In the third year of his reign, was born the celebrated devote *Giennô-giôsa*, founder of the order of the *Jammabos*, or mountain priests. In the same year, a comet was seen for some time. And in the twelfth year of his reign, on the tenth day of the second month, a star was observed in the moon. He reigned twelve years, and left the crown to,

XXXVI. *KWOGOKU*, his imperial consort, and adopted daughter of the Emperor *Fit-atzu*, in the year of the æra 1302. In the second year of her reign, five different colours were observed in the sky. She reigned but three years, and was succeeded by,

XXXVII. *KOOTOKU*, her younger brother; who removed his *Miaco*, or place of residence, to *Nagora-tojosaki*. He was the first who honoured the ministers and officers of his court with titles, and marks of distinction, according to their

† See before, p. 71. & seq.

several ranks. He also regulated what respects should be paid to those who only enjoyed secular offices. He was also the first who introduced the *Chinese Nengos*, or short periods, and ordered them to be used through the empire. We have given an account of them at the beginning of this section. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XXXVIII. *SI-ME*, the Empress *Kwo-goku's* daughter, XXXVIII.  
Si-me.  
who reigned only seven years.

XXXIX. *TEN-TSII*, the Emperor *Dsi-me's* son, in partnership with the *Itoku*, or nearest relations, succeeded her, in the year of the *era* 1322. In the fourth year of his reign, was built the famous temple of *See-guansi*, and its chief idol, carved by the celebrated *Kassigu*, who, for his incomparable skill in this kind, was afterwards sainted. In the tenth year of his reign, was shewn, in the province of *Xikugo*, a monstrous stag with eight legs. He reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XL. *TEN-MU*, his younger brother, in the year of the XL.  
Ten-mu.  
After Cbr.  
672.  
Opposed by  
a brother.  
Defeat  
him:  
Silver  
brought  
over.  
*era* 1332. This prince met with no small opposition from a younger brother, named *Oto-mo-no-ogsi*, who was then at the head of a numerous army; but, after a contest which lasted about five months, he had the good fortune to defeat him, and obliged him to rip up his own bowels; in memory of which, he instituted a new *Nengo*. In the second year of his reign, he built the stately temple of *Midera*, and in the third, silver was brought over from the island of *Tsusinia*, belonging to the *Koreans*, where they had been to dig and work a mine of it. In the fourth year, was the great festival, called *Matfuri* (L) celebrated for the first time, at *Nara*, *Ta-atzu*, and other places of the empire. In the seventh year, there fell hail as big as peaches; and on the next, they had peaches full ripe in *February*. In that same year, they had something like the *Aurora borealis* towards the east, which made that part of the sky to appear as if all in a flame. In the tenth, the use of silver coin was forbid, and the round put-

(L) This festival was instituted in honour of the god, who is acknowledged the tutelary guardian or patron of a city or district, and hath been celebrated all over the empire, with all possible pomp and splendor, with solemn processions, vocal and instrumental music, dancing, plays, and other diversions. These tutelary gods are often changed for others, by cities and provinces, especially after any public calamities, as famines, earthquakes, &c.; for, in such cases, the gods of those countries that have suffered most are discarded, as unworthy of any further regard, and those who are supposed to have protected their votaries best, that is, of those countries or cities that have escaped, are adopted in their room.



sies of copper and brass substituted in its stead. About the same time, the empire was divided into sixty-six provinces. A violent earthquake was felt in the thirteenth year of his reign; and on the next, the emperor died, on the ninth day of the ninth month, and in the fourteenth of his reign. His death occasioned fresh troubles at the ecclesiastical court about the succession; notwithstanding which,

XL I. *TSITÔ*, the eldest of *Ten-mu*, and one of his nieces, not named; succeeded him, in the year of the *ara* 1347. This reign is only remarkable for the first *Sacki*, or rice-beer being brewed in *Jonkinsari*, a city in the province of *Qomi*. She reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XLII. *MÔN-MU*, *Ten-mu*'s grandson, in the year of the *ara* 1357. This is the first emperor who granted coats of arms to each province, in the eighth year of his reign; and in the ninth, caused a square measure (called by the *Japanese Maas and Sao*), three of which contain exactly four pounds of rice, to be made of wood, and sent a pattern into all the provinces of the empire, and ordered it to be thenceforward the standard for measuring rice, corn, and other grain. He reigned eleven years, and was succeeded by,

XLIII. *GENMEI*, daughter to the Emperor *Ten-shû*, in the 1368th year of the *ara*. She ordered gold and silver money to be coined, in the first year of her reign; but prohibited the latter in the year following. In the same year was born *Abeno-kamar*, a prince of the imperial blood, very famous in the *Japanese* history. In the third year of her reign, was built the famed temple of *Kaibokushi*, in which is an idol of *Xacca*, cast in a mixed metal of brass and gold, by the great master *Tatsoquan*. Three years after, she settled the names of all the provinces, cities, and villages, throughout the empire, and ordered them to be entered in the public records. She reigned seven years, and was succeeded by,

XLIV. *GEN-SIOO*, grand-daughter to the Emperor *Ten-mu*, by his son, in the year of the *ara* 1375. Her reign is famed for some short *Nengos*; but more particularly for the miraculous appearances of the gods *Kubano-gongin*, *Amida*, *Jakuli*, *Senju-quan-wong*, and *Bissam-quontem*, in several parts of the empire. From the first year of her reign she made some regulations for the dress of the women; and, after a reign of nine years, resigned the crown to her brother's son *Sio-mu*; after which, she lived twenty-five years, and died in the forty-eighth year of her age.

XLV. *SIO-MU* mounted the throne, in the year of the *ara* 1384. In the eighth year of whose reign, they say the sea

An earth-quake.

XL I.  
Tito.  
After Chr.  
687.

XLII.  
Mon-mu.  
After Chr.  
697.

XLIII.  
Genmei.  
After Chr.  
708.  
Coins gold and silver.

Fixes the names of cities, &c.

XLIV.  
Gen-sioo.  
After Chr.  
715.  
Apparition of some of the gods.

XLV.  
Sio-mu.  
724.

its costs of *Ki* looked like blood, during five whole days; *Strange* which was followed, on the next year, by great storms, a *phenomenon* great drought, and a steril crop, which caused a famine in *some* parts of the empire. In the thirteenth year of his reign, the small-pox proved very mortal through the empire (M). He began to build the first nunneries, in the sixteenth year of his reign; and in the twentieth was finished the famous temple of *Day-bod*. He reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his daughter,

XLVI. *KOO-KEN*, in the year of the *era* 1409. But *XVI.* whether she was married, we are not told. In the first year *Koo-ken.* of her reign, gold was presented to her, which had been dug *After Chr.* up in the mines of *Oso*, for till then that metal had been im- *749* ported from *China*. Soon after which, she finished the stately temple of *Toodaf*, which her father had begun, pursuant to a vow, but did not live to complete (N). She reigned ten years, and was succeeded by,

XLVII. *FAI-TAI*, the Emperor *Yen-mu*'s great grand- *XLVII.* son, in the year of the *era* 1419; of whom nothing more is *Fai-tai.* recorded, than that he removed his court to *Fora*, in the pro- *After Chr.* vince of *Oomi*; thence to *Tayranokio*; and lastly to *Fairo*, in *759* the province of *Ravadfi*; within the six years of his reign, and was succeeded by,

XLVIII. *SEO-TOKU*, the Empress *Koo-ken*'s eldest *XLVIII.* daughter; who only reigned five years, and left the crown *Seo-toku.* to, *765.*

XLIX. *KOO-NIN*, the Emperor *Ten-tsi*'s grandson, in *XLIX.* the year of the *era* 1430. In the second of whose reign, a *Koo-nin.* storm of thunder and lightning happened, dreadful beyond *After Chr.* expression, the fire descending from heaven like stars, and *770.* with a loud and fearful noise. On this occasion, the emperon

(M) The *Japanese* physicians distinguish three sorts of small-pox; viz. the *Fook*, which is properly that disease; the *safika*, which is rather a kind of measles; and the *kare*, which signifies watery pustules.

In their treating of the small-pox, they commonly wrap up the patient in red cloth. And when one of the emperor's children falls ill of that distemper, not only the bed and room, but we are furnished with red, but all the persons that come near

the patient must be clad in the same colour.

As to the venereal, or great-pox, it is not unknown among them, but is called the *Portuguese* disease, as hath been elsewhere hinted.

(N) The history adds, that, upon the consecration of that edifice, one *Giogii* obtained, by his prayers, the miraculous presence of *Barramout*, an eminent god in *India*, who came accordingly over, and assisted at it.

ordered

ordered the *Matsuri's*, or solemn feasts and processions, to be celebrated in all parts of his dominions, to appease the *Jakushi*, or evil spirits, who have the command of the air and fields. In the eighth year of his reign, the river *Fusu-usin-gawa* was quite dried up; and in the tenth, a dreadful fire broke out at *Meaco*, which destroyed all the temples of that metropolis. He reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his son,

L. *Kwan-mu*. L. *KWAN-MU*, or *Quam-mu*, in the year of the æra 1442, and of his age forty-six. In the sixth year of his reign, a foreign people, who were not *Chinese*, but of some more distant country, came over to invade *Japan*. The *Japanese* did all that was in their power to get rid of them, but to little purpose, their losses being still supplied with fresh recruits. Nine years after their arrival, *Tamamar*, a brave and renowned general, was sent against them, with better success, who gave them several defeats, and killed their commander in chief. They held out, however, some time longer, and were not intirely suppressed till the eighteenth year after their arrival, and of the æra 1466. *Kwan-mu* reigned twenty-four years, and died in the seventieth of his age.

LI. *Fei-dso*. LI. *FEI-DSO*, or *Fai-dsia*, reigned only four years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LII. *Sa-ga*. LII. *SAGA*, who reigned fourteen years; during which time, a great number of temples, monasteries, &c., were erected all over the empire. His younger brother,

LIII. *Siun-va*. LIII. *SIUN-VA* succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1484, and reigned ten years; in the second of which, the *Japanese* historian mentions one *Vrasima*, who returned from *Foreisan* into *Japan*, in the 348th year of his age. He had lived, it seems, all that time under water, where, they believe, people do not grow old.

LIV. *Ni-mio*. LIV. *NI-MIO*, or *Nim-mio*, *Sa-ga's* second son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1604, and reigned seventeen years. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

LV. *Mon-toku*. LV. *MON-TOKU*, or *Bon-toku*, in the year of the æra 1511; in the fourth year of whose reign, several violent earthquakes were felt in *Japan*, by one of which, the head of the great *Day-buts*, or idol of *Siaka*, was thrown down, in his temple at *Meaco*. He reigned eight years, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

LVI. *Sci-va*. LVI. *SEI-VA*, in the year of the æra 1519; in the fifth year of whose reign, the books of the great *Confucius* were first brought, read, and approved of, at the imperial court. In the ninth year of his reign, was born, in *Jamatto*, the celebrated Princess *Jisge*, daughter of *Tsike-kugu*, a prince of the

the imperial blood, who became famous for her extraordinary learning, and whose writings are highly esteemed in Japan. *Sei-va* reigned eighteen years, and resigned the crown to his son, and died four years after his abdication.

LVII. *JO-SEY*, *Sei-va*'s eldest son, was but nine years old when his father resigned, in the year of the æra 1537. In the second year of his reign, two suns appeared in China. This prince found the crown sit so heavy upon him, that he lost his senses in a short time; on which account, the prime minister thought fit to depose him, after he had reigned eight years.

LVII.

Jo-sey.

After Chr.

877.

Runs mad.

LVIII. *KOOKO*, the Emperor *Ni-mio*'s second son, was placed on the throne, in the year of the æra 1545; in the seventh month of the first year of whose reign, it rained sand and stones, which destroyed almost the whole crop of rice. He reigned only three years, and was succeeded by his third son.

LVIII.

Kooko.

After Chr.

885.

A strange rain.

LIX. *VDA*; in the second year of whose reign, there fell so much rain all the summer, that the fields were overflowed, and the harvest greatly damaged. He reigned ten years.

LIX.

Vda.

888.

LX. *DAY-GO*, his eldest son, succeeded him, in the year of the æra 1558; and on the first year of his reign, on the third day of the sixth month, it grew, on the sudden, so dark (probably by a total eclipse of the sun), that the people could not see one another. In the second year, died *Somme-Dono*, who had been declared *Kissaki*, that is, the supreme woman, or empress, and mother of the presumptive heir to the throne. In the sixteenth year, on the second day of the fifth month, a great fire happened at the capital of *Meaco*, which consumed 617 houses. On the twenty-sixth year, a hare was sent to court which had eight legs, out of the provinces of *Jamatto*. *Day-go* reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his twelfth son.

LX.

Day-go.

After Chr.

898.

A total darkness.

A great

fire at

Meaco.

LXI. *SIU-ZAKU*, in the year of the æra 1591; in the second year of whose reign, *Massakaddo*, a prince of the imperial blood, revolted; and the rebellion could not be quelled till seven years after, when the author of it was defeated, and killed. In the third year of his reign, on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, was felt a violent earthquake, and another on the seventh year, on the fifteenth of the fourth month. Most of this prince's reign was troubled with storms of thunder and lightning, which reduced a great number of temples and monasteries to ashes; particularly, in the thirteenth year, during which, the storms were almost universal in all the provinces of the empire. *Siu-zaku* reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by,

LXI.

Siu-zaku.

After Chr.

931.

Violent

storms.

LXII.

LXII.

Mura-  
kami.

After Chr.

947.

A general  
flood.

LXIII.

Ren-fei.

968.

64. Jen.

vo. 970.

LXV.

Kwassan.

After Chr.

985.

Turns  
mink.

LXVI.

Idſi-dſio.

After Chr.

987.

LXVII.

San-dſio.

After Chr.

1012.

LXVIII.

Itſi-Dſio

II.

Coaches

drawn by

oxen.

A grievous

pestilence.

Snow in

June four

feet high.

LXIX.

Siu ſaku

II.

LXII. *MURAKAMI*, the emperor *Daigo's* fourteenth son, in the year of the era 1607; who, in the fourth year of his reign, called a synod together, at which assisted all the heads of the different sects, to deliberate about some matters of religion. He reigned twenty-one years, and left the crown to his second son,

LXIII. *REN-SEI*, or *Rei-sen*, in the year of the era 1628, aged then sixty-one. He reigned but two years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LXIV. *JEN-VO*, or *Jen-bo*; who reigned fifteen years, and left the crown to his nephew.

LXV. *KWASSAN*, or *Quassan*, was the son of the late emperor *Ren-sei*, and was but seventeen years old when he mounted the throne, in the year of the era 1645; and had scarcely reigned two years when he was seized with a religious fit, left his imperial palace in the middle of the night, and retired into the monastery of *Quan-si*, where he was shaved, and dedicated himself to a retired life. He continued twenty-two years in the same monastery, and died in the fortieth year of his age.

LXVI. *ITSIDſIO*, his cousin, and son of the late emperor *Jen-vo*, succeeded him immediately upon his abdication, in the year of the era 1647. His reign is famed for the number of learned men who then flourished at his court, but the eighteenth year of it was visited with a mortality which raged all over the empire. He reigned twenty-five years, and was succeeded by,

LXVII. *SAN-DSIO*, the emperor *Ren-sei's* second son, in the year of the era 1672. He reigned five years: in the third of which his residence was burnt down, as was a great part of another on the next.

LXVIII. *GO-ITSIDſIO*, or *Iſſi-Dſio* the second, succeeded him in the year of the era 1677. In the fifth year of his reign *Sai-su* obtained leave of him to be drawn about in a covered chariot drawn by two oxen; which new fashion was so well liked, that the whole ecclesiastical court soon followed it. On the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the same year there was a violent storm, which did a considerable deal of mischief; and in the sixth year a grievous plague raged through most parts of the empire. In the twelfth year, and in the fourth month, answering to our *June*, there fell such quantities of snow as covered the ground to the height of above four feet. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

LXIX. *GO-SIU-SAKU*, or *Siu-saku* the second, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and 1697 of the era: in the fifth

fifth year of whose reign, in the first month, there was a violent earthquake. He reigned nine years, and left the crown to his eldest son, *After Chr.* 1037.

LXX. *GO-REI-SIN*, in the year of the æra 1706: in the thirteenth year of whose reign a rebellion was raised in the province of *Osja*, by one *Jori-jie*, which lasted five years, till the emperor's crown-general totally defeated the rebels, and slew their two head commanders. He reigned twenty-three years, and died in the forty-ninth year of his age. *Rei-sin II.* 1046.

LXXI. *GO-SAN-DSIO* succeeded him in the year of the æra 1729, and thirty-sixth of his age; and, after a short reign of four years, left the crown to his eldest son, *San-Dsio II.* 1069.

LXXII. *SIIRA-KAVA*, in the year of the æra 1733: in the ninth year of whose reign there was a very great drought. He reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his second son, *Siira-kava After Chr.* 1073.

LXXIII. *FORI-KAVA*, in the year of the æra 1747: who reigned twenty-one years, and died in the thirtieth of his age. *Fori-kava LXXIII.* 1087.

LXXIV. *TOBA*, his eldest son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1678: in the first year of whose reign a noise was heard in the air like that of the beating of drums, which continued several days. In the fourteenth was born *Kijomori*, a prince of the blood, very famous in the *Japanese history* (O). *Toba* reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *After Chr.* 1103.

LXXV. *SIUTOKU*, in the year of the æra 1784: in whose reign was built the town of *Kama-kura*. He reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his youngest brother, *Siutoku After Chr.* 1124.

LXXVI. *KON-JET*, the emperor *Toba's* eighth son, in the year of the æra 1802: in the sixth year of whose reign a comet appeared. At this time flourished the famed *Jori-masda*, a prince of the blood, who, by the assistance of *Fatf-man*, the *Mars* of the *Japanese*, performed many great ex- *Kon-jey After Chr.* 1142.

(O) This prince assumed the title of *Dayro*, and got a court of his own adherents, like that of those monarchs; but, not being able to maintain his title and dignity, was forced to flee to the famed convent of *Medira*, on the mountain of *Jeesan*, where the monks protected him against the imperial court, and the troops sent against him; soon

after which he turned monk, lived fourteen years in that monastery, and died in the sixtieth year of his age, of a malignant burning fever, which made his flesh look as red as if he had been all on fire: a just punishment, says the *Japanese* historian, for his treasonable presumption.

plots (P) during the civil wars carried on between four of the most potent princes of the empire; and, at the end of 27 years, was extirpated with his whole family.

In the tenth year of his reign was born at court the first great *Seogun*, or crown-general, *Jeritomo*, who was pitched upon by the *Dayro* to go, at the head of a powerful army, and terminate the wars between the competitors. This subtle general, abusing the power put into his hands, readily espoused the interest of that party which was most likely to support his own; by which he became so powerful, that he at length found himself strong enough to strip the *Dayros* of their secular power, and to intail it on his own posterity, as we shall see in the sequel. *Konjey* reigned fourteen years, and was succeeded by his elder brother,

LXXVII. LXXVII. *GOSHI-RAKAVA*, in the year of the æra Goshi-  
rakava. 1816: in the very first year of whose reign *Issi-ju* revolted,  
After Cbr. and occasioned a bloody and destructive war, which, from  
1156. the time of its beginning, was called *Foggienno Midarri*, or  
A new re- *The desolation of the Foggien æra*. In the third year of his  
bellion. reign, and in the eighth month, happened a new earthquake;  
Abdicates. soon after which he resigned the crown to his eldest son, and  
some twelve years after turned monk.

LXXVIII. LXXVIII. *NIDŌ* was then but sixteen years old; and,  
NidŌ. in the first year of his reign, his two generals *Nobujori* and  
*Jositomo* (the father of *Jeritomo*) rebelled against him; the  
latter of whom was killed two years after, and his son ban-  
ished to *Idſu*. *NidŌ* reigned seven years, and left the crown  
to his eldest son,

LXXIX. LXXIX. *ROKU-DSIO*, in the year of the æra 1826;  
Roku- who was then but ten years old, and died in the third year  
Dſio. of his reign. After his death,  
1166.

(P) Among other of his feats, he is said to have shot to death, with his arrows, the infernal serpent *Nuge*, a monstrous creature, which had the head of a monkey, the tail of a serpent, and the body and claws of a tyger, and harboured in the imperial palace, to the no small dread and disturbance both of the *Dayro* and his court. If this be not rather an hieroglyphical picture of some chief rebel; for, by that time those monarchs, who had enjoyed so high and

unlimited an authority during such a long series of ages, and governed with such an absolute sway, began to feel a sensible decay of their power, the vassal and tributary princes, imitating their example, and every-where assuming an independent power, being chiefly actuated by ambition and jealousy against each other, till they kindled that most destructive war above-mentioned, which had like to have ruined the empire.

LXXX.

LXXX. *TAKAKURA*, the third son of the late emperor *Gosſi-rakava*, was raised to the throne in the ninth year of his age; and, in the fourth year of his reign, a great part of the imperial city and palace were laid in ashes. In the seventh the small-pox was very fatal all over the empire; and, in the twelfth, the enemies of *Joritomo* were defeated in the province of *Iju*; and *Jorimassa*, the Japanese Hercules lately mentioned, destroyed, with his whole family. *Takakura* reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his eldest son, LXXX. Takakura. 1169.

LXXXI. *AN-TOKU*, in the year of the æra 1841: in the first year of whose reign there was a grievous famine, occasioned by the badness of the crop, and the civil wars then raging. In the same year *Kadſuvara* (Q) went over from the party of *Feki* to that of *Joritomo*, who was then called *Tajemſki*, and had at that time a son born, and named *Jorijje*, who succeeded him afterwards in the government of secular affairs. *Antoku*, after a three years troublesome reign, was forced to resign the crown to a fourth son of the emperor *Takakura*, and about two years after was drowned in his flight from some of his enemies, in the western sea. LXXXI. Antoku. After Chr. 1181.

LXXXII. *GO-TA-BA*, or *Toba* the second, mounted the throne in the year of the æra 1844; and, in the 12th year of his reign, *Joritomo*, who had had such success against the generals of the contending parties, came to *Meaco* to pay his respects to the *Mikaddo*, or, as he is vulgarly called, the *Dayro*, and obtained from him the title of *Sey Seogun*, or grand general of the crown (R); and took upon him the command LXXXII. Toba II. 1184.

(Q) *Kadſuvara* was a man of mean extraction, but, by his bravery and noble exploits, had raised himself to the degree of one of the most considerable princes of the empire; and, by his now siding with that revolted general, turned the balance almost wholly on his side.

We read of several eminent generals who were killed in this civil war, particularly *Jooſnaga*, a hero much cried up in the Japanese history; and, after him, *Jofirue*, another great commander, whose death was followed by that of his lieutenant-general, and the extirpation of his whole family.

(R) This is the same title with that of *Cubo*, mentioned in the letters of the missionaries, *Varenius*, and other Japan writers; and which we have therefore made use of in the former part of this chapter, as the most known of the two. *Dr. Kämpfer*, who hath given us this extract of their history out of the Japanese annals, gives them that of *Sei-seogun*; but, from his and their accounts, it plainly appears that the dignity is the same; and that they originally meant the generalissimo of the emperor's forces, whose office it was to decide all competitions between contending tributary princes,



command of the imperial forces, and soon after the greatest branch of the secular power. This title is still enjoyed by all who are raised to that dignity, and with the addition of that of *Day*, or high lord, as they came to grow more powerful; for they did not absolutely strip the imperial monarchs of every branch of their secular authority till the time of *Tayche*, or *Taychesanma*, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; but kept within some bounds with them, and contented themselves with infringing some part of it gradually, and as occasion offered. *Joritomo* therefore, tho' not the first that abused this important trust, may be said to have been the first who made a successful attempt on this branch of the imperial prerogative, and who found means to intail this ill-gotten power on his posterity.

*Resigns the crown.* *GO-TA-BA* reigned fifteen years, and then resigned the crown to his eldest son, and died in the sixtieth year of his age.

*LXXXIII.* *LXXXIII.* *TSUTSI*, alias *Tsutsi Mikaddo*, was but three years old when he succeeded his father in the year 1859; and *Tsutsi*. *Joritomo* died in the first year of his reign, leaving his power and dignity to his son *Jori Ise*, which last had it confirmed to him by *Tsutsi*, in the fifth year of his reign, and was killed two years after. *Tsutsi* reigned twelve years, and resigned the crown to his younger brother, and lived in all thirty-seven years.

*LXXXIV.* *LXXXIV.* *SIUN-TOKU* succeeded his brother in the year of the era 1871; and, in the sixth year of his reign, the first *Fune*, or men of war, were built in Japan by order of *Sonnetomo*, the second son and successor of *Joritomo*, who was then endeavouring to maintain himself in his post of *Sey* *First men of war built in Japan.*

princes, to quell all rebellions, and to command all the imperial forces. This post, therefore, was of such importance, that the emperors generally bestowed it on their second, or some younger or favourite son that was fit for it; or, in want of that, to some favourite brother, nephew, cousin, &c.; and these were styled *Cubos*, some of whom, hurried by their unmeasurable ambition, have raised very unnatural rebellions and civil wars, instead of quelling them, as hath been

formerly observed. *Joritomo* seems to be the first who had the title of *Seogun* given to him; but, whether because he was not of the imperial blood, or at some great remove from the reigning branch, we will not affirm; only thus much is plain, that his office and power was the same with that of the *Cubos*; and that, like some of them, he found an effectual way of abusing both against his lawful sovereign.

*Seogun* by force of arms. The emperor reigned eleven years, and resigned the crown to,

*Resigns.*

LXXXV. *GO-FORIKAVA*, or *Forikava* the second, grand-son to the emperor *Takakura*; who reigned eleven years, lived twenty-four, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

85. *Forikava II.*  
1222.

LXXXVI. *SI-DSEO* was but five years of age when he mounted the throne; and, in the seventh year of his reign, *Joritze*, the then *Seogun*, or crown general, whose usual residence was at *Kamakura*, came thence to *Meaco*, to pay his homage to him. *Si-dseo* reigned ten, and lived fifteen years, and was succeeded by,

LXXXVI.  
*Si-dseo.*  
*After Cbr.*  
1233.

LXXXVII. *GO-SAGA*, or *Saga* the second, the second son of *Tsutsi Mikaddo*; who, after a short reign of four years, died in the fifty-third year of his age, and left the crown to his second son,

LXXXVII.  
*Saga II.*  
*After Cbr.*  
1243.

LXXXVIII. *GO-FIKAKUSA*, in the year of the æra 1907: in the eleventh year of whose reign happened a violent earthquake. He reigned thirteen years, and lived sixty, but resigned the crown to his younger brother,

LXXXVIII.  
*Fikakusa.*  
*After Cbr.*  
1247.

LXXXIX. *KAME-JAMMA*; in the seventh year of whose reign appeared a comet, which was also seen in *China*; and in the ninth year, on the eighth day of the fifth month, were seen two suns; and on the second day of the eleventh month were seen three moons. He reigned fifteen years, and resigned the crown to his eldest son, and lived thirty-two years after it.

LXXXIX.  
*Kame-jamm.*  
*After Cbr.*  
1260.

XC. *GOUDA* succeeded him in the year of the æra 1935; and in the nineteenth year of his reign, and twenty-first day of the fifth month, the *Tartar* general *Mooko*, as he is called by the *Japanese* historians, appeared upon the coasts of *Japan* with a fleet of 4000 sail, and 240,000 men. The then reigning *Tartar* emperor *Sysu*, after having completed the conquest of *China*, about the year of Christ 1270, resolved upon that of *Japan* also. We have formerly given an account of this abortive expedition\*; which, if we will believe the *Japanese* writers, proved so by reason of the tutelar gods of *Japan* resenting the insult offered to them by those invaders, to such a degree, that, on the first day of the seventh month, they excited a vehement storm, which destroyed their boasted invincible armada (S). *Gouda* reigned thirteen, and lived fifty-eight years. He was succeeded by his cousin,

XC.  
*Gouda.*  
*After Cbr.*  
1275.

*Japan invaded by the Tartars.*

XCI.

\* See before, vol. iv. p. 577, & seq. & (M). & viii. 534, & seq.

(S) Both the *Chinese* and *Japanese* histories take notice of somewhat as to the time, and other circumstances. Father Couplet, in his chronological tables, MOD. HIST. VOL. IX. I

XCI. *FUSIMI*, *Fikakusa* II.'s son, in the year of the æra 1948; who had a son born in the first year of his reign, to whom he resigned his crown in the eleventh, and died in the fifty-third year of his age.

XCII. *GO-FUSIMI* mounted the throne in the eleventh year of his age, and 1959th of the æra; and, after a short reign of three years, resigned the throne, and died in the forty-eighth year of his age.

XCIII. *GO-NIDSIO*, or *Nidsio* II. the emperor *Gouda*'s eldest son, succeeded him in the year of the æra 1962. His reign is remarkable for a violent earthquake; for the death of the emperor *Kame-jamma*, thirty-two years after his resignation of the crown; as also for the birth of *Takaudsi*, who became afterwards a celebrated *Seogun*, or secular monarch. *Nidsio* reigned only six years, and resigned the throne to,

94. Fan- XCIV. *FANNASONNO*, younger brother to *Fusimi* II. in the year of the æra 1968; who reigned eleven years, and resigned the crown to,

1308. XCV. *GO-DAYGO* II. *Nidsio*'s second brother, in the year of the æra 1979: in the latter end of whose reign the civil wars then raging occasioned the shedding of a vast deal of blood. These wars are related at length in a *Japanese* history called *Teyfeki*. *Daygo*, after a reign of thirteen years, resigned the crown to,

XCVI. *KWO-GIEN*, or *Kow-gien*, in the year of the æra 1992: in the second year of whose reign *Taykadsi*, then *Seogun* or secular monarch, came to pay his homage to him.

tables of the *Chinese* empire, and *Du Halde* in his description of it, place the complete conquest of it in the year 1281; and the *Japanese* in the ninth year of the emperor *Gouda*'s reign, which will fall in with the year of Christ 1284. They differ likewise as to the number of ships and men, their total defeat, and other less material points; and it is not to be doubted but the *Japanese*, who were the gainers in it, have magnified the loss of the *Tartars*; inasmuch that, of that vast navy, few men escaped, according to them, to carry the dreadful news to *China*. However, *Marco Paolo*, the *Venetian* traveller, confirms the main points both of the invasion and great loss of the *Tartars*; and, to the account of that dreadful storm, adds another cause of their defeat, viz. the dissensions and jealousies that arose between the two *Tartar* generals. What he adds to it, viz. that they were forced to abandon what they had already conquered, seems likewise to intimate as if they had made some considerable progress in it. But the truth is, he was not among them, but resided then at the *Tartar* court in *China*; so that he must take his account from the *Tartars* themselves, who would not fail of representing this great defeat and loss in the most favourable light.

He

He resigned the crown to his predecessor, after he had enjoyed *After Chr.*  
it two years, and lived thirty-two years after that. 1332.

GO-DAYGO resumed the throne; and three years after Daygo II.  
the isle of *Nippon* was shook with a violent earthquake. He resumes the  
reigned this second time but three years, and was succeeded *crown.*  
by,

XCVII. QUO-MIO, the fourth son of the emperor Fu- XCVII.  
*fini* II. and younger brother of *Kwo-gien*, in the year of the Quo-mio.  
era 1996: in the second year of whose reign the then *Seo- After Chr.*  
gun or crown general was honoured with the additional and 1337.  
illustrious title of *Day*, or lord. The *Japanese* historians  
differ about the length of *Quo-mio's* reign, one giving him  
twelve, and another but two years: however, he was suc-  
ceeded by,

GO-MURACAMI II. Daygo II.'s seventh son, in the year  
of the era 1999, who yet hath no rank assigned to him in  
the list of the *Mikaddos*, though we find three *Neugos*, or  
short eras, mentioned during his reign; the two first of three,  
and the last of four, years: however, at the expiration of the  
last,

XCVIII. SIUK-VO mounted the throne in the year of the XCVIII.  
era 2039: in the first year of whose reign, an end was put Siuk-vo.  
to the war called *Sidjo Navatto*. He reigned but three years, *After Chr.*  
and was succeeded by his younger brother, 1349.

XCIX. GO-KWO-GEN II. *Kwo-gen* II. in the year of XCIX.  
the era 2012: in the third year of whose reign *Josifaki*, the *Kwo-gen*  
third son of *Takaudsi* the *Day-Seogun*, came to court; and, II.  
on the next year, *Takaudsi* himself was sent by that monarch  
to compose some tumults in the province of *Oomi*. That ge-  
neral died four years after, and was succeeded by his son  
above-named, who had the title of *Sei Day Seogun* confirmed  
unto him, as had also his son and successor *Josifimitz*. *Kwo-*  
*gen* reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by,

C. GO-JENSU, or *Jensu* II. in the year of the era C.  
2032: in the eighth year of whose reign a grievous famine *Jensu II.*  
raged through the empire. In the same year a comet appeared. *After Chr.*  
He reigned eleven years, and left the crown to his eldest son, 1372.

CI. GOKO MATZ, in the year of the era 2043: in the 9th CI.  
year of whose reign a war raged in the country of the *Udsii*; in *Goko-*  
the 14th the famed temple of the *Kenninfi* was laid in ashes; *matz.*  
and, in the 20th, a comet appeared in the spring, which was 1383.  
followed by an excessive drought during the summer and au-  
tumn, and by several violent earthquakes in the next winter;  
in the 22d year of his reign a mountain at *Nansuo*, in the  
province of *Simotski*, began to burn, and to throw up fire,  
stones, and ashes, but the flame ceased soon after. The 25th  
year

year of his reign was remarkable for its excessive rains, which occasioned several inundations, followed by storms and earthquakes.

He reigned thirty years; and was succeeded by his son,

CII. *SEO-KWO*, in the year of the æra 2073: in the 4th year of whose reign *Uje*, of the family of the *Suggi*, rebelled against him. In the ninth year, on the twelfth day of the tenth month, there appeared two suns. He reigned sixteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

CIII. *GO-FUNNA-SO*, in the year of the æra 2089. In this year appeared a very large and terrible comet; and another in the eleventh year of his reign. In the sixteenth year *Josimassa* was honoured with the title of *Sey Seogun*; and, in the eighteenth, the imperial palace was burnt to ashes. During the seven last years of this reign many strange and dreadful appearances in the heavens are mentioned by the *Japanese* historians, which were followed by famine, pestilence, and a grievous mortality all over the empire. He reigned thirty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

CIV. *GO-TSUTSLMIKADDO*, in the year of the æra 2121. In the second month of this year was seen a comet, whose tail appeared to be about eighteen feet long; and in the next were felt several dreadful earthquakes. The third year was very fatal to the empire; which was filled with troubles, civil wars, and desolations. On the fifth year appeared another comet; and in the seventh, on the first day of the twelfth month, was seen a new and larger one than any that had been observed before, and with a tail as long, according to the *Japanese* historian, as a street. This year was likewise remarkable for a great mortality throughout the empire; and, in the eleventh, the waters about *Amagasaki*, in the province of *Setz*, were driven with such fury, by a vehement wind, into the land, that they overflowed a great part of that country, and drowned great numbers of the inhabitants. In the 25th year of this reign, and on the sixth day of the third month, died *Josinavo*, the son and colleague of *Josimassa*, the then crown-general; and in the next died his father also, and very much regretted. In the 29th year *Josisimmi*, having been honoured by the emperor with the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun*, went and commanded the army in *Jasiro*. *Tsutsi Mikaddo* reigned thirty-six years; and was succeeded by his son;

CV. *KASIVABARA*, in the year of the æra 2161: in the fourth year of whose reign a great famine raged thro' the empire; and in the sixth appeared a comet. In the eighth the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun* was bestowed on *Jositamno*, the brother of *Josinavo*, and twenty-first in descent from *Jorito*,  
tomo,

*tomo*, who went four years after to pay his homage to that monarch. The tenth year of his reign was fatal to *Japan* *famine*. both by wars and earthquakes; and in the sixteenth appeared another comet. *Kafuvabara* reigned twenty-six years, and was succeeded by his son,

CVI. *GONARA*, in the year of the æra 2187: the beginning of whose reign was signalized by the conclusion of a grievous war between the two great princes *Fossokava* and *Kadsuragava*; the former of whom, two years after, put an end to his life by ripping up his own bowels, with that courage and resolution which is the peculiar character of the *Japanese* heroes. During this monarch's reign, the empire was visited twice with pestilence and a grievous mortality, thrice with vast rains and inundations, and once with such an universal storm as blew down a prodigious number of buildings thro' the island, and in particular the imperial palace. In the 21st year *Josi-tir* received the titles of *Sey-Day-Seogun*; eighteen years after which he ripped up his own bowels. He was the son of *Josifar*, and twenty-fourth in descent from *Joritomo*; and was raised to that dignity in colleaguehip with his father, who died three years after, in the 24th of *Gonara*'s reign. *Gonara* reigned thirty-one years, and was succeeded by his son,

CVII. *OOKIMATZ*, whose reign began with a grievous drought and famine, in the year of the æra 2218. In the 11th year of his reign *Jositira*, the son of *Josi-tir*, was raised to the dignity of *Sey-Day-Seogun*, or secular monarch, in his father's stead, who had ripped up his own bowels three years before. In the sixteenth year *Kanio*, which is the upper city of *Meaco*, was set on fire by incendiaries, by which the greatest part of it, and of the imperial palace, were burnt down. In the 20th year, in the beginning of the ninth month, appeared a large comet, which did not go off till the next year. In the 25th year, on the second day of the fifth month, the famed *Nobunanga*, the then *Sey-Day-Seogun*, and twenty-seventh in descent from *Joritomo*, and his eldest son, were killed at *Meaco* (T); and on the next year came some ambassadors from

(T) Some of the letters of the missionaries mention him not only as a cubo, or crown general, but as a tyrant, who had seized upon several of the petty kingdoms about the metropolis of *Meaco*; and had raised himself to such a vast height of power, that a conspiracy was formed against him, in which he and some of his sons were killed, and the rest dispersed, together with all his friends and adherents (1).

(1) See *Karen*, lib. i, c. 4. ad fin.

Taycho  
raised to  
the dignity  
of vice-  
gerent.  
After Chr.  
1585.

Becomes  
absolute.

the *Riuku* or *Laqueo* islands. In the 28th year of this reign, and in the seventh month, *Fide Jofi*, who afterwards took the name of *Taycho* and *Taychosamma*, was by the emperor raised to the dignity of *Quambuku*, which was then the next to that of the *Dayro*, by virtue of which they acted as his vicegerents. We shall give a farther account of him in the sequel, when we come to speak of the secular monarchs; and only observe here, that it was he who stripped the emperors of the last remains of their secular authority, and made himself absolutely independent from them in all secular affairs, except the paying a kind of formal homage once in three, four, or five years, as hath been formerly hinted <sup>b</sup>.

THIS 28th year was likewise remarkable for a violent earthquake which happened at the end of the eleventh month, and continued to repeat its frequent though gentler shocks the best part of the next year, which was the 29th, and last of *Ookimatz*'s reign, who then resigned the crown to his grandson, and died seven years after.

CVIII.  
Go-josei.  
After Chr.  
1587.

CVIII. *GO-JOSEI*, who was the eldest son of the hereditary prince *Jookuo*, who died the year before, on the seventh day of the eleventh month, in the year of the æra 2247. In the third year of his reign *Fide Tsugu*, a nephew of *Taychosamma* above-mentioned, and by him declared his heir and successor (though afterwards disgraced, and condemned to rip open his bowels), a cruel and bloody prince, killed *Foodjo*, a revolted tributary king, in the province of *Sagami*, and extirpated his whole race according to the *Japanese* rules of war, which advise, by that means, to root out and destroy at once the cause and the evil; and on the next year was invested with the title and dignity of *Quambuku*.

Korean  
war.

After Chr.  
1592.

Dreadful  
earth-  
quakes.

Rain of  
hair.

In the sixth year of this reign *Taychosamma* carried the war into the peninsula of *Korea*, of which we have given an account at the end of the last volume <sup>c</sup>; and with a view, as he pretended, of conquering afterwards the empire of *China*, but ended the war in the seventh year of it. In the eleventh year of *Go-Josei*, and on the twelfth day of the eleventh month happened several violent earthquakes, which continued their shocks for a whole month; and about the same time it rained hair four or five inches long in several parts of the empire, which phenomenon is often mentioned in the *Japanese* histories.

Taycho's  
new title *Fide Jofi*, the twenty-ninth in descent from *Joritomo*, took

<sup>b</sup> See before, vol. viii. p. 536, & seq.    <sup>c</sup> See also p. 27, & seq.

upon him the title of *Taycho*, or great prince, having by that time got the supreme and absolute power and command over all secular affairs; and died on the 16th of *December* of and death. the same year, leaving his son and successor *Fide-jori*, then *After Cbr.* under age, to the care of *Jejas-fama*, one of his favourite 1598. counsellors. In the fourteenth year *Jesida Tsibu*, who had some place at *Fide-jori*'s court, rebelled against the emperor; *Ar rebellion* but he and his adherents were soon after defeated, and the chief *quelled.* of them, with all their families, exterminated. In the seven- *Jejas's*teenth year the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun* was given to *Jejas*, *new title.* or *Jejas-fama*, the governor of *Taycho*'s son, probably on account of his having suppressed the rebellion above-mentioned, whilst that of *Nay-Day-Sin* was given to *Fide-jori*; and two years after the former of those titles was given to *Fide-tada*, *Jejas's* son. In the same 19th year of this reign a mountain *A moun-* arose out of the sea in one night's time, near the rocky island *tain rise* of *Fatsifco*, whither the grandees in disgrace are commonly *out of the* banished. In the 21st year arrived at *Suruga* an ambassador *sa.* from *China*, sent thither to compliment the secular monarch, *A Chinese* or, as the *Chinese* historians pretend, to present him with the *ambassy to* letters patents, and title of king, from the *Chinese* emperor. *Fide-jori.* In the 23d year *Jejas* ordered a strong castle to be built in the province of *Owari*; and on the next year the *Rtuku* or *The La-* *Laqueio* isles, which had sent an ambassy to *Japan* in some *queio* former reign, were subdued by the prince of *Satzuma*, or *islands* *Sazuma*, in the great island of *Ximo*, a tributary of *Japan*; *conquered.* ever since which time they have been looked upon as belonging to the empire. *Go-josey* reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by his son,

CIX. *DAY-SEO-KWO-TEY*, in the year of the æra CIX. 2272: in the third year of whose reign *Fide-jori* was deprived *Day-seo-* of his life and dignity by the treacherous *Jejas*, as will be *kwo-tey.* seen in the sequel; by which the latter passed from the family *After Cbr.* of *Taycho* to his own, in which it hath continued ever since. 1612. *Jejas* himself died in the fifth year of this reign, and left the *Jejas's* secular crown to his own son *Fide-tada*. In the eighth year *treachery* appeared a very remarkable comet; and in the tenth the em- *to Fide-* peror married with great pomp and ceremony *Fide-tada's* *Emperor* daughter, at his own palace of *Meaco*. Two years after *marries* *Jemitz*, the son of *Fide-tada*, went to pay his homage to the *Fide-* emperor, and obtained from him the title of *Sey-Day-Seogun*. *tada's* *Day-seo-kwo* reigned eighteen years, and then resigned the *daughter.* crown to his own daughter. He lived fifty years after that, *Resigns the* and died in the ninetyeth year of his age. *crown to* *her.*

CX. *NIO-TE*, or *Sia-te*, came to the crown in the year CX. of the æra 2290: in the third year of whose reign died *Fide-* *Nio-te.*



After Chr. 1630. *tada* the secular monarch; and his son and successor *Jemitz* went soon after to pay his homage to that prince. In the seventh year of her reign the *Chinese*, who had been for some time forbidden to come into *Japan*, on account of their suffering cowards and traitors, like their natural princes, to be dethroned and destroyed by the conquering *Tartars*, were again permitted to trade, though not to settle, there. By this time the Christian religion had been propagated with such surprising success throughout the empire, and was favoured and embraced by so many of the petty princes, and even by some of the secular monarchs, according to some relations; [*Fido-jori*, the son of the great *Taycha*, being affirmed to have been of that number] that it had already kindled an universal persecution against them, and one of the bloodiest that ever was known in any age or country. We shall find a more proper place to speak of it under the next article; and only observe here, that it was about the latter end of the eighth year of this prince's reign that the famous rebellion of the Christians happened at *Simabara*, in the province of *Fisen*, which brought on the utter extirpation of Christianity out of the empire; tho' neither she, nor any of her predecessors, had any hand in either the promoting or the abolition of it. The secular monarchs were the chief actors in both; and these rather acted according to their own inclinations and interests, than by any directions from the ecclesiastical throne, of which they were now become quite independent. All therefore that the daios could do to stop the progress of a new religion, so contrary to their glory and interest, could be only setting the vast numbers of priests and monks to preach against, and all the superstitious laity to oppose themselves to it; though all this would have proved ineffectual, if the secular monarchs had not given the finishing stroke to it, by that cruel persecution, and the severe laws they enacted against it.

THE twelfth year of this prince's reign was attended with a grievous famine and great mortality; and in the fourteenth she resigned the crown to her younger brother,

CXI.  
Go kwo-  
mio.

1643.

Imperial  
palace  
burnt.

CXI. *GO-KWO-MIO*, commonly styled *Gotto-Mio*, in the year of the era 2303, and on the 7th day of the 9th month, though he did not take full possession of the throne, and title of *Mikaddo*, till the fifth day of the eleventh month. In the eleventh year of his reign the imperial palace was set on fire, and a great part of it consumed, together with several stately temples, and other public edifices; soon after which, some lads of twelve and fourteen years of age were taken up on suspicion of having set fire to it, and to other parts of that

that metropolis. On the 20th day of the ninth month of the same year died the emperor, and was buried with great solemnity in the temple of *Sen Oufi*, on the fifteenth day of the ensuing month. He was succeeded by his third brother,

CXII. *SININ*, in the year of the æra 2314 : in the third year of whose reign, and not before, some authors pretend that the *Chinese* obtained leave to renew their traffick with Japan. In the same year a dreadful fire broke out at *Jeddo*, the residence of the secular monarch, which continued burning several days, and laid the greatest part of that noble capital in ashes (U). In the seventh year the palace of the *Dayro* at *Meaco* was likewise set on fire, and a great part of it laid in ashes. In the eighth year, on the first day of the fifth month, happened a vehement earthquake, by which a mountain in the province of *Oomi*, upon the river *Katzira*, was sunk so deep into the ground, as not to leave the least footstep of its having stood there. *Sinin* reigned eight years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

CXIII. *KINSEN*, or *Teyfen*, the youngest son of the late emperor *Day-seo-kwo-tey*, in the year of the æra 2323. This prince, in the third year of his reign, established a court of inquiry in all the cities, towns, and villages, throughout the empire ; whose business was, to examine what belief or sect each family, and each individual of it, was of, and to be continued once a year from that time forward, not on any determinate day, but on some convenient time either before or after the ceremony of trampling upon the crucifix, and other Christian images (W), but more probably before it, if we may

(U) This terrible fire, which happened on the 13th day of the first month (*February*), Anno Cbr. 1657, Mr. *Wagenaer*, who was then residing at that metropolis, as ambassador from the *Dutch East-India* company to the secular emperor, hath given a full and curious account, which hath been since inserted in *Montanus's Memorable Ambassies to Japan*, p. 370.

(W) We have already hinted something of this ceremony upon

another occasion (2), it having been imposed with a design of discovering those which are Christians or crossmen from those that are not, the former chusing rather to lose their lives than to offer such an indignity to their religion ; and the latter not only complying with, but performing it in such a manner as may best express their abhorrence of it.

Whether or no the court of inquiry, and the ceremony of

(2) See before, p. 52, & seq. (B), & alib. pass.

may guess at it by what is still practised at *Nanguazaki*, and other places, where Christianity had flourished most <sup>d</sup>.

*Great calamities.*

IN the sixth year of this reign, on the first day of the second month, and for forty-five days successively, the capital of

<sup>d</sup> Vid. KÆMPFER, lib. ii. c. 5. l. iv. c. 3. & alib. pass.

trampling upon the cross, were established at the same time, we cannot affirm, though in point of time they follow one another. However that be, these courts are obliged first to take a list of every inhabitant within their verge, old and young, and to what sect each individual belongs, which list is afterwards to be conveyed by the proper officers to the court, and this is commonly taken at the close of the old year; after which they proceed to that which they deem the more important ceremony, *viz.* the *Jesumi*, or *figure-treading*, as they there style it. This is performed by trampling upon a crucifix, upon the image of the Virgin *Mary*, or of some other saint, and shewing some other tokens of contempt and abhorrence to them: even the children, that are not capable of performing it, are held up in the arms of some relation, and made to touch the figures with their feet. These images are about a foot long, and cast in brass; and, when every person belonging to one street, none excepted, hath gone thro' this detestable ceremony, they immediately go on with the next, till they have gone through the whole city, town, or district; after which the officers, who are obliged to assist at the ceremony, perform it themselves in the same manner, and then wit-

ness with their hands and seals, both for each other, and for all the rest, at the bottom of the list, that it hath been duly performed by all whose names are inserted in it. If any hath dared to refuse to comply with it, they are either condemned to death, if they are persons of any note; or, if only poor, ignorant, and vulgar people, are either imprisoned for life, or at least till they publicly abjure and renounce the little Christianity they have.

This ceremony was, soon after the abolition of Christianity, ordered to be performed in every place belonging to the *Japanese* empire, on the second day of the year, which immediately followed the general inquiry above-mentioned; and lasted longer or shorter, according to the number of inhabitants belonging to each district; and, when finished, the pictures were locked up in a box, and preserved by the magistrate till the next year. But they have since much abated of its strictness, and only compel strangers or suspected persons to it, as they have taken such precautions against that religion being ever introduced again among them; so that it is only at some of their trading sea-ports that they kept it up at the time of our author's residing there (3).

(3) Kæmpf. lib. iv. cap. 3. & alib. pass.

*Jeddo* suffered greatly by fire, which seems to have been done *Conflagration* designedly, and the malicious intent levelled chiefly against *the* the merchants warehouses, and those parts where they were quartered. The sixth year, having suffered by a long and continued drought, brought on a famine on the next; and the emperor ordered, that from the 20th day of the first month, for 100 days successively, boiled rice should be distributed to the poor, at his own charge, in all the parts of the empire. The next year after is noted in their history for grievous storms and inundations in most of the maritime provinces, and for a great mortality among men and cattle. On the next year, as they were cleaning the river that runs by the port of *Osacca*, they took up great quantities of gold and silver, which had in all probability been sunk there during the late civil wars. On the eleventh year, and the ninth day of the fifth month, not only the *Dayro's* palace, but a great part of the city of *Meaco*, were again reduced to ashes; on which account that monarch ordered that certain quantities of rice should be given or lent to those who stood in need of it, as is frequently done in time of famine. On the eighteenth year died the then secular monarch *Jjetzna*, and in the next his successor *Tsinajos* had the following pompous titles bestowed upon him by the emperor *Kinsén*, and superadded to those of *Sey Day Seogun*; viz. *Nadai Sin*, *Sioni-j-ukonjeno Taisa* (X). In the twentieth year there was again a great famine and mortality in the empire, especially in and about the capital of *Meaco*; and in the last month of that year the city of *Jeddo* was again set on fire, and the greatest part of

(X) What the import of those titles is, we are not told, but only in general, that they are of the most pompous kind; and we only mention them here, to shew how far the dignity and authority of those monarchs was sunk by this time, that they had no other way of preserving the poor remains of it, but by bestowing on those secular upstarts such singular honours, and swollen titles; but their complaisance did not stop there, for as soon as any of them died, they made no difficulty of placing them among their gods, and to give them some new names,

still more sublime and pompous if possible, in order to secure the favour of the next successor. On the other hand, as the bulk of the nation still retained a profound regard for their ancient and natural monarchs, the secular ones could not fall upon a more effectual way of preventing any new revolt in their favour, than by thus endeavouring to obtain such signal tokens of their favour and esteem, as might induce the people to believe that there was a perfect harmony between the two courts, and that they acted every thing in concert with each other.

*A deep  
mourning  
for the pre-  
sumptive  
heir.*

it destroyed. In the twenty-first year died *Tokumatz*, the son and presumptive heir of *Tsinajo-samma*, the then reigning secular monarch; on which occasion the whole empire went into a general mourning, and all music, and other rejoicings, were forbidden for the space of three years. On the last month of the same year the city of *Jeddo* suffered a fresh conflagration; and about three years after *Kinsen*, having then reigned twenty-four years, resigned the crown to his son,

CXIV.  
*Kinsen* II.

CXIV. *KINSEN*, or *Kinseokwo*, in the year of the æra 2347, and of Christ 1687, which was the year in which our author was in *Japan*, and with which he concludes his list of ecclesiastical monarchs, which is extracted out of their history\*.

*The names  
and reigns  
of the 36  
secular  
monarchs.*

THE following is a regular list of their cubo's, or secular monarchs, from *Joritomo*, who laid the foundation of this new kind of monarchy, down to *Tsinajos*, who was then reigning in the year of Christ 1687 above-mentioned. But in this we shall content ourselves with the bare mention of their names, succession, and length of their reigns, at least as far down as the great *Taycho*, because we find little recorded of them but what we have already taken notice of under the reigns of the *Dayro*'s, with whom they were contemporary.

1. *JORITOMO* was born in the tenth year of the reign of *Konjey*, the seventy-sixth *Dayro*, *An. Chr.* 1152, or 1154 according to others, and began his reign about *An.* 1188. He reigned eleven years, and died in the first year of the *Dayro* *Tjutfs Mikaddo*, *An. Chr.* 1199.

2. *JORI-IJE*, his eldest son, succeeded him, and reigned five years.

3. *SANNETOMO*, *Joritomo*'s second son, reigned seventeen years.

4. *JORITZNE*, a son of *Quan-Baku-Dooka*, reigned eighteen years.

5. *JORI-SANE*, alias *Jori-fuga*, the son of *Joritzne*, reigned eight years.

6. *MUNE-TAKA-SINNO*, alias *Soo-Son-Sinno*, the son of the *Dayro* *Saga* II. reigned fifteen years.

7. *KORE-JAS-SINNO*, his eldest son, reigned twenty-four years.

8. *KUME-SINNO*, alias *Sanno-Osi*, the *Dayro* *Fika-kusa* II.'s third son, reigned twenty years.

9. *MORI-KUNI-SINNO*, the son of *Kume-Sinno*, reigned twenty-five years.

\* Vid. *KÆMPFER*, lib. ii. c. 5. lib. iv. c. 3, & seq.

10. *SONUN-SINNO*, the son of the *Dayro Dabgo II.*<sup>4</sup> second son, reigned two years,

11. *NARI-JOSI-SINNO*, the fourth son of the same *Dayro*, reigned three years.

12. *TAKA-UDSI*, a son of *Afkugo-Sanno-kino-Cami-nago-Udſi*, reigned twenty-five years.

13. *JOSI-JAKI*, the third son of *Taka-udſi*, reigned ten years.

14. *JOSI-MITZ*, *Josi-jaki's* son, reigned forty years.

15. *JOSI-MOTZI*, the son of *Taka-mitz*, reigned twenty-one years.

16. *JOSI-KASSU*, *Josi-motzi's* son, reigned under his father.

17. *JOSI-NORI*, another of his sons, reigned fourteen years.

18. *JOSI-KATZ*, *Josi-Nori's* eldest son, reigned three years.

19. *JOSI-MASSA*, another son of *Josi-Nori*, reigned forty-nine years.

20. *JOSI-NAVO* reigned under his father *Josi-maſſa*.

21. *JOSI-TANNE*, another son of *Josi-maſſa*, reigned eighteen years.

22. *JOSI-SYMMI*, *Josi-tanne's* son, reigned fourteen years.

23. *JOSI-FAR*, *Josi-symmi's* son, reigned thirty years.

24. *JOSI-TIR*, *Josi-far's* son, reigned sixteen years.

25. *JOSI-TAIRA* or *TIRA*, *Josi-tir's* son, reigned four years.

26. *JOSI-AKI*, *Josi-taira's* son, reigned five years.

27. *NOBENAGA*, alias *Nobunaga*, or *Nubunanga*, *Ori-dano Danſio*, *Tayra's* second son, reigned ten years.

28. *FIDE-NOBU*, *Nebu-Tada's* son, reigned three years.

29. *FIDE-JOSI*, afterwards ſtyled *Taycho* and *Taychoſamma*, *Taycho* the firſt that deſerved the title of ſecular emperor, was a man ſamma's of obſcure birth, a mere peaſant's ſon; but from his younger years raiſed himſelf to be butler to a *Japanese* nobleman, ſome ſay a tributary prince. We have elſewhere ſeen what a mean *low ex-* and diſadvantageous account the *Chineſe* give of his extract, *traſh* and and ſurpriſing riſe and fortune<sup>†</sup>. The *Japanese*, though they *riſe* own him to have ſprung from the loweſt rank, are not agreed about the means and manner by which he raiſed himſelf to ſuch a height of wealth, power, and credit, as to be at length created *Quambocu*, or vicegerent of the empire, by the *Dayro* himſelf; but all own that his valour and merit, and the *hier-*

<sup>†</sup> See before, vol. vii. p. 536, & ſeq.

*Cubos ex-  
orbitant  
power*

vices he did to his country in suppressing the pirates at sea, and quelling several feuds and rebellions on land, made him highly deserving of it. We have already taken notice of several of the cubos, or crown generals, having raised themselves to a prodigious height of secular power; but more particularly about the latter end of the sixteenth century, when one of them, the emperor's second son, had stripped his father of all his secular authority, and left him only his ecclesiastical power and dignity untouched, as being a privilege derived to him from his pretended divine extraction, and lineal descent from the gods; to all which his father, whether by force, or through fondness or indolence, consented, as if it had been by a mutual compromise.

*Gives rise  
to a new  
govern-  
ment.*

*The cubo  
opposed by  
the other  
princes.*

HOWEVER, this bold step proved more beneficial to the empire than it did to the new secular emperor, as it laid the foundation of a new form of government, highly conducing to the peace and happiness of it, and the most likely to keep the *Japanese* nation in awe, till then too much inclined to revolts and seditions; for whether the *Dayro* was forced, or willingly consented, to that change, it was not to be expected that the rest of the princes of the empire would sit contented under it; their ambition and insolence, as well as their power, was by that time risen to too great a height to suffer these new monarchs to tyrannise over them, whom the old ones were not able, for near four centuries, to keep within their duty; insomuch that it was in order to curb and suppress their frequent wars and seditions that those *Dayros* had suffered the crown-generals gradually to usurp so great an authority. It was therefore no wonder that the most powerful of them should unite their forces against such an upstart and dangerous enemy; and they accordingly opposed them with such warm vigour, as soon after paved an easy way to their total reduction, and to that final blow which the brave *Taycho* gave to their power and lawless tyranny. This remarkable revolution happened about the year of Christ 1583; by which time those tributary kings and princes had so weakened each other by their mutual wars and depredations, as well as by their strenuous opposition to the cubos, that he, who was a person of the most consummate wisdom, and perfectly well acquainted with the present state of the empire, could easily foresee what poor resistance they would be able to make against him, at the head of such a numerous army as he then had, under him; his title of *Quamboku*, or vicegerent, empowering him to raise what number of them he thought fit, and to oblige those tributaries to furnish their quotas, under the penalty of military execution. He was no less dreaded for

*Both re-  
duced by  
the brave  
Taycho.  
After Chr.  
1683.*

*His cha-  
racter.*

his courage than his wisdom, of both which he had already given sufficient proofs both by sea and land; and it was more *Subdues* by these, than by force of arms, that he brought about that *the whole* glorious work within the short space of ten years, and made *empire in* himself as absolute over the whole empire as any monarch in *ten years* the east.

THE first step he took towards the effectual suppressing the strength of those princes he had not quite reduced, was, to undertake the *Korean* war, of which we have given an account in the last volume; and which, though it had not *His war* the success as might have been expected, yet proved so far *against the* serviceable to him, and which perhaps was all he aimed at by *Koreans*, it, that he thereby removed those discontented leaders, and *how far* their troops, out of a native into a foreign country, where *serviceable* they could not fail of exhausting their strength and treasure against the warlike *Tartars*; whilst he was pursuing the most proper measures for securing to himself the possession of his new-acquired authority, and be at last so wearied and battered as to be glad to be recalled upon any terms; and, instead of being in a *The princes* condition to revolt again in haste, be willing to be readmitted *forced to* to their own native dominions, on such conditions as he should *submit to* be pleased to impose upon them; some of which were no less *his terms* hard upon them than effectual to his own designs (Y). When *Severe* he had thus happily suppressed the power of those petty *laws* monarchs beyond all danger of their attempting any thing to *against the* recover it, his next business was, to restrain the insolence *people* and unruliness of the common people, who are always lovers of change, and easily drawn into parties and factions, where care is not taken to curb them; and this he did by enacting such severe laws as could not but effectually deter them from

(Y) Among other of these conditions (which, how disagreeable soever, they were, it seems, forced to submit to) one was, that their wives and families should live within his own court, and place of residence, which he had, on that occasion, taken care to fortify, as well as to adorn with suitable palaces for their reception. The pretence for it was, indeed, their safety, and the security of their persons, wealth, &c. in those troublesome and dangerous times; but, in reality, they were to be there as the surest hostages they could give him, or he desire, of their fidelity. On this condition they were promised to be put in possession of their dominions on their return; and that a time should be afterwards fixed for them to make their appearance at court, and seeing their families once a year. And thus it was that that politic prince, by one fatal stroke, settled the government of the empire upon such a foot, as put it wholly out of their power to raise any new disturbances or seditions in their respective territories.

all



all kinds of revolt. We have given an account of them in a former section \* ; and well was it for him, as well as the peace of the empire, that the circumstances of it were such, that no one dared, or was in a condition, to oppose them. Thus having by these means subdued all the provinces of *Japan*, and made himself absolute over all those princes who had formerly governed them, he took upon him the title of *Taycho*, or sovereign lord, and began to lay the plan for new regulations, in order to establish his new government on such a firm foundation as should not be easily shaken. Among these were the shutting up of the empire to all foreigners, particularly to the *Portuguese*, who were grown very powerful, rich, and numerous; and the total extirpation of Christianity out of it, under the severest laws and penalties; but, as these were a work of time, he was obliged to leave it to his successors to finish; and died in the same year, on the sixth of *December Anno Chr.* 1598, leaving the government to his son *Fide-jori*. After his death, he was, according to the *Japanese* custom, numbered among the gods, and honoured by the then *Dayro*, *Joscy* II. with the divine title of *Tojokumi Daimiosin*, and with that of *Tsin Satzman*, or *Satzman the modern*, or the second *Mari* of *Japan*. The temple in which his urn is kept is still standing at *Meaco*, though much gone to decay, by reason of the secular government passing soon after into another family.

*Takes the title of Taycho.*

*His plan, and new regulations.*

*Death.*

*Divine honours.*

*His nephew put to death.*

30. He had a nephew named *Quambacundono*, alias *Fide-Tsugu*, to whom he designed to have bequeathed the throne, and had already made him his colleague; but the young prince, having highly disobliged him by some means not known, was soon after disgraced, and by him ordered to rip up his own bowels.

*Fide-jori, a minor, Jejas made his governor.*

31. *FIDE-JORI*, *Taychosamma's* son, was but six years of age when he succeeded his father, and was by him committed to the care of *Isejas-samma*, one of his favourite counsellors of state. Him the old emperor had engaged by a solemn contract, signed with his blood, and backed by the most binding oaths, to resign the crown to his son as soon as he came of age, and deliver the regency and government into his hands. To secure the crown still faster to him, he had made him marry the daughter of *Isejas*; so that *Fide-jori* had enjoyed, if not the government, yet at least the title of emperor, during the space of 14 years, under the tuition of his father-in-law, when he was at length deprived by him both of that and his life. *Isejas*, or, as he was formerly called,

\* See before, p. 29, & seq.

*Ongoso*, who descended from the illustrious family of *Toku-Falls in gawa*, was not inferior in politics to the great *Taycho*, and intirely gave into his design of driving the *Portuguese*, and extirpating Christianity, out of *Japan*. Their motives for it may be seen in the margin (Z); but *Fide-jeri* was against both,

(Z) Among other things of less moment laid to the charge of the *Portuguese* in *Japan*, one was, their being grown so rich and dangerous by a flourishing trade, as well as by their inter-marriages among the natives, as to have entertained some strange hopes, and even to have concerted some treasonable measures, for making themselves masters of the empire. This appeared from two letters full of dangerous projects, the one intercepted by the *Dutch*, then at war with the *Portuguese*, and in full pursuit after this profitable branch of trade, of which they were resolved to supplant them, and another sent by the *Japanese* then settled at *Quang-tong*, which were brought to court, and are said to have filled the then emperor with horror and surprise, and to have determined him to root them totally out of his dominions, they being fraught not only with the highest sentiments of ingratitude and malice against him, but with the most sanguine hopes of shortly seeing the whole empire freed from his tyrannical yoke, and submitted to that of a Christian sovereign, which was by the *Japanese* interpreted to be the king of *Portugal*; but, the *Portuguese* protested, meant no other than a spiritual submission to the pope. Whether of the two soever the letters might point at, the matter could not but have a bad aspect; and, taking it even in the most fa-

vourable sense, neither *Taycho*, nor any of his successors, could bear with any patience the thoughts of being obliged to owe their investiture to so distant a pontiff, when they had one of their own so near, and so intirely at their devotion: much less still could they bear the thoughts of such a bold attempt being made on the dignity and authority of the latter, antient and venerable as it is looked upon to be by the whole nation, in favour of the former, of whom they knew so little, and who resided at such a vast distance from them. The *Dayro*, his court and family, as well as the whole tribe of monks and priests, must have been still more alarmed and exasperated at a design so detrimental and dishonourable to them, and have looked upon the authors of it with the utmost abhorrence.

Several other circumstances appeared still more to their disadvantage, such as the contempt which the new converts shewed for the gods, religion, and priests, of the country, the great veneration and respect they had for their own; the vast number of profelytes they made daily, and the flaming zeal and constancy they shewed in defence of this new faith; but, above all, the extraordinary joy and exultation that had appeared in the looks of all their new converts a little before the intercepting of the letters above-

*Revolts  
against  
Fide-Jori.*

*The sad  
death of  
that  
prince.*

*Ijeas  
mounts the  
throne.  
His new  
regulations  
and laws.*

both, and was even suspected to have been a secret convert to that religion ; but whether justly or no, is not easy to determine. However, his father-in-law, whether on that account, or hurried on by his ambition, made that his chief pretence for dethroning him ; and, having streightly besieged him in the castle of *Osacca*, a place of prodigious strength, and built by the late *Taycho*, for the security of his own person whilst he was pursuing the *Korean* war <sup>h</sup>, obliged him to surrender in the fourth year, and in the seventh day of the fifth month. The unfortunate prince, retiring thereupon into the palace with his most faithful friends and adherents, caused it to be set on fire, chusing rather to perish in the flames than fall into the hands of his treacherous and victorious father-in-law. This siege, so famed in the *Japan* history, happened in the third year of the reign of the daïro *Day-se-kwo-tey*, in the year of Christ 1612 \* : And, after its surrender,

32. *IJEJAS-SAMMA*, or, as he was called before he mounted the throne, *Ongosbia* or *Ongoschio-samma*, was now at full liberty to follow the measures which *Taycho* had chalked out for his son ; the principal of which were, 1. To banish the *Portuguese*, and other foreigners, out of the empire. We have indeed seen in another section, that he granted liberty to the *English* to establish a factory at *Firando*, and made some extraordinary grants to captain *Saris* ; but these favours proved short-lived ; and, upon his conceiving a jealousy of the *English* and *Portuguese* being nearly allied, deprived them on a sudden of all further commerce with *Japan*. The second was, the forbidding the subjects of the empire to go abroad either for trade, or on any other pretence, and the recalling all that had been settled in foreign countries, and obliging them to return within a time limited. 3. The prohibition of cards, dice, duels, luxury, and profuseness either of clothing

<sup>h</sup> See before, vol. viii. p 536. & (I).

\* See before, p. 135.

mentioned ; and the haughtiness and insolence with which some of their prelates behaved towards persons of distinction, to whom they then refused to pay the usual respects due to their rank ; heavy complaints of which were made at court. All these things put together were sufficient to alarm the government against them, and to make them apprehend, that, if they were suffered

to increase, they would foment new revolts and seditions against those very monarchs, who had, with so much pains, and loss of blood, so lately broken the strength of the little tyrants of the empire, and thereby put a most effectual end to the civil wars which had for so many centuries been the bane and ruin of it.

or table, and all foreign dainties, as hindrances to the practice of virtue and continence. 4. To grant the *Dutch East-India* company a free trade into *Japan*, in consideration of the services done by them to their nation, some of them mentioned in the last note. Of the expulsion of the *Portuguese*, and the settling of the *Dutch* factory there, we have given an account in a former section; but the abolishing of Christianity proved by far the most difficult task, and such as could not be completed but by the most horrid persecutions and butcheries; inasmuch that it cost less heathen blood to acquire the supreme government of the empire, than there was now shed of the Christian to establish and secure it. *Taycho*, who, as we observed before, was the first projector of this bloody scheme, began with issuing out a proclamation against them *An. Chr. 1586*, the very year after he was made *Quanbacu*, or vicegerent, and several persons were executed soon after for not conforming to it; yet this was so far from stopping the progress of it, that, if we may believe the Jesuits letters, 20,570 persons were butchered for it four years after; and in the two following ones, 1591 and 1592, after their churches had been actually shut up, they made above 12,000 new proselytes: and the *Japanese* writers do not disown, that not only *Fide-jori*, *Taycho*'s son, dethroned, as we lately hinted, *Anno 1616*, but the greatest part of his court, his soldiers and military officers, were of that number, which the more exasperated his father-in-law against them when he came to the crown, and made him wreak his fury the more severely against them.

BUT those zealous converts, notwithstanding their being deprived of their chief guides, who were either forced to flee, or were put to some cruel deaths, were neither to be reasoned out of their religion, nor frightened by swords, hatchets, halers, gibbets, crosses, fire, or any other cruel punishments; but readily submitted themselves to the most unheard-of tortures, and bore them with such unparalleled constancy, as struck their bitterest enemies with admiration and astonishment. We may add, that the cheerfulness with which they suffered the most cruel deaths, rather than renounce their divine Saviour, excited so much the more the curiosity of the heathen to know what doctrine it was that produced such miraculous effects; and these, when once instructed in it, found it to full of truth and comfort, that they could not forbear embracing it at all hazards. And hence it was that this persecution, dreadful as it was beyond any thing we meet with in history, continued to rage with near the same vehemence full forty years, and was not ended till the reign of *Fide-tada*,

or, as he was otherwise called, *Taitokumi*, the third son, or, according to others, the grandson, of *Jejasamma*, who gave at once the finishing stroke to Christianity, as we shall relate under the next reign.

*Iejas's death.*

*JE JASAMMA* reigned fourteen years, taking in some of his regency, or, according to others, about four or five from the death of *Fide-jori*, at which time they suppose him to have been seventy years old. He lies buried at *Nico*, near the city of *Meaco*, the burial-place of that family, and was succeeded by his third son, or, as others say, his grandson,

*Fide-tada renews the persecutions against them.*

33. *FIDE-TADA*, or, as he was called after his father's death, *Taito-konni*, or *Taito-kuin-famma*. This prince followed the steps of his predecessors; he renewed the privileges which his father had granted to the *Dutch* company in the years 1616 and 1617; and went on persecuting the Christians with the utmost rigour and cruelty, till at length these, being tired with seeing such myriads of their brethren butchered and tortured in the most inhuman manner, and seeing no prospect of an end being ever put to their miseries, in a fit of despair, retired, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, into the castle of *Sima-bara*, seated on the coasts of *Arima*, in the island of *Ximo*, and province of *Fifen* or *Figen*, with a firm resolution to defend their lives to the very last. They were soon after closely besieged in it; and defended themselves with surprising valour during three months, but were at length forced to yield to the superior strength of *Taytokunni*. The castle was taken on the 28th day of the second month, that is, on the 12th of *April* 1638, and all

*Besieged and butchered.*

*A final end to Christianity in Japan.*

the besieged put to death; so that the last drops of Christian blood, as one may say, being by this means spilt, the persecution and butchery of them ceased soon after, and the empire was cleared at once, and shut up against them for ever after, not only against natives, but against all foreigners that professed Christianity, and more especially the *Portuguese*, who, having made some attempts to retrieve an access to *Japan* by means of an embassy sent thither from *Ma-cau*, had the mortification to hear that the chief of them were all put to death, as we have formerly hinted.

*Chinese permitted to trade there.*

THIS prohibition, however, did not extend to the *Chinese*, who were for some time permitted to trade with them; only with this restriction, that they should have liberty to come to *Nanghazaki*, and into no other port; so that they came thither not only from *China*, but from other parts of *India*, where vast numbers had settled themselves after the conquest

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 46. & seq. sub not. (Y).

of that country by the *Tartars*. But this privilege, which was *Their* li- granted to them chiefly on account of the arts and sciences, *berty re-* and some branches of heathenish superstitions which had been *strained.* brought from *China* into *Japan*, was not long after taken away in a great measure, on account of their presuming to bring with them, and sell, Christian books, sent thither by the missionaries, with a view of reviving, if possible, the Christian religion among them; which so exasperated the government, that they resolved to put them upon the same foot with the *Dutch*, and to confine them much after the same manner; and how narrowly that is done, we have shewn in a former section \*.

*FIDE-TADA* reigned eighteen years, and was succeeded by his son,

34. *IJEMITZ*, alias *Ijemits-ko*, and *Ijeti-ru-ko*. From *Ijemitz* this time, we may look upon the empire of *Japan* as intirely *and his* shut up against all strangers, and every thing that is done there *two suc-* as impenetrable; except that our author, who was there in *cessors.* 1692, and attended the *Dutch* ambassador to *Yeddo*, hath given us the bare names of two of his successors, without any other particulars than the length of their reigns.

*IJEMITZ* reigned twenty-one years, and was succeeded by his son,

35. *IJETZNAKO*, who, after a thirty years reign, left the crown to his son,

36. *TSINAJOS*, alias *Tsinajefiko*, who was at that time upon the throne, and in the forty-third year of his age, and thirteenth year of his reign. He was, we are told, a great and *The cha-* wife prince, and inherited all the virtues of his predecessors; *rather of* eminent for his clemency, yet a strict maintainer of the laws *the last.* of his country. He was brought up in the politics and philosophy of *Confucius*, and his subjects lived in peace and amity under his mild government; and, if he debarred them from the *The pre-* benefit of a foreign commerce, and the liberty of visiting other *sent condi-* countries, he took care at the same time to promote a domestic *tion of the* one between the several islands and provinces of his empire; *Japanese.* which he rightly thought sufficient to make them happy, since his dominions are naturally provided with all the necessities of life, improved by the singular industry of his subjects, and the blessings of peace and tranquillity. These are the advantages they enjoy by being now shut up and kept from all commerce and communication with foreign nations; but we have had occasion to shew elsewhere, that this was not the principal motive that induced those late monarchs to confine their sub-

\* See before, p. 52. & seq. sub not. (B).

jects within those bounds; but that their own safety, and superstitious fears, and dreams of foreign invasions, backed by some pretended prophecies to the same tenor, and to which they give great heed, was the main spring which moved them to use such extraordinary precautions against any attempts of that kind.

## APPENDIX to the History of Japan;

O R,

### A Description of the Land of Jedso, and the Islands belonging to it,

The land  
of Jedso  
described.

Whether  
an island,  
or conti-  
nent,

divided  
from Ja-  
pan.

Its extent.

IT hath been much disputed, whether the vast tract of land lying on the north side of the great isle of *Nippon*, or *Japan*, and is commonly looked upon as part of that empire, and subject to it, be contiguous to or separate from it, by an arm of the sea; and secondly, whether it be an island, or a large continent joining to *Tartary* on the west, and to *America* on the east. As to the first, we have already shewn, from some of the latest discoveries of the *Dutch*, and of Captain *Saris*, as well as from the *Muscovite* and *Japanese* maps, that *Jedso*, or *Jesso*, is divided from *Japan* by an arm of the sea, or, to speak more properly, by a double streight, viz. of *Sangaar* on the *Japan* side, and of *Jeso*, or, as some of our maps erroneously call it, *Kamtshatka*, on the north, between which lies the island of *Matsuma*, or, as the *Russian* maps call it, *Matmanska*, and in those of the *Japanese* *Matsumai*, with about half a score of others of lesser size. The other question, whether it be a continent, or an island; and, if the former, whether it be contiguous to *Tartary* and *America*, or divided from them, is not yet agreed on; we shall, in the sequel, take notice of all that hath been discovered and said about it\*.

*JEDSO*, or *Jedso* (A), extends itself from the 42° to 50° north latitude, and whether or how far beyond is not known, As

\* De hoc, vide int. al. Sum. qf Discov. of the N. E. Passage, in Philos. Transf. N° 118.

(A) This name is variously witten, *Jedso*, *Jesso*, *Jetzo*, *Jexzo*, *Jedso*, *Jesso*, *Yesso*, and *Jeso*, and is much the same with the *Japanese* *Jeso-gasima*, or the island of *Jeso*.

We must not omit observing

here, that several modern geographers have, after Mr. *Strahlenberg*, confounded this land of *Jedso* with the peninsula of *Kamtshatka*, lying bet een the gulf of its name, and the northern *Japan* sea, on the easternmost

As for its breadth and figure from east to west, we are still more in the dark about it, the coasts being intersected by many deep and large gulfs, hitherto unpenetrated, which makes it look rather like a group of islands. The *Japanese*, who called have been masters of it at least ever since the reign of *Joritomo*, since *Jeso*—their first secular monarch, call it *Jeso-gassima*, or the island *gassima* of *Jeso* (B), and distinguish it from the northern part, called *Oku-jeso*, that is, the upper or higher *Jeso*, which they look upon as a continent. But how those two are divided from each other, and how far the former, or island, reaches northward, is not easy to guess, either from their maps, which are

most borders of the *Russian* empire; whereas it is, in fact, different, and divided from it, at least on the west side, by the sea above-mentioned, though, perhaps, contiguous to it on the north. We have ourselves fallen into the same mistake, in the last volume of our *Antient History* (4), and take this early opportunity of acknowledging it to our candid readers.

(B) This they probably do, upon the bare report of the inhabitants of it; for they own, they never penetrated so far as to the sea which divides it from *North Jesso*; neither do their maps express any such partition, but seem rather to join both tracts confusedly together, which would incline one to believe, that they mean no more by the word *gassima* than a peninsula, they having no proper term in their language to distinguish that from a real island.

What seems to confirm this conjecture is, that there is an arm of the sea which runs northward, how far is not yet discovered, between *Jesso* and *Tartary*; and the *Japanese* maps have placed another on the other side likewise, which they have probably discovered, but not penetrated far enough; so that,

for aught that appears hitherto, *Jesso* may be only such another long peninsula as that of *Korea*, which was also thought formerly to have been an island, as we have elsewhere shewn (5).

The coasts of it on the east and west side have been, at different times, discovered, and visited by the *Portuguese*, *Dutch*, and by *Capt. Saris*; but none of them have penetrated far enough northward, to be able to assure us, whether or no they were really divided from the continent by those creeks and bays that intersected them. Father *Hieronimo de Angelis*, who went thither from *Japan*, calls it indeed an island, in his second relation, but most probably upon no other authority than that of the *Japanese*; for he doth not mention any discovery he made, to convince him of its being so, which he would not have failed to have done, had that been his case; especially as he had spoken of it in his first, as if it had been a continent. Upon the whole, we must therefore wait till some farther discoveries be made, before we can be fully satisfied of its being one or more islands, or a peninsula joined to the large continent beyond it.

(4) *Ant. Hist.* vol. II. p. 164.

(5) See before, vol. viii. p. 521.



very obscurely drawn, and imperfect in that respect, nor from their report, their commerce with it reaching little farther than the southern coasts. However, though Mr. *D'Anville* hath ventured to make two islands of it, yet the generality of geographers make the southern part of it to be an island, and the rest a continent, of an unknown extent.

*Streight,  
and pass-  
age, ha-  
zardous,*

THE southern coasts of it lie just opposite to the most northern ones of the isle of *Nippon*, and both together form the double streight, lately mentioned, of *Sangaar* and *Jeso*, which is divided by the island of *Matsuma*. The passage from one to the other coast is but of one day's sail, and in some part, as between the capes of *Tanjasakki* and *Euroen*, not above thirty miles, yet is not to be made at all times, by reason of the currents, which run strongly, sometimes to the east, and sometimes to the west. The *Japanese* therefore are they that chiefly carry on that little trade that is between them, the *Jesoites* not being expert sailors enough to venture over that streight, except in very calm weather. This traffic consists only in some fine furs, and a sort of fish, called *Karazakki*, which is caught in great plenty about those coasts, and is reckoned a great dainty among the *Japanese*, who eat it as we do our cod.

*Trade  
with Ja-  
pan.*

*Natives  
described.*

THE account which these give us of the natives of *Jedso*, is, that they are a strong, but savage people, wearing their hair, beards, and mustacho's, to such a length, as quite disguises them; especially, as they are said, by some, to be hairy all over their bodies, or, which is more probable, to cover their bodies with the skins of wild beasts, with the fur outward, which, together with their long beards, makes them look quite frightful. But Captain *Saris* had a much more favourable account of them, from a *Japanese*, who had been twice amongst them, and told him, that they were a fair and civilized people; and that those of the south part understood commerce, though those of the inland knew nothing of it: that they were much of the same stature with the *Japanese*, from whom they had their cloathing, rice, &c. and made payments in silver and gold dust: that the emperor of *Japan* kept a governor and garrison at the capital, called *Matzimai*, and received his tribute in furs, feathers, and silver: and that the natives came frequently over to the north part of *Japan* to trade, in vessels sewed together with cordage, without any iron-work about them. Thus far the captain. To which we may add, that they are generally allowed to be very expert at their bows and arrows, which seem to be the chief weapon they have. They are no less skilful in fishing and hunting, the greatest part of them living chiefly upon that,

*Small  
vessels.*

*Fishing.*

As

As to the country itself, it is represented as very rocky, mountainous, and full of large forests, for the most part uncultivated, and but thinly inhabited<sup>a</sup>, producing but very few wild fruits and roots,<sup>Producs.</sup> and in some parts a kind of barley, of which they make a coarse kind of bread. They are affirmed to worship the heavens, but without observing any religious rites;<sup>Religion.</sup> to have their women in common, like the ancient *Scythians* and *Britons*; and to be much addicted to wine, and strong liquors, though we are not told whence they have it. They are so stout and hardy, that, we are told, they have no other cure for their wounds, than that of bathing them with salt water.<sup>Hardiness.</sup>

It seems, indeed, as if, in *Kämpfer's* time, these parts were but imperfectly known, seeing neither he, nor his *English* translator, have ventured to give us any of the particulars of the manners and customs of these people. And it was not till the year 1620, when Father *De Angelis*, a Jesuit, and native of *Sicily*, who ventured to penetrate into those northern parts, to preach the Gospel among them, that we became somewhat better acquainted with their way of life; and though we cannot say that he hath communicated any thing very remarkable in his letters to his society, yet our *English* readers may not, we hope, be displeased with an extract of what is most curious in them, as we find it extracted by his brother *Charlevoix*, in his *History of Japan*; which is as follows:

“THE natives of *Jetso* are more stout and robust, taller, and whiter, than the *Japanese*. They let their beards grow so long, that, in some, it comes down to their girdle; but they shave commonly the fore-part of their heads. Both the men and the women have their ears bored, and wear some kind of ornament hanging to them; those of the better sort, of silver; and those of the meaner, of some coloured silk. They make a sort of wine, which is very strong, and very common amongst them, probably by reason of the coldness of the climate, which may be also the reason why they are seldom drunk with it, though they drink it so freely, and even to excess;” though our author assigns another cause for this, viz. to their use of the *todo-noevo* (C), which is a kind of oil drawn

<sup>a</sup> KÄMPFER, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 4. DE ANGELIS apud Charlevoix. Hist. Japan. North. Voyages.

(C) Or rather, as it seems to us, *todo nuevo*, which, in the *Sicilian* language, signifies altogether new, is the name or epithet which the author himself gave to this strange fish, it being a small hairy creature, with four feet, like those of a hog, and yielding this sweet kind of oil; which they not only

drawn from a fish of the same name, and with which they commonly season their rice, which, as in most of those eastern countries, is their common food.

**Dress of both sexes.** "THE dress, both of the men and women, is a long gown, of silk, cotton, or linen, spotted, and bordered with the same stuff, embellished with some sort of needle-work, as crosses, flowers, &c. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the

**Weapons.** lance, and a kind of scymetar, not much above a cubit in length, but exceedingly keen, and of special temper; and they are base enough to use poisoned arrows, on certain occasions; being naturally choleric, quarrellsome, and revengeful. Notwithstanding which, our author observes, there are but seldom any murders committed amongst them. Instead of shield or cuirass, they wear a coat of mail, made of small thin boards, which gives them a mean and ridiculous appearance. They

**Courtesy.** are very courteous towards one another, and ceremonious to excess. They are naturally averse to that brutish and unnatural sin, which is so common in *China*, *Japan*, and other parts of *India*, and, on that account, they allow themselves a plurality of wives, though only one of them have the pre-

**Breach of conjugal faith, how punished:** eminence, and bears the name and authority of wife. If any of them be found guilty of the breach of conjugal fidelity, she is condemned to have her head, body, &c. closely shaved, as a brand, or public mark of her incontinence. But her pa-

ramour is only punished with a certain fine, such as her husband or parents shall agree to lay upon him. If he refuses to submit to their decision, they have a right to strip him not only of his weapons, but of his cloaths, as often as they meet him, and to send him home naked. If he makes any resistance, he only augments his guilt and fine, and they are empowered to call all that are within reach to their help, and are presently surrounded by a posse, who flock readily to assist

**Religion, very crude.** them. Their notion of a Supreme Being is very crude and imperfect, and unproductive of any worship to him; though they pay a considerable one to the sun and moon, as the chief authors and dispensers of all good things. They speak indeed of, and pretend to reverence, an invisible monarch, who presides over mountains, forests, seas, rivers, &c. but that is all the homage they pay to him; and even that which they pay to the two great luminaries, is neither constant nor re-

only season their victuals with, and other commodities, of which their country is destitute, instead of bartering it for gold or silver, with which it abounds.

*Koreans*, for rice, cotton, silks,

gular, they having neither priests nor doctors, nor settled rites, nor indeed any kind of writing; and all that they know of their own history, is only what is transmitted to them by tradition; and this is very succinct and imperfect, as well as, in many respects, uncertain, or fabulous." *No writing among them.*

FROM this account of Father *De Angelis* (which is likewise confirmed by that of several *Dutch* travellers, who have since ventured farther east up the country, viz. about the year 1643, under the conduct of the famous *Martin Uriel* (D), it appears, that the natives of this part of *Jedso* are strangers to that industry in agriculture, for which the *Japanese* are so justly famed, and live chiefly upon hunting and fishing. In this latter, they make use of boats, put together without nails or pegs, and only sewed together, by a kind of cordage made of the bark of a tree, which they call *Coxo*, and which is again untied at their return, and the boards laid on the shore to dry. *Arrival of the Dutch.*

To what *De Angelis* said of them, the *Dutch* accounts add, that the men, in general, are much alike, stout and strong, their skin dark and hairy, and their faces not handsome, nor their noses flat. Their eyes of a fine black, but

(D) This celebrated sailor, who had embarked in the *Castricon*, anno 1643, having discovered the coasts of that part of *Jedso*, known since by the name of *Kuritsky*, and to the *Japanese* by that of *Oku-jedso*, or *Highb Jedso*, advanced much farther up into the land than the Jesuit above-mentioned; and though he staid not so long as he in the country, yet made such discoveries in it, as not only confirm the account given us by him, as we have extracted it above, from *Charlevoix*, but likewise some new ones, not taken notice of by either, though no less worthy of it. The reader may find a fuller relation or journal of that descent, in the third volume of *Voyages into the North*, out of which, we shall mention what seems most worthy our readers perusal, concerning these natives.

As to what we hinted just now, about the plenty of gold in this part of *Jedso*, Father *De Angelis* tells us, that, at his arrival thither, he found a great number of *Japanese* merchants, who employed the natives in gathering up the grains of that metal, which were washed down by a river which runs near the city of *Matxmay*; and for the liberty of doing which, they paid a considerable tribute to the prince or lord of the country. Their method of getting it from the sand, is by making a dam, by means of a sufficient number of piles, driven first into one part of the river, and when they have picked up all they can find, to remove to another part of it. This was the only instance which he saw; but, no doubt, there are other rivers like this in the country, which contribute to make that precious metal so common among them.

the

*Natives  
describ.d.*

the worst of their heads and faces is, that they are sadly disfigured with scars and slashes, occasioned, as is supposed, by their quarrelsome, or, perhaps more probably, their jealous temper. The women are much fairer, and either shave the fore-part of their head, or tye their hair smooth behind, to prevent its hiding any part of the forehead. They wear earrings, like the men, and some of them rings upon their fingers, and all of them colour their lips and eye-brows of a fine blue. Their chief employment is of the domestic kind, in dressing of victuals, making cloaths for their husbands and families, in weaving of mats for their houses, and such-like; and some of them are likewise busied in fetching home what the husbands bring in their boats; though this last is not very common, because their husbands are extremely jealous of them, and would revenge any attempt made upon their wives or daughters, to the highest degree. In other respects, we are told,

*Affability.*

they are good-natured, affable, and courteous, to strangers, and most so to those who converse with them in a free familiar way, and with a chearful countenance; to such they behave with singular modesty and respect; and when they are to appear before them, they do it in the best apparel they can afford, accost them with great ceremony, laying their hands upon their breasts, bowing respectfully low to them; and, after a short acquaintance, will eat and drink with them, with as much freedom as they do with one another.

*Religion.*

As they do not appear to have any settled worship or religion, so neither do they seem to have any sort of government, laws, or even subordination, except paying some sort of tribute to their respective lords, as these do to the emperors of *Japan*; but we do not find that they exercise any other authority over them. Some superstitious customs they were observed to practise; as, when they are drinking by the fire (for both men and women, we are told, will drink, and be drunk), they commonly sprinkle some drops of their liquor upon the hearth; in the inside and outside of their houses they likewise stick some cleft bits of wood into the ground, with a kind of small flag of paper, silk, or other stuff stuck into the top of them.

*Given to  
drink.*

*Women  
lie-in in  
separate  
houses,  
poorly  
built.*

THE women, when ready to lie-in, are removed into separate houses, into which the men are not permitted to come, during the space of about three weeks. This decent custom is the more easily observed amongst them, as their houses consist of little else than four stumps of wood, which support an ordinary thatch, or covering, made of the bark of trees; and the walls, or rather sides, made of boards fastened together. The hearth is commonly in the center; and on the

top,

top, and one or two of the sides, are left some large apertures, to admit the light in, and let the smoke out. Yet, though so plain and ordinary, they are generally very clean, as well as the few utensils they contain; and the floor is always covered with mats, which are the manufacture of their females, and serve for beds, tables, and stools. Each house, or rather hut, hath a separate apartment, or chamber, about ten or twelve feet long, and seven or eight in breadth, and divided from the rest by a slight partition. The whole building is about twice the height of a man; but the entrance is so low, that one must stoop pretty much to go in and out.

THEIR children, when newly born, are very white, but contract a brownish complexion as they grow up boys and girls go naked, till about ten or twelve years of age; yet are brought up with so much modesty, that when they meet with *Their* many strangers, especially an *European*, they always turn their *modest* faces towards them in a stooping posture, and with their thighs crossed; but, if they have time for it, they will hang something like a short apron before them. Whenever the mothers give suck to a child, especially to a girl, before strangers, they take care to expose no more of their breasts than the nipple, nor any more of the child's body than the arms, legs, and face; they likewise wrap them up in some cloaths, and carry them hanging on their back, by a girt, when they work or go abroad.

THEY are nothing so nice either in their cloathing or eating; the one of which they will wear without ever washing, till they rot, in some measure, on their backs, with old age and dirtiness; and in the other, seasoning their rice, fish, flesh, *Mean diet.* roots, and herbs, with oil, which they extract from their whales, and their *todo-nuevo*, described in a former note; yet, bad as this food is, they eat it out of dishes made of the same materials as our brown earthen ware, nicely turned and glazed, and with a couple of sticks, like those used by the *Chinese* and *Japanese* \*, without touching it with their hands. They have likewise a sort of fruit, not unlike in colour and bigness to our hips, but in taste and shape like our medlars, which they chiefly lay up against winter. The poorer sort, and they are mostly such, make themselves cloaths of a sort of hemp, which grows of itself in the woods; for even these are too lazy to plant or sow it; and if they wear any thing better, they must have it from the *Japanese* or *Chinese*, as they have their *Exchange of commodities with Japan.* other ornamental trinkets; their rice, sugar, spice, tobacco, pipes made of copper, knives, and other sharp iron tools,

\* See before, vol. viii. p. 277.

*Ec.*; in lieu of which, they give them their fish, oil, wool dried in smoke, furs, skins, feathers of various fine birds, and such-like: in bartering of which commodities, they are affirmed to observe the same laudable exactness and honesty, on both sides, without the least fraud or disguise. They easily traffic with one another, their language being originally the same, and their frequent converse quickly obliterating whatever difference there may be in their dialects.

*Language.*

*Chief  
prince's  
capital.*

THEY have but few cities in this large tract of ground, if any of them can deserve that name. Even their capital, called by the natives *Matz-may*, which is also the residence of their prince, or chief governor under the emperor of *Japan*, is but an inconsiderable town, in comparison of those of *Japan* and *China*, either with regard to extent, richness, or elegant buildings. The rest, still inferior to it, are those that follow; *Sirarcha*, *Tocapsi*, *Cont-choori*, *Groen*, *Ootchoeira*, *Efan*, and *Sirocani*. But it is from *Matz-may* that the prince takes his progress once a year, or every other year, for the metropolis of *Edo*, where he is obliged to pay homage to the *Japanese* monarch, and to pay him the usual tribute, which consists chiefly in a large quantity of gold, some of the finest furs, and a great variety of fine feathers.

*Other  
towns.*

*Tribute to  
the emperor  
of Japan.*

*Executions  
on pri-  
soners,*

ALL that our *Dutch* travellers add worth taking notice of, is their manner of executing of any noted prisoner they make, or of any man they surprise in too familiar a converse with their wives or daughters. The criminal, surrounded by numerous crowds, is laid down, flat upon his back, on the bare ground, and is held by the arms and legs, each by two stout fellows, whilst the executioner stands over his head, holding a short club, shod with iron, with both his hands. As soon as the word is given, he jumps or dances ten or twelve paces backwards, and then forwards, singing some ditty all the way suitable to the occasion, and, when come near enough to him, discharges a blow on his head, with such force, as fails not to shatter his skull; then stretching out his club, gives him several more upon his breast, till he hath quite dispatched him. This, with respect to the case of adultery, seems to contradict what we have quoted a little higher, out of *De Angelis*, of their compromising the offence by a fine. But in so large a tract of land, it is not unlikely that one part might have laws or customs different from another, and punish a crime of this nature more severely in the one than in the other; a thing which the good father, not having penetrated so far, might not have had the opportunity of observing.

*and adul-  
terers.*

*Whether  
they be  
contiguous*

IT will not be improper here to observe, that several geographers have supposed this land to be contiguous to *America* on one

one side, and to *Tartary* on the other; and that it is through to *Tartary*, it that the first peoplers of the former have steered their course from the latter †. Others pretend, that *Jedso* and *America*, are divided by an arm of the sea, much sought after hitherto, which hath a communication with the northern ocean. This seems, in some measure, confirmed by the current, which hath been observed to flow constantly from the coasts of *Jedso* directly towards the north, which induces one to suppose, that there is some strait passage, not yet discovered, which joins these two seas, as that of *Gibraltar* doth the ocean and *Mediterranean*. And this seems farther confirmed, by what we have elsewhere hinted, of some whales caught in that sea by the *Koreani*, which had *Dutch* fishing-hooks sticking in their flesh ‡. But that passage, if any such their be, though often attempted, hath been found hitherto impracticable, on many accounts, more particularly, on that of the vast mountains of ice, which float on those seas, and which seldom, if ever, melt, even in summer (E).

THE account which the *Japanese* give of the *Oku*, or *Oku*, or *Higher Jedso*, is only that it is 300 of their leagues in length, but on what authority is hard to guess, seeing they do not pretend to have penetrated far, even into *Jeso-gassima*. However, we are told, that a ship having been cast, some years ago, upon the coasts of that continent, found there, among the rude and savage inhabitants, some persons clad in fine *Chinese* silks; from which it is conjectured, that they must have some communication with the neighbouring *Daats*, or *Tartary*, from which it cannot be very far distant. This account was confirmed since, by an imperial jonk sent thither from *Japan*, on purpose to make some farther discoveries, anno 1684, but without bringing any other particulars,

† See Ant. Hist. vol. xx. p. 163. & seq. ‡ See the Voyages into the North Seas, vol. iv. See also before, vol. viii. p. 524. <sup>b</sup> KÆMPFER, ubi supra, lib. i. cap. 4.

(E) We shall not here repeat what we have so fully discussed, in our Antient History, about this pretended passage, but only remind our readers of what we there observed, out of Father *Hinnopin*, who affirms to have seen, on the north side of the *Mississipi*, some *savages*, as he calls them, who came more than 500 leagues from the west, which he judged to be from *Japan* (6). But as the name of *savage* cannot be properly applied to the *Japanese*, we are rather inclined to think that they came from this, or some part of *Jedso*, or from *Kamtschatta*, or some other still more northern tracts.

(5) Vide Ant. Hist. vol. xx. p. 174. in fin. not. D. & alib. pass.

though



though it spent three months on that expedition. Not long after, another was dispatched on much the same errand, which sailed from the east coasts of *Japan*, and, after having endured many storms and hardships, between the fortieth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, discovered a large continent, supposed to be *America*, where, having met with a good harbour, they staid till the next spring, and returned, without any other account of the country, and its inhabitants, than that it ran still farther to the north-west. Since that time, it was resolved, at the *Japanese* court, that no farther pains or expence should be thrown away about the discovery of those countries.

*The south part, when first conquered,* THE island, or south part of *Jedso*, which is the most northern part of the *Japanese* dominion, was first invaded, and conquered, by *Joritomo*, the first cubo, or secular monarch, who committed the government of it to the prince of *Matsuma*, or *Matsumai*, the large island, lately mentioned, in the streights of *Sangaar*, and then belonging to the great northern province of *Osiu*, or *Oxu*. Some time after, the natives, weary of a foreign yoke, fell suddenly on the garrison, which that prince had left there, and butchered them all to a man. The news of this had no sooner reached his ears, than he sent over a good army, with three hundred horse, to demand, and in case of refusal to take, ample satisfaction, and punish the rebels with military execution. This so alarmed the prince of *Jedso*, that, to prevent all farther mischief, and to take off all suspicion of his having had any hand in, or knowledge of, that treacherous action, he delivered up twenty of the ringleaders to him, who were all executed, and their heads impaled along the coasts of *Jedso*.

*Punishment, and submission.*

*Kept under by strong garrisons,*

*under the prince of Matsumai.*

This act of submission pacified the prince of *Matsumai* for the present, and every thing was again restored to peaceable order. However, the natives have been ever since looked upon as a stubborn and untractable people, that would not fail of taking every opportunity that offered to regain their liberty; to prevent which, strong garrisons have been constantly kept upon the southern coasts; and the *Jedsoan* prince hath ever since been obliged to send an ambassy to that of *Matsumai*, with presents to a certain value.

THE secular emperors of *Japan* have, ever since that conquest, styled themselves lords of the land of *Jedso*, and the princes of *Matsumai* pay them homage for it; but it is likely that their dominion extends little farther than the southern coasts, and that all the rest, both of the lower and upper *Jedso*, live under the government of their own princes, and are not only independent, but, for aught that appears to the contrary,

contrary, are unknown and unregarded by the *Japanese*. As Northern to the latter part of the question, whether the northern part *parts not* of *Jedso* be contiguous to *Tartary*, or the peninsula of *Kamt-* under him. *shatka*, on the west, or to *America* on the east, it being foreign to the history of *Japan*, we shall refer our readers to some hints we have given of it in our *Antient History*, and to the description we shall give of those northern tracts in the sequel of this work.

ON the coasts of *Oxiu*, or *Osiu*, or *Higher Jedso*, on the *The gold* east-north-east of it, are two small islands, to which the *Ja-* and *silver* *panese* do also lay claim, but which we should hardly have *islands*, thought worth taking notice of, but for the pompous names which they have given to them, whether deservedly or not, we cannot determine. The smaller and more remote from them they call *Ginsima*, or the island of silver, and the larger and nearest *Kinsima*, or the island of gold. However, they keep their state and situation very secret from all strangers, chiefly from the *Europeans*; because those names have already tempted some of the latter to go in quest of them, but hitherto without success. Among *in vain* the rest, the king of *Spain*, having been informed that they *attempted* lie westwards of *America*, and consequently in that part of *by the Eu-* the world which, by the pope's division, was assigned to *ropeans*. him, as all those that lay to the east were to the king of *Portugal*, sent out an expert pilot to look out for them, *anno* 1620; but his attempt proved abortive. The *Dutch* made *Unfor-* the same attempt some time after, particularly, once in the *lunate at-* year 1639, and twice *anno* 1643; but all without any suc- *tempt of* cess, and the two last very *unfortunate*: for, besides that *the Dutch* they suffered much by storms on those rough seas, the captain of one of those ships having ventured to go on shore, with some of his men, in some port in *Japan*, under the fortieth degree of latitude, they were all seized, and clapt in irons, and conveyed to *Jeddo*; where they were as severely treated, as if their intention had been to betray or invade the empire; though they pretended to have been only sent from *Batavia*, to make some further discovery on the coasts of *Tartary* and *America*, and were cast upon that coast by stress of weather. So watchful and rigorous are they against all attempts upon any part of their dominions: and it is not unlikely that this severity hath deterred the *Dutch*, and other nations, from either going in quest of those islands, or venturing to come too near these tempestuous coasts.

THUS much shall suffice for the empire of *Japan*, which we shall now conclude, according to our former engagement,

\* Ant. Hist. vol. xx. p. 163; & seq.

with an account of the magnificent procession, and grand ceremony, of the two *Japanese* monarchs, the daïro and cubo, paying their visit to each other, at the great metropolis of *Meaco*, which, as hath been formerly observed, is the usual residence of the former, and the place where the latter was obliged to repair; to pay him this kind of formal homage <sup>d</sup>, every five years.

*A short Description of the magnificent March of the Japanese Cubo, from Jeddo to Meaco, and of his Entry into that Metropolis.*

*The cubo's  
splendid  
march to  
Meaco.*

WE observed formerly, that this grand visit, or homage, was usually paid to the daïro, at his own palace, where he was obliged to keep himself, in some measure, immured from public sight, and without any other appearance of grandeur, than that of a numerous court. But, by the account we are going to give of it, from an eye-witness (namely, his excellency *Conrard Krammar*, who resided there, as an ambassador from the states of *Holland*, anno 1626, and was present at the splendid entry of the cubo into that capital, as well as at a great part of that grand ceremony), it appears, that it was then performed at one of the cubo's palaces in that capital, to which the daïro himself repaired, with a splendid retinue, if possible superior to that of his competitor, lest, probably, the ceremonious formality should be looked upon as more glorious to the all-powerful vassal who performs it, than to the impotent and merely titular monarch to whom it is paid. So that we need not wonder at their mutual emulation, to make each the most magnificent appearance, both with respect to their numerous retinue, the richness of their equipage, and the excessive value of the presents they make to each other, upon this solemn occasion.

*Divided  
into twenty-eight  
stages,*

*with their  
equipages.*

But, before we come to speak of this, it will not be improper to observe, with regard to the cubo's procession, and vast retinue, that the preparatives of it took up a whole year \*; that the route from *Jeddo* thither was divided into twenty-eight stages, or relays, two of which he takes up each day, the one at noon, and the other at night, and in each of which he meets with fresh equipages, and a new set of guards, and all of which follow him quite to the daïro's court; so that, by the time of their arrival at *Meaco*, they amount to such a considerable body, that they are obliged to rear up

<sup>d</sup> See before, p. 28, sub not. \* CHARLEVOIX, Prelim. Disc. to the Hist. of Japan.

tents in the streets, for the accommodation of the soldiery; whilst the cubo, and his numerous court, repair to his own imperial palace, there to receive the daïro's grand visit, on the day appointed, instead of paying it to him at his own, as was usually done before.

THIS we are speaking of, our author tells us, happened on the 15th of *October*, in the year 1626, above-mentioned; when, to render the procession still more magnificent, the two monarchs agreed to unite their splendid and numerous retinues, and to march jointly through the streets of that metropolis, to the palace appointed for that grand interview. Every street, through which they were to pass, instead of being covered with the finest of silks, was strewed over with a shining kind of white sand, mixed with a certain quantity of powder of talc, which formed a smooth but hard kind of silvered road all the way. On each side of the streets, close to the houses, was raised a sort of ballustrade, which was lined with a double file of soldiers, clothed in white robes, with a small cap on their heads, finely varnished, each having a couple of scymetars hanging by their sides, and holding a short pike in their hand.

THE march began before the break of day, and was preceded by the domestics of each monarch; those of the daïro carrying the presents, which were designed for the cubo, in large chests, beautifully varnished, and having his arms finely painted upon them, and these were guarded by some companies of soldiers.

THESE were followed by about 100 stately norimos; or chairs, each carried by four men clothed in white, and all made of fine wood, some of an exquisite white, others of a shining brown, delicately polished, the tops of which were of copper, curiously wrought with festoons, and other embellishments, and these contained the ladies and gentlemen of the daïro's court, all richly dressed; and each norimo was preceded by a fellow who held a large umbrella over it, the ground of which was flowered with gold, and other rich embroidery.

THESE were followed by twenty-four gentlemen on horseback, with small brown caps varnished, on their heads, and a black plume hanging over it. The sleeves of their gowns were long, their boots made of smooth leather gilt, and their drawers were of satin of various colours, covered with gold and silver lace. The handles of their scymetars were of silver gilt, and each had a quiver and arrows hanging to his saddle, the two ends of which waved behind on the crupper of his horse. These were of the smaller kind, but full of mettle,

and richly caparisoned. Their saddles were finely embroidered; the holsters were made of tygers skins, adorned with lace, and fringes of red silk, which hung down below the girts. Each horse had, besides, two small gilt horns between their ears, and their manes curiously interwoven with gold and silver wire. Each of these horses was led by two men, who held the bridle with one hand, and with the other an umbrella of crimson damask richly embroidered and fringed. Each of those gentlemen were followed by eight servants in white, each having two scymetars hanging by his side. As for the horses, they had no other shoeing than a piece of red silk. After these came three stately coaches, drawn each by two black bulls, covered with a rich crimson silk, and each led by four men. Each coach was of a shining brown, richly gilt and embellished; and each had three doors, one on each side, and one behind, which last was that they went in at; and each was flanked with festoons, or other ornaments. The wheels were shod with gold, and the spokes plated with the same metal finely enamelled. The roofs were high and round, and the rest square; the sides covered with plate of gold: the inside was of a fine shining black varnish, on which were painted in gold the arms of the daïro. In each coach was one of the wives or mistresses of the daïro, with a suitable female attendance within, and guarded by a great number of footmen. Behind each coach was carried a stool or boot, with several steps covered with plate of gold, to help the ladies to go in and out, and upon each of them were laid the rich varnished slippers of the dayres, or mistresses of the daïro. If we may believe our author *Krammar*, the charges of all these sumptuous equipages amounted to above 360,000 gilders.

NEXT to those three coaches, followed twenty-three norimo's of a fine wood, as white and sleek as any polished alabaster, all covered and adorned with plates of copper of curious workmanship; each norimo being filled with ladies of honour richly dressed, who made another part of the three sultaneesses retinue, and all of them escorted by a numerous attendance; and each of them carried by four stout fellows in white, and each followed by two others who held each a stately umbrella over them. Next to these came on horseback sixty-eight gentlemen more, marching two and two, and attended by a numerous retinue of footmen; after whom came a great number of lords of the highest rank, who carried some other presents for the cubo, the most considerable of which were a couple of scymetars, the handles of which were enriched with diamonds, a clock of most curious workmanship, two large candlesticks of beaten gold, two ebony columns,

*Three of  
the daïro's  
wives in  
three  
stately  
coaches,*

*with their  
retinue.*

*The pre-  
sents for  
the cubo  
carried by  
noblemen.*

columns, and three escritaires of the same wood, inlaid with ivory and mother of pearl, the drawers of which were filled with curious books; and, lastly, two large dishes of beaten gold, besides a number of others of less value. Next to these came 260 noblemen, of the best families in the empire, on horseback, marching two and two, and were followed by the cubo's brothers, and by 164 tributary kings, and each *The cubo's* with a retinue suitable to his dignity; the emperor's brethren *and his fa-* marching one by one, and the tributary princes two and two, *ther's* according to their rank; those of the higher rank taking the left hand of the others, as being esteemed the most honourable among the *Japaneſe*. These preceded two other stately coaches, much more magnificent than any of the former, and *and their* attended with far richer equipages than any we have hitherto *equipage,* mentioned; in the first of which was the late cubo or emperor *Fede-tadla*, who had resigned the throne to his son *Toxogunſama*, then reigning, and who was in the other state-coach; and these were followed by a detachment of 400 soldiers well accoutred, who closed up the cubo's retinue. These were again *and guards.* attended by a vast number of coaches, chairs, waggons, and other carriages, and, amongst them, about thirty norimo's of ivory and ebony richly adorned, and surrounded by a proportionable number of sumptuous umbrellas, and all escorted by a great number of gentlemen and servants on horseback and on foot; and followed by a great company of musicians, who *Musi-* filled the air with their songs, and with the sound of various instruments.

THIS superb cavalcade was closed by the daïro's norimo, *All closed* preceded by forty life-guards, and carried by fifty gentlemen *with the* in the richest dresses. The chair itself was enriched within *daïro's* and without with all the embellishments of art and costly *norimo.* materials; the top of it was altogether magnificent both in its structure and ornaments; and the inside represented a fine blue sky, with the sun, moon, and stars, of the most costly materials; and in the centre, on the outside, was, planted a cock of massive gold, with its wings extended, as if going to take its flight. A numerous retinue, all richly clad, closed up the procession, followed by vast crowds of spectators of all ranks, who were come on purpose to that metropolis, from all parts of the empire, to see that grand ceremony. The *The vast* misfortune was, that the streets were immediately thronged *concourse of* with such vast multitudes, that great numbers of them were *people oc-* squeezed or trampled to death by the press; and, what added *casions* still more to the general disaster, was, the darkness and con- *great dis-* fusion which then reigned through the streets, the procession *asters.* having taken up the whole day in going through the city;

Many females carried off.

so that many of them, striving to break through the croud with their drawn scymetars, wounded and slew all that stood in their way, without distinction; to say nothing of a great number of rogues and villains, who were come thither for no other end than to rob and plunder every coach and chair they met with, not only of their costly ornaments; but, what was still worse, to rob parents of their daughters, men of their wives or female relations, who were sought after for many days, in vain.

WE omit a great number of other disorders that were committed on that night, as well as many other circumstances relating to that superb cavalcade, all which the reader may see at full length in the description which the ambassador above-mentioned hath given of it, or in the extract which *The daïro's* Father *Charlevoix* hath published of it in the history of *Japan* †; all that needs be farther added to it from our author, is, that the daïro staid three days in the cubo's palace, and was entertained by him with the greatest splendor, and outward marks of respect, being attended and served all that time either by himself, by his sons, or by the late emperor his father, who, if we may believe the account which *Krammer* gives us of it, even condescended to dress all his victuals; whilst the prime ministers of state in the like manner waited upon the daïro's three wives. The presents likewise which the cubo made to him at his departure, in return for his, were no less magnificent, consisting of 3000 ingots of silver, two rich scymetars of exquisite temper and workmanship, and with sheaths of massive gold, 200 sumptuous garments, 300 pieces of sattin, 12,000 pounds weight of silk, stately horses richly harnessed, and five large silver pots full of musk, ambergrise, and other costly perfumes. From this way of the cubo's performing, and the daïro's receiving, this ceremonious homage, so different from what we have shewn was performed before that time, one may reasonably conclude, that there is a much better understanding between the courts of those two monarchs; but whether so, or not, we can only conjecture, seeing all avenues to that empire have been so closely shut, and all possible intelligence from thence so effectually prevented ever since, as we have lately shewn; and, as a farther instance of which, we shall subjoin the ill success which one of the *Romish* missionaries met with in his attempt to penetrate thither in disguise from the *Philippine Islands*, where he had resided some time.

All farther intelligence from Japan prevented.

† Vid. Prelimin. Discours. & lib. xvii. KRAMMER in Collect. of Voyages.

His name was *Sidoti*; and he had the title of abbot given *Abbot* him by the pope, upon his setting out from *Rome* for *Manilla*, *Sidoti's* whence he hoped to find out means to contrive a passage into *Japan*. Accordingly, having been recommended to the go- *attempt to* vernor of that capital, and procured a vessel to be built there, out of the charitable sums he had collected among the zealots of his church for that intent, he set sail in it in the month of *August* 1709, under the conduct of *Miguel Floriano*, an expert sailer, who offered himself to conduct him thi- *land in it,* ther, and arrived in sight of the *Japan* coasts on the ninth of *October* following. They came as near the land as they dared; and, perceiving a fisher-boat at some distance, they agreed to go and speak to it. They were provided for this purpose with a *Japanese*, who, though a heathen, had promised the governor of *Manilla* to introduce *Sidoti* into land, and to keep him concealed there, if need required it. This fellow was accordingly dispatched to the fisher-boat, and talked a good while with the people; but was so terrified at the answer they gave him, that he would not suffer his own boat to come nearer to them, though to all appearance earnestly invited to it by the fishermen. At his return to the vessel, he strove all he could to divert the abbot from landing; assuring him, that he could not escape being seized, and conveyed to the emperor, who, being a bitter enemy to the Christians, would immediately condemn him to the most excruciating death. The terror which appeared in his looks, and some expressions which his fright extorted from him, made *Sidoti* and his company suspect that he had betrayed their design to the fishermen; but neither that, nor all that the *Japanese* could say, were sufficient to divert him from his resolution of landing out of hand into what he called that long-wished-for spot; so that, after the usual prayers, and other preparatives, the good abbot, accompanied by the cap- *His arri-* tain *Floriano*, and seven others, went into the long-boat *val, and ill* about midnight, and with great difficulty climbed up the *success.* rugged coast, and got to land, which he devoutly kissed as *Lands, and* is sent pri- soon as he set foot upon it. The rest of his company, fear- *soner to the* ing to be surpris'd, thought fit, after many pious and good *emperor.* wishes, and a melancholy farewell, to return to their ship; which they safely reached by eight in the morning, and sailed away, leaving the zealous *Sidoti* to the care of the Divine Providence. Thus far goes the account of this voyage; in which we have omitted several circumstances in the behaviour of that missionary, which savour more of enthusiasm than discrete zeal. It was not till near seven years after that the news of his death were brought to *Quang-tong* by some *Chi- nese*



Kept under  
strict  
guard,

News of  
his death  
brought to  
Quang-  
tong.

The Dutch  
in Japan  
kept closely  
guarded.

Exposed to  
great in-  
dignities;

*nese* vessels which arrived there in the month of *May* 1716; the substance of which, if it may be depended upon, was, that "*Sidoti* had scarcely landed in *Japan* before he was discovered, and sent prisoner to the mandarin, who immediately sent notice of it to the court. The emperor, being desirous to hear from his own mouth the design of his coming, ordered him to be conducted thither under a proper guard; but, not being able to understand him, caused him to be strictly guarded till he could learn so much of the *Japanese* tongue (a grammar of which he had, among other books, brought on purpose with him<sup>e</sup>), as to be able to express himself intelligibly in it. It is reported, adds the publisher of that account, but without any foundation, that that monarch had given him four young gentlemen of his court, to learn the *Latin* tongue of him. This fact is very uncertain; but it is false that he caused him to be shut up in an iron cage, and to be committed to the custody of the *Dutch* factory at *Nanghazak*. The *Chinese* captain, from whom we have these particulars, attributes *Sidoti's* death to his long and austere fasting, which he carried much too far. Yet, faithful as this relation may appear (concludes the publisher), we think we ought to wait for some more authentic account of that missionary's death, before we venture to rely wholly upon it<sup>f</sup>."

THUS far the account of the ill success of this fresh attempt; and which, how artfully soever worded with respect to that person's death, yet sufficiently shews the vigilance of the *Japanese* government to stop up all avenues to that empire from all *Europeans* excepting the *Dutch*, and to prevent these from getting or conveying any intelligence of what is done within their dominions. We have already seen in a former section how narrowly they are confined within the limits of their little factory, and how carefully they are watched from prying into, or getting the least information of, what is transacted either at court, or in any part of the country. The haughtiness and tyranny, which they are obliged to stoop to under that jealous and despotic government, which looks upon them as no better than spies and traitors, would be nothing to what themselves would be made to suffer, should they give them the least umbrage, or even shadow of suspicion; to say nothing of the irretrievable loss of this beneficial trade to their countrymen and principals; to prevent which

<sup>e</sup> Lettres edifiantes & cur. vol. x. p. 56, & seq. p. 62.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

it is that they submit themselves to be thus hardly used, and immured, like prisoners and malefactors<sup>§</sup>. But, lest we should be suspected by our readers of exaggerating their confinement and severe treatment, we shall close this history of *Japan* with a passage out of their countryman *Kämpfer*, who doubtless could have no interest or inclination to disparage his fellow-sufferers, seeing he shared the same fate. His words are these: "So great was the avarice of the *Dutch*, and <sup>which</sup> such the alluring power of the *Japanese* gold, that, rather <sup>their gain</sup> than forego the prospect of a trade so very advantageous <sup>rendered to-</sup> they submitted themselves to an almost perpetual imprisonment (for such in fact is their abode at *Desima*), and chose to undergo many severe hardships from a foreign heathen nation; such as, to avoid performing divine service on *Sunday* and solemn festivals, to abstain from praying or singing of psalms in public, intirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ before the natives, and all other outward marks of Christianity; and, lastly, submissively and patiently to bear the abusive and injurious treatment of those insolent infidels towards them, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a noble and generous mind."

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,  
Auri sacra fames!*<sup>h</sup>

<sup>§</sup> Lettres edifiantes & cur. vol. xiii. préfat. p. 13, & seq.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. of Japan, lib. iv. cap. 6.

## B O O K XIV.

*The History of the Commerce to, and the Settlements in, the East Indies, by the several European Nations.*

## C H A P. I.

*Of the Nature, Extent, and Importance, of the Commerce between the Inhabitants of Europe and the East-Indies.*

*The reason why Europe is so much preferable to the rest of the quarters of the globe.*

WHEN we consider and compare the antient empires with modern sovereignties; or the vast dominions of some of those monarchs with the small countries, the possession of which renders a king in *Europe* great and formidable, at least in the conception of his neighbours; the bulk of mankind is apt to think that the circumstances of things are strangely altered; that crowns, in these days, are not to be compared with the imperial diadems of old; and that our western principalities deserve hardly to be named at the same time with those enormous territories which belong to the emperor of *China*, the Khàn of *Great Tartary*, the *Mogul*, or even the Shâh<sup>a</sup>. But, upon mature reflection, it will be found, that neither the great monarchies of old, or those vast empires that still subsist in the remote parts of *Asia*<sup>b</sup>, deserve, all circumstances considered, to be preferred to the sovereignties of *Europe*; because the foundations of their respective governments were never so secure, the welfare of the generality of their subjects was not near so well provided for; and, though their dominions might be more extensive, yet the influence of their power did not reach so far as some of those kingdoms and republics that now subsist in *Europe*<sup>c</sup>.

*The design and method of this chapter.*

THIS has chiefly arisen from their entering deeper into the nature and importance of foreign commerce, which has never failed to improve, to polish, and to enrich, the inhabitants of every country where it has been cultivated with any degree of attention; and, of all the branches of foreign commerce which the working mind or enterprising heart of man has been able to discover or pursue, that of the *East Indies* has been ever esteemed the chief<sup>d</sup>. It is true, that some questions have arisen, whether the motives, on which this preference is founded, are quite so strong as they are commonly

<sup>a</sup> VARN. Hist. Japon. c. 1.  
in the Preface.

<sup>b</sup> PUFFENDORF Introd.

<sup>c</sup> G. HORNII Orbis Imper.

<sup>d</sup> HUEZ Histoire de Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, p. 337. thought.

thought. But experience, which is universally allowed to give the best lessons upon this subject, has fully justified this notion for above two centuries and a half<sup>e</sup>; which sufficiently proves the importance of this part of our history, in which we are to give the reader an account of the rise, progress, and extent, as well as the revolutions in, and present state of, the commerce and plantations of the *Europeans* in the *East Indies*: a subject in itself equally instructive and agreeable; and which, being fully and fairly handled, without prejudice to those nations that first opened a way thither, or partiality to the people, who, in process of time, have reaped the benefit of their labours, will be found as entertaining as it is important.

BUT, previous to this, it will be requisite to make a few *The mari-* general observations, in order to establish the truth of what *timepower* has been already advanced; and to shew, beyond a possibility *of the an-* of contradiction, that this commerce with the *East Indies* has *tients much* been the real source of that beneficial alteration which has *inferior to* been so conspicuous, within the space of the last two hun- *that of the* dred and fifty years, throughout almost all *Europe*. Before *moderns,* the commencement of that period, naval power, considered *and the* in the light in which it now stands, was hardly known. The *reason.* same ships served indifferently for trade and for war: in time of peace they carried merchandize; and, when that was interrupted, they were employed in transporting soldiers<sup>f</sup>. It is true, that history mentions very numerous fleets, and great battles at sea; but when we come to inquire strictly into the size, the strength, and the structure, of the vessels employed on such occasions, we find them very far inferior in every respect, not only to those that are now in use, but to the vessels that were built in *Spain* and *Portugal*, in a very short time after they became maritime powers<sup>g</sup> (A).

IN

<sup>e</sup> JAO DE BARRAS, decad. 1. lib. 4. <sup>f</sup> DANIEL Histoire de Milice Francoise, l. xiv. c. 2, 3. <sup>g</sup> Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in the third volume of Churchill's Voyages.

(A) There is not any fact, even to the greatest princes in Europe (1). In the war between England and France both nations hired ships for their respective services, and discharged them when the war was over (2). In the north of Europe, trade and naval power were in the hands of the ships they employed, of the *Hanse Towns* (3). How

(1) P. Daniel Histoire de la Milice Francoise, lib. xiv. cb. 6.

(2) Froissart, liv. i. c. 35.

(3) Aubrey du Maurier Memoires de Hambourg, de Lubeck, & de Holstein, p. 122.

great

*An account  
of the true  
ground of  
maritime  
strength,  
and how  
this pre-  
serves Eu-  
rope.*

In reality, nothing but long voyages can procure, encourage, or preserve, a naval strength; because such voyages supply the materials for, as well as excite a spirit of, general commerce. A few branches of trade may reward the industry of the subjects of a small principality, and enable them to live in a state of ease and affluence, in comparison of their neighbours<sup>b</sup>; but the true spirit of commerce, like that of empire, will never be at a stand; for, if it does not swell and enlarge, it will quickly dwindle and decrease. It was the opening of a new route to the *East Indies* that gave rise to maritime power, in the modern sense of the word, not only by making ships of force necessary, but by raising and employing constantly a much greater number of seamen than had been ever heard of in former times; and the immediate consequence of this was, giving a check to the *Mohammedan* powers, and obliging them to bend their care to defend their own territories, instead of threatening, as they had done a little before, to over-run all their neighbours. Before this period the *Turkish* fleets were extremely formidable, and were so at the time the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* began to make a figure at sea, but their forces were quickly crushed; and, as they had not the same resources with the Christian powers<sup>i</sup>, they were unable to repair or recruit them; so that they have gradually sunk into that despicable state in which they remain at present (B).

*Is of vast  
consequence  
towards  
preventing  
those de-  
structive*

As there is a natural connection between all the constituent parts of empire, so the increase of naval power brought with it other advantages, and enabled princes to provide in a more effectual manner for the security of their dominions, and the protection of their subjects, than was practicable in preceding

<sup>b</sup> *Traité sur le Commerce*, p. 165.  
*l'Empire Ottom.* p. 135.

<sup>i</sup> *Decadence de*

great changes have been gradually made, and how things have settled to the state they are now in, will appear from the following sections.

(B) This great event of finding a direct passage by sea to the *East Indies*, was very critical; for it happened, as will be hereafter shewn, at the very juncture when the *Mohammedans*

had reached even to the *Spice Islands*; and when, in consequence of their trade, they had a very considerable force, not in *Europe* only, but in the *East Indies* (4); which is now so entirely destroyed, that, except the piratical states of *Barbary*, there is no *Mohammedan* power, in any part of the world, that has a fleet worth mentioning (5).

(4) See an Account of this in the fifth chapter.

(5) *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano dell' Conte de Marfiglii*, p. i. cap. 79—84. p. ii. cap. 26.

ages; and this is the true reason why things have been more revolutions at a stay since that time, and that an end has been in a manner *that happened* to sudden revolutions, and rapid conquests<sup>k</sup>. It is true, *opened before* that the passions of mankind remaining always the same, there have arisen from time to time restless and ambitious princes, who have shewn the greatest willingness to over-run the countries, and enslave the persons of their neighbours; but, whoever will consider how these attempts have been defeated, and what inconsiderable changes have been made even by the longest wars that have been maintained within this period, will be satisfied that some great alteration must have happened to produce an effect so different from what usually followed upon such wars in earlier ages, when kingdoms were quickly overthrown; and, property being every-where at the mercy of power, none were suffered to enjoy the benefits bestowed by Providence, but such as were able to defend their possession by the sword; which was attended with such inconveniencies, as much lessened the value of those possessions<sup>l</sup>.

We shall understand this matter better, if we consider the *The commerce of India is the prime mover in respect of that general trade which has changed the manners of the European nations.* visible change that has been wrought in the manners of most of the *European* nations since the opening of the trade to the *Indies*, which may be truly considered as the main wheel of the great machine of commerce; since, by the emulation which the very search of a passage to it raised, *America* was discovered; and all the advantages derived from thence are justly therefore ascribed to this, as the first cause<sup>m</sup>. This change of manners grew from the many new and different employments which trade furnished in a greater or less proportion, where-ever it prevailed. By this means multitudes were brought to devote their time and their labour to cultivating the arts of peace, and to the improvement of the countries which they inhabited; instead of placing all their hopes of aggrandizing and enriching themselves by plundering and oppressing their neighbours; and this it was that by degrees, as the many good effects of such a disposition appeared, gave a new turn to politics; and induced princes and their ministers to turn their views to the encouragement of industry, as the surest and most effectual means of rendering their subjects, and consequently themselves, rich and powerful<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>k</sup> Interets des Princes, p. 31.  
<sup>l</sup> Discourse of War and Peace, p. 13.

<sup>m</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries, published by Hakluyt. THOMAS MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade. Sir WALTER RALEGH's Discourse of Shipping, p. 16. <sup>n</sup> Testament Politique de Mr. COLBERT, ch. xv. WILLIAM HOBBS Benefits of Foreign Trade. Sir WILLIAM PETTY's Political Arithmetic, p. 190, 191.

This alteration in policy was quickly attended with such evident advantages, as, in spite of all prejudice, established those maxims so beneficial to the liberties and welfare of mankind, that we are no longer in danger of seeing that antient spirit of barbarism arise, which for so many ages overwhelmed the finest countries in blood and confusion (C).

*Wealth is the result of commerce, and power of wealth, notwithstanding what has been suggested to the contrary.*

THERE is one point that it is fit should be cleared, in order to free this method of reasoning from any objection; and it is this: That it being allowed the disposition to labour, to improve and to carry on trade, is very different from that martial spirit which is requisite to render a nation either formidable to others, or secure from their attempts; it should seem, that, in all competitions, power would be rather on the opposite side, than on that of trade. But as history and experience, so, when closely attended to, reason and the nature of things, will shew that it is otherwise; for armies are raised, and fortresses are maintained, by money; and, where trade accumulates that, those who have the management of the affairs of such a nation will be always able to avail themselves not only of as great, but of a greater, strength than they would be able to raise any other way<sup>p</sup>. And whereas, in disputes managed merely by strength and courage, a few great actions are commonly decisive, and the party beaten ruined without resource; it has happened quite otherwise, as indeed it is natural it should happen, in the wars managed by trading nations, who, notwithstanding repeated losses by land, have recruited their forces, repaired their fortresses, and, by drawing wars into a great length, have in process of time diminished and weakened superior powers, so as to

<sup>p</sup> Discourses Politiques et Militaires, lib. i. c. 11. <sup>p</sup> STRAB. Geograph. lib. xvi. QUINT. CURT. lib. iv. Digest. lib. L. tit. xv. 1. <sup>q</sup> Cleric. Compend. Hist.

(C) In order to be convinced of the truth of what is asserted in the text, the curious and inquisitive reader need only cast his eyes upon what the wisest and greatest of all French ministers is said to have written upon this subject (6); from whence it manifestly appears, that, without paying a due regard to commerce, it is impossible that

any monarchy or state can attain to universal influence. Agreeable to the advice given long before by Antonio Perez to Henry IV. contained in three words, *Consejo, Pelago, Roma*; that is, A steady ministry, naval power, and uniformity in religion, were the means of acquiring and maintaining universal influence (7).

(6) *Testament Politique du Cardinal Richlieu*, p. ii. §. 5, 6, 7. *sur l'Etat, et sur le Commerce*, p. 97.

(7) *Essai*

oblige them to conclude treaties upon equal and moderate terms, and to abandon and forego their conquests<sup>r</sup>.

WHATEVER may be affirmed of trade in general, we may with good grounds apply to the commerce of the *East Indies* in particular, for the reason that has been before assigned; because it was the original source of all that naval power, and of all the advantages accruing from it, which, since the discovery of a passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, have resulted to the princes and states of *Europe*<sup>s</sup>. It is to this they owe that apparent, that undeniable, that distinguishing, superiority which the inhabitants of this quarter of the globe have over the inhabitants of the other parts of the earth<sup>t</sup>. From hence arose those numerous settlements, those powerful colonies, and that general influence which extends so far, and from whence such continual and prodigious benefits are received. It is to this discovery, and the consequences that have attended it, that we are indebted for that high respect, and profound submission, which are paid to the *Europeans* in climates at the greatest distance from them, and that by nations, who, till they were taught by experience, thought of themselves more highly than of any other people<sup>u</sup>.

THESE are not like the imaginations of oriental poets and historians, or the lofty titles of their conceited monarchs prerogatives, derived from fancy, and confessed only by such abject slaves as dare not question, much less deny them; but solid and substantial marks of superior power and wisdom, which the most sceptical persons in these parts of the world cannot call in question, and which even the haughtiest of those great princes are, however unwilling, constrained to acknowledge and confess<sup>v</sup>. Neither is this description placing things in a false and extravagant light; for we might still go farther without offending truth. We might say, it is not only the princes and states of *Europe*, but their trading companies, composed of their subjects, and deriving both their authority and their power from the governments under which they live, that lord it in the east, and give at their pleasure either peace or war to its sovereigns<sup>x</sup>. It was not the crown of *Britain*, but the *English East India* company,

<sup>r</sup> GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republick van Holland, ii Deel. ch. 15. <sup>s</sup> Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S Naval Tracts.

<sup>t</sup> JOANNIS LUYTS-Introductio ad Geographiam, § 11. cap. 5. Les Elemens de l'Histoire, par VALLEMONT, liv. xi. chap. 6. The Present State of Europe, chap. 11. <sup>u</sup> Voyages des THEVENOT. <sup>v</sup> Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. 195. <sup>x</sup> Rapport fait aux Etats Generaux, par DANIEL BRAEMS, Tenseur de livres general à Batavia.



with whom the Shâh of *Persia*, and he too one of the greatest princes that ever sat upon that throne, concluded an alliance, and purchased their assistance with a grant of the moiety of the customs of the only port in his dominions<sup>γ</sup>. It is not the states of *Holland*, but the company of *Dutch* merchants incorporated by their authority, for a certain term, and under such limitations as they formerly thought, and from time to time think fit; that maintain so formidable an empire in the *Indies*, and retain at the court of their governor-general the sons of many *Indian* monarchs<sup>z</sup> as hostages for their fathers obedience (D).

The manner in which this part of our subject will be treated, in order to prove these assertions.

BUT that it may not seem as if we had taken pains to give an air of grandeur and importance to the subject which is to employ our attention in this part of our history, without considering the abatements that have been or may be suggested, we shall, tho' they will be more fully refuted in the course of this work, take some notice here of two plausible objections that some, who, for particular reasons, have been enemies to this commerce, and others, who, for the sake of singularity, have affected to treat every received opinion as ill founded, have laboured to adorn with the fairest colours, and whatever might give the nearest resemblance to truth. Neither will we in the least diminish the force of these objections, that they may be the more easily answered; but, on the contrary, will propose them to the view of the reader with all the circumstances of advantage that can be given them; and this, tho' strictly speaking we are not bound to do it<sup>a</sup>. The proper business of this part of the Universal History is to account for the discovery of the *East Indies* by the *Europeans*, for their wars, conquests, and settlements, therein, and for the establishments that subsist at present in those parts, and the advantages which arise from them unto those nations to whom they belong. But as such a history would lose very much of its utility, if either of these objections had any to-

<sup>γ</sup> Relation of the taking Ormus from the Portuguese by the English and Persians, by W. WINDER.

<sup>z</sup> JANICON Etat present de la Republique des Provinces-unies, tom. i. p. 361.

<sup>a</sup> PAXTON's Discourse of Trade, p. 27.

(D) The reader will easily perceive that these facts, which are absolutely certain, fully demonstrate that the present potentates of *Europe* enjoy a more extensive and better established authority than any of the an-

tient empires; that this is owing intirely to their naval power, as that is to their commerce, which is the basis of companies, things alike unknown to antiquity and to the oriental nations.

lerable

lerable foundation ; so it becomes a thing expedient to explain and remove all doubts about them, that the reader may not be embarrassed in the perusal of the following history, much less perplex himself at every turn with inquiries whether the discoverers, the admirals, the generals, the councils, or the monarchs, occasionally commended, did in reality deserve censure or applause <sup>b</sup>, and whether their acquisitions were certain and solid, or only seeming and fallacious benefits (E).

THE first of these objections may be thus stated : *It is One great generally apprehended, that trade is advantageous or detrimental according as its balance is in favour or against the nation by which it is carried on ; and the usual criterion is the exportation or importation of silver <sup>c</sup>. But it is universally agreed, that the trade of the Europeans to the East Indies is in a great measure carried on not by the exportation and barter of commodities, and manufactures for commodities and manufactures, but by sending silver from Europe to purchase commodities and manufactures in the East Indies ; which being rather instruments of luxury and superfluities than necessities or even conveniences of life, it follows from thence, that this commerce is very detrimental to Europeans in general, though it may be advantageous to the particular nations by which it is carried on <sup>d</sup> : for they, by re-exporting part of the effects that they bring home, may not only reimburse themselves intirely for the silver originally carried out, but also draw an additional quantity of specie into their countries ; and yet this, being constantly and uniformly a losing trade, upon the whole, to the people of Europe, it must by degrees exhaust the wealth of all nations ; first, of those who buy these unnecessary commodities and manufactures, perhaps at the fourth or fifth hand ; and, by degrees, such as are the immediate purchasers <sup>e</sup>. For, if the silver thus carried out*

<sup>b</sup> Histoire des Indes Orientales, p. i. c. 10.      <sup>c</sup> Advantages of the East India Trade to England considered, ch. i.      <sup>d</sup> MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade.      <sup>e</sup> Considerations on Commerce in general.

(E) These questions have been already treated by several authors, without giving much satisfaction, not from any want of skill or capacity in them, but because the controversy turning in the end upon facts, nothing but such a history as this, taking in the whole progress of the trade, from the time it was first opened, to our own days, the several hands it has been in, and the consequences which have attended it, could complete the design, and afford all the necessary lights to an impartial and curious inquirer.

never return, as it is allowed it never can return, the commerce of the *Indies*, however rich in its appearance, however specious in its consequences, such as fleets, settlements, and fortresses, yet, closely examined, and at the bottom, is no better than a perpetual drain, and a sort of under-current, by which the intrinsic riches of *Europe* are conveyed into the *East Indies* to purchase spices, perfumes, and painted linens, which, thro' the blessing of Providence, and the natural industry of the people, are inexhaustible funds of riches to them<sup>f</sup>; while it remains impossible and impracticable for the *Europeans* to replace those immense sums of ready money with which they are purchased (F).

*Which has been long considered as in some degree conclusive; but, however, clearly answered.*

As this objection was made very early by men of great knowledge and experience, one would have imagined that it must have received long ago, if capable of it, a clear and satisfactory answer; which, not to dissemble the truth, is so far from being the case, that some of the strongest advocates for the *East India* trade in *England* have given this point intirely up, and contented themselves with proving, that, how ruinous soever the commerce of the *East Indies* may be to the *Europeans* in general, yet it had been, and might be, carried on to our annual benefit of at least six hundred thousand pounds <sup>8</sup>. How well this answered their purpose of defending the trade thither, as beneficial to us upon the balance,

<sup>f</sup> Case of our own against Foreign Manufactures.  
DAVENANT'S Essay on the East India Trade.

<sup>8</sup> Dr.

(F) It must be allowed, that these suggestions have had so great weight, even with persons perfectly well skilled in the nature of mercantile and maritime affairs, that they have declared against this commerce with much vehemence (10); from whence the only conclusion that can be drawn is this; that to form a thorough and settled judgment of the utility or detriment of any trade whatever, we must rely upon experience, which furnishes new lights, and opens new paths that never could have

beendiscovered by dint of thinking; for, after all, there is no reasoning against facts; and if it can be shewn, that nations were weak and indigent before they had this trade, rich and powerful while they enjoyed it, feeble and exhausted after they lost it, it is absolutely vain to allege arguments against encouraging it; for, how strong soever these may appear, they can prove no more than this, that men may be very learnedly and very logically mistaken.

(10) See Mun's Discourse of the East India Trade, Sir William Monson in his Naval Traits, & Dr. Paxton in his Discourse of the nature, advantage, and improvement of Trade.

is not material to this question ; but I shall take the liberty of saying, that it was the desire of coming immediately, and without any previous disputes, to the decision of this point, that led ingenious men to make such concessions, which however do not by any means bind those who come afterwards to consider this point in another light. It might be urged, that this being a matter of fact, and the objection being now above one hundred years old, we may oppose experience to this conjecture ; for, if the drain had been so very great, or the detriment to *Europe* of such consequence, as was then suggested, the dismal effects of it must have been long ago apparent from the great want of silver in all the countries of *Europe*. But as no such thing is visible ; and as those countries, that, in the nature of things, must have soonest felt, and that too in the highest degree, such a misfortune, have been so far from being disgusted with *Indian* commodities, as to aim at having a share in that trade themselves ; this conjecture, however plausible, seems to be groundless ; neither is there the least reason to fear, that, in the space of another century, this trade will be attended with worse consequences than those that have flowed from it already<sup>a</sup>. But there is no need of relying solely upon this answer, though at the same time it may be affirmed to be both strong and clear, conjectures being never better refuted than by experiments. That reasoning ought never to be suspected in politics, which without scruple would be admitted in philosophy or physics ; neither can any candid or impartial inquirer after truth suppose, that what is found to be false in fact may nevertheless have a foundation in reason.

BUT to come close to the point, the fact is, that this doctrine of the balance of trade, and of the standard by which it is discovered, is not true beyond a certain degree. Silver is considered in two very different lights, as the common measure of all commodities, and as a commodity ; and it is by confounding these considerations that some very able writers fall into great mistakes. In countries where there are no mines, silver is, generally speaking, to be taken in the first light, as a common measure, and then the state of the inhabitants will be properly enough denominated from its plenty or its scarcity. If they are frugal, industrious, and enjoy a large share of trade, silver will abound amongst them ; and if, on the contrary, they are profuse, lazy, or without trade,

<sup>a</sup> PAXTON's Discourse of the nature, improvement, and advantage of Trade, p. 29.

they will have very little silver<sup>1</sup>. But, in countries where there are mines, silver is no more than a commodity; and if the inhabitants of such countries, either through defects in government, or for want of trade, are without the necessaries or conveniences of life, we cannot surely style them rich, whatever quantities of silver they may have in their possession<sup>k</sup>. This plainly shews, that silver is not essentially wealth, but only circumstantially so; and that, when it abounds much beyond that proportion which is necessary to render it a common measure, it will in all countries, whether they have mines or not, become a downright commodity, as we see it actually does, and is converted into lace and plate, upon which there is likewise a considerable loss; nor can there be any reason given why the clamour should be greater for the silver exported to the *East Indies* than for the silver wasted and consumed in all kinds of manufactures<sup>l</sup>. By the trade to the *East Indies* a prodigious quantity of shipping is employed both there and in *Europe*, vast numbers of seamen raised, and consequently a great naval force maintained; and therefore, though spices, perfumes, and painted linens, may be instruments of luxury and superfluities, yet ships, seamen, and a naval power, are things of intrinsic value; and if it cannot be denied that the *Europeans* have these into the bargain, it must be acknowledged they have no hard bargain; since it has been very fully shewn, silver itself, beyond a certain reasonable proportion, is but a superfluity<sup>m</sup>.

*Attempt- We may pursue this method of reasoning still farther. It*  
*ing a new* has been asserted, and it cannot be denied, that the endeav-  
*route to the* ours to discover a new route by sea to the *East Indies* pro-  
*east proved* duced the discovery of the *West Indies*. Now it is very certain,  
*the means* that the far greater part of the silver that is in *Europe* comes  
*of discover-* from *America*; and it is no less certain, that a very large pro-  
*ing the* portion of that silver comes into the possession of *Europeans*  
*West In-* by the purchase of *East India* goods and commodities<sup>n</sup>.  
*dies, and* What reason then is there to fear, that a trade, which, in its  
*consequent-* consequences, furnishes us with silver, should bring us into  
*ly has sup-* indigence from the want of it? or how can we apprehend  
*plied much* that *Europe* in general is more impoverished by the annual  
*more silver* exportation of a certain quantity of this metal, than any par-  
*than it has* ticular country which exports silver to the *Indies* with a view  
*absorbed.*

<sup>1</sup> COCKBURN'S Travels through the Continent of Mexico.

<sup>k</sup> A thorough search into the true nature of coin and bullion, p. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Benefits of Foreign Trade, p. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Advan-

tages of the East India Trade considered, ch. 2.

<sup>n</sup> GEE'S

Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, p. 40.

of consuming a great quantity of *Indian* commodities without expence, and, besides, of bringing back the original silver carried out by the sale of the overplus of those commodities? Is not *America* to *Europe* in general, what the countries in *Europe*, that do not trade to the *East Indies*, are to those countries that do? And when we allow that silver is brought as a commodity from *America*, why should we be so blind as not to see that it is exported also as a commodity into the most distant parts of *Asia*? where, if the people keep or hide it, they are certainly not so wise as the *Europeans*, who use it, and, by the use of it, render themselves rich and powerful, and in a great degree the masters of those who dig the silver in the *West Indies*, and of those who are distracted with the desire of hoarding it in the *East*? (G).

## THE

\* Sir JOSEPH CHILD of Trade, p. 172.

\* MANOUCHI'S

Histoire de l'Empire du Mogol, p. 387.

(G) It is certainly a point of very great consequence, in order to set truth in a clear light, to prevail upon such as inquire after it, to consider attentively the meaning of the words that are made use of in discussing any subject; because it will be often found that the warmest disputes are not about things, but words, sometimes used in one sense, and sometimes in another, in the course of the same debate. As for instance; in the case before us, there is nothing more common than to speak of the *rich* commodities of the east; and, if you desire to have this explained, they enumerate precious stones, spices, silks, &c. If you inquire the reason why these are styled *rich* commodities, the reason assigned is, because they are sold for a great deal of money. But those who consider things in another light, change the term, and tell us, that these things, as they are not necessary to life, are not really valuable; and if you in-

quire of them what is valuable, they answer, *Silver*, or money, because that will purchase the necessaries of life at all times, and in all places. The inference they make from this is, that the inhabitants of the *Indies* are the real gainers, because they obtain money; and those who deal with them losers, because they part with money. A little reflection will shew, that the opinion of men governs in both cases; now if it be certain, as indeed there is nothing more certain, than that, in the opinion of mankind, from the earliest ages down to the present, precious stones, spices, silks, &c. have been always held *valuable*, or, in other words, could be always sold or exchanged for large sums of money, or, in other words still, for great quantities of *silver*; then it follows, that, in obtaining these, we obtain things valuable; and unless those, who maintain the contrary, could alter the opinions of mankind, and induce a general

Another  
objection  
against the  
trade to  
the Indies  
stated,  
with argu-  
ments to  
support it.

THE second objection to this trade may be answered more concisely, because it takes the first in some measure for its ground; that objection stands thus: *It may be doubted whether the passage by the Cape of Good Hope can be truly styled a discovery of the East Indies, since they were known, frequented, and a great trade carried on in the commodities and manufactures brought from thence, long before. It may be farther doubted whether this trade through that chanel has been beneficial to Europe in general, since it has occasioned a much greater consumption of the product of the Indies, that always was, and ever must be, in a great measure, purchased for ready money.* The restraining a destructive trade is as much a benefit as the extending a beneficial one; and consequently the increasing of a trade, where the balance is against us, must be considered as a manifest disadvantage; neither are these arguments unsupported by experience, since, as it might be naturally expected, the intercourse with the *Indies* becoming easier and more direct, the demand for *Indian* commodities rose in proportion; and the increase of the demand has so far raised the price, that we pay as dear for *Indian* commodities now, though imported intirely by *Europeans*, as when we had no trade thither by sea, but received all these commodities and manufactures by land-carriage<sup>1</sup>. On the whole, this being a losing trade for *Europe*, augmenting that trade must augment the loss; which must be still farther augmented by the advanced price of the commodities and manufactures; whence it follows, that whatever benefits the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* at first, and the *English* and *Dutch* since, have derived from this trade, the people of *Europe* in general have been made poorer by the opening of this passage by sea to the *East Indies*; and therefore, instead of being ce-

<sup>1</sup> Myn's Discourse of the East India Trade,

ral persuasion that there is nothing worth possessing but *silver*, they dispute about words, and not things; neither can there be any thing more childish than to grudge the *Indians* the possession of what they esteem valuable, in exchange for what other nations think so; more especially when we consider that this silver, for which we

contend so much, is, in strictness of speech, as little, if not less, a necessary of life, than those commodities that are brought from the *Indies*, for those we eat, drink, and wear; whereas the *Indians* are truly misers, and brood over their silver, without making any use of it at all.

lebrated

celebrated as an advantageous and important discovery, it ought, notwithstanding its specious appearance, to be considered as a real misfortune\*.

WE must acknowledge, that, when this objection was first *Answered,* started, it might very easily mislead those who had a natural *by showing* jealousy of foreign trade; and those were not only once a *it carried* party, but continued long a formidable party, in this king- *more silver* dom; neither perhaps are they yet extinguished: but, *out when* with how much address soever facts and falsehoods are *we had* blended in this prospect of the *India* trade, it is very far *small deal-* from being impracticable to disentangle them, and to make *ings than* the reader sensible, that there is even less in this than in the *now we* former objection. If, by purchasing *East India* commodities, there was always such a draught of silver out of *Europe* as is suggested, it would be a very difficult matter to shew how this, before the discovery of *America*, was replaced; and if it had not been replaced, no doubt in process of time the evil must have become very perceptible, and a gradual declension of silver in *Europe* would have been a general subject of complaint. Whatever sums were then sent into the *Indies*, to purchase commodities and manufactures, must have been laid out to great disadvantage†. The returns could be but small; and the prices must be high, because of the expences and hazard with which land-carriage must be attended. If ever, therefore, there was room to consider this commerce, as prejudicial to *Europe*, it must have been then; when the merchants, factors, carriers, were all infidels, and the Christians paid annually vast sums in ready money for a few spices, perfumes, and precious stones, the intrinsic value of which did not amount to a tenth part of what is now brought from the *Indies*. By this means also, contrary to the genius of their religion, the *Mohammedans* became great and general traders; and *Arabians*, *Moors*, and negro merchants were spread as far as *China* and the *Moluccas*, and had settlements, besides, in all the great trading ports throughout the *Indies*; the consequences of which, if it had not been checked by the *Portuguese* happily penetrating into those parts, is much easier to conceive than to describe.

ONE thing is very certain, that the greatest part of the *The true* money carried out of *Europe* fell by the way, and enriched *and certain*

\* Remarks upon a thorough search into the real cause of our want of silver coin.

† Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Traacts. MUN's Discourse of the East India Trade.

‡ SA-  
AUDO Secreta Fidelium Crucis, p. i. lib. i. cap. 1. See this point more largely treated in the third chapter.



though here in *Europe* sold at a very high price, yet the profit accrues not to *Indians*, but from one *European* nation to another; and, when the reader sees hereafter that the *Dutch* have burnt great quantities of spices in their own country, to keep up the market, he cannot but conclude that this objection is far from being so well founded as it seems to be at the first view<sup>a</sup>; so that, after all, such as have laboured to bring an odium upon this commerce, have misrepresented some facts, exaggerated others, and then drawn by sophistical reasonings unfair conclusions; whereas the advocates for it argue from facts about which there can be no dispute, and from the experience of two hundred and fifty years, which will admit of no reply.

Other less weighty objections shewn to be also without any foundation.

As to any slighter objections that have been thrown out from the consumption of seamen in these long voyages, the wearing out of ships, the raising the price of naval stores, and others of a like nature, they arise plainly from a narrowness of mind, and from a want of that comprehensive talent which is absolutely necessary to reason judiciously and conclusively, upon a subject of such importance<sup>b</sup>. For, in proportion as trade has increased, if the lives of multitudes of men have been exposed at sea, it is no more than what happened in former times, in almost continual wars, where the hazard was much greater, and not to so good a purpose. The lives of seamen are exposed for maintaining an intercourse between the most remote parts of the habitable world; which encourages industry, and furnishes a vast variety of employments worthy of rational beings. The wearing out of ships, and the expence of naval stores, have also had a consequence little attended to, which was, the carrying back very considerable sums of money into those countries that were most drained by purchasing the commodities of the *Indies*; and thus, according to the nature of trade, or rather from the wise disposition of Providence, such a circulation has been and ever will be maintained, as is necessary to keep all the wheels of universal traffick in motion, and this to the common benefit of mankind in general<sup>c</sup>. So that we had reason to insist more largely on the exportation of silver, as being the capital point by which this subject has been so long embarrassed; and, to leave no room for future

<sup>a</sup> Advantages of the East India Trade considered, p. 94. Sir JOSHUA CHILD'S Discourse of Trade, p. 171—174. GEE'S Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, ch. xxi.  
<sup>b</sup> HOBBS'S Benefit of Foreign Trade, p. 93. <sup>c</sup> DAVENANT on the public Revenues and Trade of England, vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

doubts upon this head, let it be observed, that, upon the strictest calculations, it has appeared, that not above a sixth part, at most, of the annual produce of the *American* mines has been exported by all the *European* nations that have a share in the trade to the *East Indies*, and that the quantity of *European* commodities sent thither is continually increasing; whence we may safely infer, that, till the quantity of silver (which, as we have shewn, is a commodity as well as a common measure) which is constantly brought into *Europe*, shall be considerably diminished, there can be no just ground for any melancholy apprehension, about the consequences of the *East India* trade (I).

THESE considerations being premised, as absolutely necessary to set the value of our discoveries and plantations in a true light, we may with greater alacrity and cheerfulness proceed to our intended history; but, in order to do this in a proper method, we must begin with shewing what was the state of things before the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope* was found out; and how this trade was managed of old by different routes, according to the innumerable alterations that were made from time to time, by the frequent revolutions that happened amongst the nations concerned in this trade, and in

(I) It is very justly observed, by an author who was perfectly well acquainted with things of this nature, that there is nothing so difficult as to search out and discover all the secret channels by which trade rolls wealth both out and into every country (11). Most certainly, had there been any scarcity of silver induced by the augmentation of the *India* trade, it would have altered the proportion between gold and silver; which it has not done, though such as consider things superficially might be easily brought to believe the contrary. In the first year of King *Henry* the Eighth gold was coined of the same fineness that it is now, and a pound of gold troy weight was then worth

twenty-five pounds two shillings and six pence, whereas it is now worth forty-four pounds ten shillings, from whence it seems as if gold was become dearer; but neither is that the case, for both these sums in silver are very near the same weight, that is, about fourteen pounds and four ounces; consequently the proportion is not at all altered, or very little (12); which must be owing to our receiving in *Europe* great quantities of gold from *Africa*, the *East Indies*, *Peru*, and *Chili*, as well as silver from *America* (13). We may therefore be sure, that, while this proportion continues the same, we cannot suffer any real evil by the quantities carried out of either of these metals,

(11) *Dr. Davenant, and, since him, the best authors on the subject of Commerce,*  
 (12) *Fleischer's Chronicon preciosum, p. 20.* (13) *Davenant's Essay on the East India Trade, p. 27.*

antients  
for carry-  
ing on a  
correspond-  
ence to the  
Indies.

the countries through which it was carried on<sup>d</sup>. This, as it is a very necessary disquisition, will be found to be extremely entertaining, as well as highly useful; and, though it may seem to carry us into ages somewhat higher than will fall properly under the character of modern history, yet no just objection can arise from thence, when it shall be known that there is nothing improbable in supposing that some of those old correspondencies may be hereafter revived, and consequently this history of antient commerce connected with future events, and become thereby something more than modern<sup>e</sup>. Neither is this the only point of our apology; for, as the old and almost forgotten roads to the *Indies* may possibly be again traced out and restored, so there have not been wanting some who have suggested, that those new-discovered ways which the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards* have magnified to so great a degree, though certainly unknown to the darker ages after the destruction of the *Roman* empire, were nevertheless explored in earlier and better times; and that of this there are some proofs to be met with in authentic authors<sup>f</sup>. Nay, the lovers of antiquity go farther still; and very confidently assert, that at least two other passages to the *East Indies* by sea, than the great discoverers of later ages have passed through, with all their mathematical skill and learning, were nevertheless traversed long ago by the unlettered *Indians*<sup>g</sup>, of which some records remain. We shall find it then highly requisite, to the right knowledge of this subject, to spend some short time in thus inquiring what methods of corresponding with the east were really in use of old, and what are suggested to have been so without any reason.

How essential a part this is of Universal History, and the advantages that flow from it.

By a just examination of these points, setting truth in a right light, detecting falsehoods, and representing the evidence fairly on both sides, where matters are doubtful; many important passages are brought to the reader's notice, which are not only consistent with, but absolutely necessary to complete, the views of an Universal History. It must be confessed, that though hardly any thing can be more obvious than the great utility of such an inquiry into points of this nature, yet most writers of history have been very negligent about them; so that there is hardly any thing more difficult than to collect together, and as it were glean, the several matters of fact

<sup>d</sup> HURT Commerce des Anciens, ch. ix.  
de Commerce, vol. ii. p. 735—738.

<sup>e</sup> Dictionnaire  
<sup>f</sup> HARLETT, PURCHAS, FOX, and other authors who treat of the North-east and North-west Passages.

<sup>g</sup> STRAB. Geogr. lib. ii. PLIN. Hist. natur. lib. iv. cap. 17. SOLIN. cap. 19.

that relate to them, as they lie hid here and there, in the works of different authors, and of such too as have written on various subjects". Yet, whatever trouble there may be in performing this, it is a very essential point of our business; for, as the writers either of particular nations, or of determinate periods of time, either touch things of this nature but slightly, or, if they dwell upon any, do it only with a view to the main design of their histories; and as those who extend their plans are for that reason obliged to be more succinct, and, though they mention perhaps a greater variety of facts, seldom do any thing more than mention them; we cannot justly expect any tolerable satisfaction from their relations<sup>i</sup>. But, in the very scheme of an Universal History, an account of the discoveries made, of the commercial intercourse subsisting, or colonies transported, from one quarter of the terraqueous globe to another, becomes a very capital consideration, demands a distinct article, and, being deduced in a natural method, shews manifestly the truth of those observations made at the beginning of this chapter, and, being thus related together, explain and illustrate each other; by which they enable the attentive reader to penetrate thoroughly into the true nature of commerce in general, and free him from those prejudices and prepossessions that inevitably infect the minds of those who take their notions of this subject from such as write of the affairs of any one nation whatever<sup>k</sup> (K).

BESIDES,

<sup>b</sup> EVELYN'S Treatise of Navigation and Commerce. <sup>i</sup> ARISTOTLE, DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, PLINY, ATHENÆUS, &c. <sup>k</sup> GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, P. iii. ch. 1.

(K) The learned Bishop Huet, speaking to Mr. Calbert, at whose command he wrote his History of the commerce of the antients, complains of this negligence in the following terms (14): "The very reason which you allege, that little care has hitherto been taken to set these matters in a proper light, is precisely that which makes me apprehend the difficulty of the undertaking, and anxious as to the event, none having gone before me  
" to clear the road, being to set out myself without a guide,  
" and not knowing where to seek assistance or support."  
It is very strange, though at the same time very honourable for that French minister, that he should be the first who saw the necessity of having such a history; and it is very remarkable that he was led to this, as we shall see in another place, by his scheme of setting up an East India company in France. He directed, and in part dictated, a

Many curious points that are explained, and rendered intelligible, from the history of this commerce.

BESIDES, that kind of science, which arises from this reading, is the true political key by which a variety of mysterious events are opened; so that we see clearly the true grounds of the rise of one nation, and the decay of another; the causes why at certain times there are such vast changes even in the exterior appearances of countries, which, from paradises in one age, become desarts in the next<sup>1</sup>. We likewise discern how as great alterations are wrought in the tempers of whole nations, who, from being restless, ambitious, and continually disturbing their neighbours, become industrious, peaceable, and even protectors of those to whom they were once enemies; and then again by degrees, perhaps, degenerate into indolence, avarice, and a spirit of tricking. We perceive that there are natural causes why trade so often shifts its channels; why it seems sometimes perfectly docile, and obedient to laws, and at others is injured and destroyed by the very measures that are taken to protect and to promote it<sup>m</sup>. These are certainly acquisitions of real consequence, more especially in these times, when, without a tincture of this kind of science, history may very easily mislead, and can hardly instruct to any great purpose (L).

WE

<sup>1</sup> GRONDEN en Maximen van de Republick van Holland, iii. Deel. Cap. 3. <sup>m</sup> PAXTON's Discourse concerning the nature, advantage, and improvement of Trade, p. 39.

treatise upon that subject, shewing the advantages that would attend it, and obviating the difficulties that might be raised against it, which was received with universal applause (15). But how well soever he might satisfy others, he was very far from satisfying himself; and it was to clear up his own doubts, by obtaining an historical deduction of what had been formerly done in this trade, that he engaged this very learned person, then a young man, in this enterprize, very succinct, if we consider its extent, and which, in respect to many

things, gives us rather hints than explanations. These therefore it is the business of those, who are to employ their talents in illustrating any particular branch of this general system, to improve from those lights which have been supplied by subsequent inquiries.

(L) The reader will be easily convinced of the truth of what is advanced in this paragraph, if he reflects on the various fortunes of the inhabitants of *Venice*. At first, vagabonds, who had taken shelter in a few desert islands scattered in a shallow sea, subsisting partly by their

(15) *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, P. iii. cb. 2. p. 87, 88, where we are told this treatise was published by Mr. Charpentier.

fishing,

We may likewise add, that this is that knowledge which forms the true connection between antient and modern history, since, by becoming thoroughly versed in it, we are enabled to distinguish between those principles on which the great monarchies of old were constructed, and the fundamental maxims of modern governments<sup>n</sup>. We are convinced, from an infinity of examples, that, whenever the fermentations occasioned reciprocally by the ambition of princes, and the resentment of their subjects, subside, the natural turn of the human race is, to have a quiet intercourse with each other, and a reciprocal exchange of those blessings which Providence has liberally bestowed on all, though in different proportions. We cannot help perceiving, that, in consequence of this universal disposition, several old routes, by which the communications were maintained between very remote countries, subsist either in whole or in part at this day, notwithstanding temporary interruptions; and we learn how to make a just distinction between the partial and bounded endeavours of the antients in this respect, in comparison of the extensive navigation of the moderns<sup>o</sup>; which so fully verifies that hitherto uncontradicted maxim, *that whatever nation, whatever empire, whatever quarter of the globe, is distinguished by its power at sea, will*

*It may therefore be considered as a chain which connects the antient history with the modern.*

<sup>n</sup> See PAULO PURUTA's Political Discourses, translated by the Earl of Monmouth, Discourse vi. <sup>o</sup> Traité sur le Commerce, par M. DESLAUDES, P. iv. p. 59.

fishing, partly by piracy, or at the best privateering; then, being themselves to commerce, they became a well governed, rich, and potent people: corrupted by prosperity, they became haughty and ambitious, exhausted their strength and wealth in making conquests on the continent; and, for want of adhering steadily to what had been the source of their good fortune, in a great measure lost it (16). That country, which is now called *Crim Tartary*, was once in the possession of the *Genoese*; and, from its excellent situation, became very populous,

and its inhabitants very rich: but, by ill management, the *Genoese* lost it, the trade quickly after sunk, and there is nothing now remarkable in it but the ruins of those magnificent palaces formerly raised by its opulent merchants (17). In the same condition are many of the great cities in *Italy*, in times past free and rich, thro' the industry of their inhabitants, now occupying the same space of ground, but poor, empty, decaying, and, in short, the melancholy monuments of their own departed grandeur.

(16) *Cord, Bemh. Hist. Venet. lib. vi. Essai sur le Commerce, p. 180, 181.*  
 (17) *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 243. Baspian Description de l'Ukraine, p. 95. Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. p. 582.*

be superior also on land<sup>p</sup>; upon which, as has been already said, the high prerogatives of the inhabitants of *Europe* are certainly founded, and upon which they must ever depend. For, after all, the arts of peace alone contribute to what may be styled true greatness; as the rules of justice, when well understood, will be found the safest and most successful maxims of policy. By the former, countries are improved, their inhabitants rendered civilized and polite, industry encouraged, and the faculties both of the body and of the mind applied to their proper uses: in consequence of the latter, men yield a willing obedience to government, from a due sense of its being their interest to be governed; exert themselves to the utmost, in order to obtain property, because the laws protect them in the full and quiet possession of the fruits of their labours; and engage with alacrity in long and dangerous voyages, from the prospect of increasing their substance, and providing, by the fatigues of their youth, for spending their advanced age in ease. These are great and rational views, and manifestly coincide with those of the great Author of nature, who certainly meant that all men should taste of happiness; and that the wisest and the best, those who bent their thoughts, and employed their strength, to honest and manly purposes, should be most happy<sup>q</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> CICERO. ad Attic. lib. x. ep. 7.      <sup>q</sup> EVELYN'S Treatise of Navigation and Commerce, sect. ix. Testament Politique du Cardinal DE RICHELIEU, P. ii. § 5, 6, 7. SECONDAT de l'esprit du Loi, liv. xx. xxi.

## C H A P. II.

*The Methods of Communication between the Inhabitants of Europe and the East Indies, before the Discovery of a direct Passage by Sea round the Cape of Good Hope.*

*A succinct account of the antient commerce of the East Indies.* According to the history which *Moses* has given us of the peopling the earth after the deluge, we might reasonably suppose that an intercourse between all the inhabitants of the east must have subsisted very early, or, to speak with greater propriety, must have continued from the beginning; and it is very remarkable, that this fact is confirmed by authors sacred and profane<sup>r</sup>. It is most probable that the inhabitants of *Arabia* were the first that sailed thither by sea; as

<sup>r</sup> HUG. GROTIJ Annot. ad lib. i. de veritate Chris. Religion.

we know that the *Ismaelites*, who dwelt in the same country, were the first that carried spices by land into *Egypt* <sup>b</sup>. It was, however, many ages before the *Greeks* had any distinct notions upon this head, and indeed till the time of *Alexander*; they were so corrupted by fables, or misrepresented by ignorant historians, that the wisest men amongst them could scarce distinguish between fiction and truth <sup>c</sup>. The desire of magnifying the great actions performed by that conqueror, and the *Grecians* under his command, became a new source of errors; to which additions were continually made, after his conquests were abandoned. Of all his successors, *Ptolemy Philadelphus* alone had a just sense of the importance of these countries, and took care to be perfectly well informed about them; whence came the better part of those memoirs that serve to give light to succeeding times <sup>d</sup>. But the love of the marvellous still so much prevailed, that they also became corrupted, and that to a great degree. This was done with so much the more facility, as the figure of the earth, the disposition of countries, and the true principles of navigation, were but very indifferently understood. It is indeed said, that in very early times the *Chinese* were a very knowing, active, and enterprising people; and that they extended their conquests, or at least their influence, as far as the *Cape of Good Hope*; and for this there is a small degree of evidence, yet nothing capable of giving the colour of truth to what some have fancied upon this subject.

ABOUT two hundred years ago, when, from the discoveries *Some have asserted,*  
of *Vasquez de Gama* and *Christopher Columbus*, intelligent persons began to discourse of the possibility of sailing northwards *that a passage by the north was*  
into these countries; some undertook to prove that this had actually been done above a thousand years before, whether out of veneration for antiquity, or to cast a sort of reflection upon the moderns, is uncertain <sup>e</sup>. But, upon whatever motive they proceeded, they appealed to authority in maintenance of what they said. The chief fact they relied upon is thus related by *Pliny*, about fifty-seven years before the coming of Christ: A small vessel, having several *Indians* on board, was shipwrecked on the coast of *Germany*; and all the persons, who escaped that misfortune, were courteously received by the king of the *Suevi*, who presented them to *Metellus Celer*,  
*not unknown to the ancients.*

<sup>b</sup> Genes. xxvii. 25. MUNSTER. VATABL. & DRUS. in loco.

<sup>c</sup> ARRIAN. Expedit. Alexand. lib. v. & Indic.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN.

Hist. nat. lib. vi. cap. 23. STRABON. Geog. lib. iii.

<sup>e</sup> HUET

Histoire du Commerce & de la Navigation des Anciens, c. xlv.



then the *Roman* proconsul in *Gaul*<sup>f</sup>. The writers who defend the notions before-mentioned are very positive that these *Indians* came from *Japon*, or the land of *Jedso*, through the streights of *Weygatz*, and so into the northern ocean. It is added, that the historian, who has preserved this memorable event, could not, from his own relation, but conclude the same thing. But upon this many things have been, and may be said. As for instance: that these *Indians* might be cast upon the coast of *Germany* another way; which is beyond all question practicable. For instance, they might be supposed to have embarked on the river *Oxus*, and so to have passed thro' the *Caspian* sea, thence up the river *Volga*, and so into the *Dwina*, which, falling into the *Baltic*, might well enough have brought them to the coast on which they are supposed to have been shipwrecked. It is however very improbable that such a thing should have happened, because it supposes these *Indians* to have been perfectly acquainted with the navigation of rivers, of which it is much more likely they never heard, and it is very possible, are unacquainted with so much as their names, to this very day. Yet other nations there are perfectly well acquainted with them, and with their navigation; nay, were so well acquainted with it many years ago, that it was proposed to King *James* the First to open a trade this way to the *Indies*, which the states-men of those times were wise enough to treat as a chimera<sup>g</sup>; and perhaps it is owing to there being much the same measure of wisdom in the ministers of a certain northern power, that this passage has been hitherto traced only upon paper (A). This, however, not being our present business, let us proceed.

THESE,

<sup>f</sup> Hist. nat. lib. ii. cap. lxxvii.      <sup>g</sup> Winwood's Memorials or State Papers published by Edm. Sawyer, Esq; vol. iii. p. 453.

(A) The passage referred to in the text is very curious, and occurs in a letter from one Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, afterwards secretary of state; wherein, having mentioned *Muscovy*, he proceeds thus (1): "Indeed we have great doings in hand, and strange projects for that place, which I doubt will all prove discourses in the air, for they

" be grounded upon certain  
 " speeches of some of the nobility to an *English* merchant  
 " about two years since; but  
 " *tempora mutantur*, and the  
 " case is much altered there  
 " since that time. Yet the king  
 " apprehends the business very  
 " earnestly, and hath caused  
 " Sir *Henry Nevill* to confer  
 " with some of the council  
 " about it divers times, where-

(1) Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 453.

" in

THESE, without doubt, are sufficient answers, upon the supposition that they were *Indians*. But we may also say, that it is much to be questioned whether these people were *Indians*, because it is very certain the antients frequently bestowed that appellation upon very remote nations, merely because they were very remote<sup>b</sup>. It is therefore much more probable that these people, who were thus cast on shore on the coast of *Germany*, were *Norwegians* or *Scythians*, the same people that we now style *Laplanders*; or it may be they were *Islanders*, if we credit the northern histories to such a degree, as to suppose that island was so early inhabited. This one may even prove, and is infinitely more credible than that they were *Indians* strictly and properly speaking, since accidents of the like nature have fallen out elsewhere, that is, some of these people have been driven on shore in their little fishing-boats; and, when any accident of this sort happened in those early times, before the northern parts of the world were so well known as they are at present, it is no great wonder that such people should be taken for *Indians*, as in our times they would be unanimously called savages<sup>c</sup>. The same method of arguing may be applied to another fact of the same nature; since it is affirmed, that under the reign of the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, A. D. 1160. certain *Indians* were again cast upon the coast of *Germany*; for there is no more proof that these were really *Indians* than the former<sup>d</sup>. In

<sup>b</sup> HUET Histoire du Commerce et de la Navigation des Anciens, chap. iii. <sup>c</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries. Mr. JOHN RAY's Account of the Trinity-house at Hull.

<sup>d</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by Hackluyt, chap. 1.

" in they say he hath shewed  
" great sufficiency, and dis-  
" coursed at large what com-  
" modity might arise by bring-  
" ing the whole trade of *Persia*,  
" and the inland parts of the  
" *East Indies*, up the river *Hy-*  
" *daspes*; and so, with a short  
" cut, down the river *Oxus* into  
" the *Caspian* sea, and then up  
" the river *Volga* to a streight  
" of land, that will carry all  
" into the river *Dawina*, that  
" runs down to *St. Nicholas* and  
" the town of *Archangel*, the  
" ordinary port and station of

" our shipping in those parts.  
" These are goodly specious  
" discourses of things not so  
" easily done as spoken." But,  
as light as this gentleman makes  
of the matter, this passage was  
and is very practicable; and,  
except the latter part of it, is  
the individual scheme, for car-  
rying which into execution the  
*Russia* company not many years  
ago procured an act of parlia-  
ment; and, while there was  
such a thing as government in  
*Persia*, carried on a trade thither  
very successfully.

both cases it is acknowledged, that they were a strange people, whose language was not understood; which might be true, if they were *Norwegians*, but most certainly is no kind of evidence that they came either from the *East* or from the *West Indies*, or that they made their way through the north-east or north-west passage (B).

*Arguments by which this opinion is clearly and fully refuted.*

BUT, after all, from whatever country these people came, or by whatever route they might come, it is very certain that *Pliny* had not the least notion of their arriving by any northern passage; on the contrary, he very plainly suggests their coming round the coast of *Africa*, which shews how long ago there was a suspicion that there might be a passage that way to the *Indies*<sup>1</sup>. Yet, how reasonable soever that sentiment might be, most certainly the consequence drawn from it, that the *Indians* thrown upon the *German* coast might come this way, is very hard to conceive; or, to speak plainly, is not to be conceived at all, any more than that the *Molucca* beans, which are thrown upon the coasts of the *Shetland* islands, should make their way thither by the same passage<sup>m</sup>. The truth certainly is, that whatever the ancient historians might collect from the genuine writings of *Hanno the Carthaginian*, which they had in their hands, or whatever some learned men amongst them might conjecture, they had no knowledge of a passage by sea; for, if there ever had been such a thing known, accounts of it would at least have been preserved, even if the passage had been neglected<sup>n</sup>. The most judicious critics

<sup>1</sup> *PLIN. Hist. nat. lib. ii. cap. 67.*      <sup>m</sup> *ELLIS's Voyage to Hudson's Bay, P. iii.*      <sup>n</sup> *Vindication of modern Improvements, against the fabulous Suggestions of the Idolaters of Antiquity.*

(B) When one considers the learning and good sense of those great men who have urged these facts as a proof of there being actually a passage by the north to the *East Indies*, one is naturally inclined to think that they did not do it from a persuasion that the fact was really so, but because they were sensible that examples weigh much more with the generality of readers than arguments; by which they expose themselves to this disadvantage, that shewing

the improbability of these facts, which was easily done, made more against their opinion, that such a passage was practicable, than in reason it ought; for, in truth, what they urged of another kind was very strong and convincing; and it is now in some measure certain, by comparing the attempts of the *Dutch* with what has been actually done of late years by the *Russians*, that a north-east passage is really practicable (2).

(2) *Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay, P. iii.*

among

among the moderns are unanimously of this opinion, for which they also assign another reason; that, not having the use of the compass, it was impossible they should make any voyage of this kind, since the *Portuguese* found such difficulty, while they continued, to creep along the coast of *Africa*; and were afraid of keeping far enough out to sea, in order to double the *Cape* with safety°. We may add to these still another argument, that has been hitherto omitted; which is, that none of those nations that were possessed of this commerce in antient times, had any interest in finding such a passage, but directly the contrary; and consequently we have the utmost reason to believe they did not bend their thoughts that way, for the very same reason that some have suggested a neighbouring nation to ours thought proper to suppress the passage of one of their ships from *Greenland* to *Japon*; which charge on them, if we had sufficient evidence to prove the fact, would appear highly probable\*: since such a discovery must have been by no means pleasing to those who are in possession of the best part of the commerce to the *Indies*, in the way that it is now carried on (C). But it is time to quit this discourse of passages, with which the antients could not be acquainted; in order to speak of those by which, while it was in their hands, this trade was actually pursued, though not with like ease, or with the same advantages, as at present.

THE intercourse between the people of *Russia* and the inhabitants of *China* is a thing now commonly known to be *impossible* *It is not*

\* J. DE BARROS, GALVANO, MAFFÆUS, and in general all who have recorded the first discoveries by the *Portuguese*. † *Philosophical Transactions*, N° CXVIII. p. 417. where there is a very large and direct account of this matter, but unluckily that curious paper is anonymous.

(C) There is in the *Philosophical Transactions* an account given by Mr. *Joseph Moxon*, of a *Dutch* ship employed in the *Greenland* fishery, that actually sailed two degrees beyond the north pole (3); which relation he had from the mouth of the steersman of that very ship, who affirmed that they had an open sea, and as warm weather as at *Amsterdam*, during the summer-season; which fact, if true, as

Mr. *Moxon* testifies his persuasion that it really was, is decisive as to this point; and shews that there is a short passage to the *Indies*, with which it is not easy to believe, that, after such an experiment as this, the *Dutch* should be unacquainted; but as it neither is, nor in all probability will be, their interest to make use of it, there is no wonder that they conceal it.

(3) *Philosophical Transactions*.

N 3

extremely

that the commerce between the Chinese and the northern nations is of great antiquity.

extremely practicable, ever since the embassy sent by the Czar in the year 1659, when his minister passed to the north of the kingdom of *Boutan* or *Tibet*, thro' the deserts of *Great Tartary*<sup>1</sup>. But though the assertion may seem strange, there is no reason to believe that this passage is by any means a new discovery, or that it had not been as much frequented of old as in the present times; for, as might be easily shewn, it was in the very early ages of the world that the *Chinese* and *Indian* empires were in their most flourishing condition, and carried on their most extensive commerce; whence we may conceive it highly probable that they made use of caravans on this side, in the same manner as they do now; and it is not impossible that it was by the passage of these caravans through the northern *Indies*, the antients came to hear of the *Seres*; since it is very certain that the country in which they placed them is not very far distant from the route these caravans must have taken, supposing such a passage to have been then used. But that there must have been some passage on the north, appears also from hence, that the antients were so fully persuaded that the *Indian* ocean communicated with the *Caspian* sea; a notion that could never have gained credit if they had not been informed that there was some kind of commerce carried on between the northern parts and the *Indies*<sup>2</sup>; and it is not easy to comprehend how any commerce of that kind should be carried on, unless by the method which we have mentioned, which was always practicable, and which therefore there is no improbability in supposing formerly practised<sup>3</sup>; which is very much strengthened by the authority of the original histories of these remote countries.

No good grounds to rely on what the antients have left us concerning those nations between China and Russia.

THE only plausible objection that can be made is, the fierceness and barbarity of the nations inhabiting between *China* and *Russia*, and therefore this deserves some consideration. To remove this doubt, let us in the first place observe, that the antients had no distinct account of these people at all, and therefore whatever they have advanced ought to make no impression to the disadvantage of these nations<sup>4</sup>. In the next place, what they have told us of the *Seres* does not appear to agree in any manner with the *Chinese* history; and, though we are very far from asserting that we ought to give an implicit credit to all that is advanced in that history, yet

<sup>1</sup> HUET *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 392. <sup>2</sup> POM-  
PON. MELA, lib. i. c. 2. EUSTATH. in Dion. Perieg. v. 752.

<sup>3</sup> PLIN. *Hist. nat.* l. vi. c. 17.

<sup>4</sup> HUET *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 391.

<sup>5</sup> STRAB. *Geograph.* l. xv. PROLEM. l. vi. c. 15. Tab. VII. *Asiæ*.

we think there is nothing absurd in supposing that the *Indians* or the *Chinese* might be as intelligent, and as industrious in commerce as we know with the utmost certainty the *Chaldeans* and the *Ismaelites* were in times much earlier than those in which we conceive this commerce to have been practised. Human nature is every-where the same; and it appears, even from the reports of the *Greek* historians, that the *Indians*, from the earliest accounts they had of them, were as well governed a people as any in the world<sup>v</sup>; which certainly adds some credit to the *Chinese* history, whether we are inclined to believe that the *Indians* derived any part of their knowledge from the *Chinese*; or, which is a notion more probable in itself, and much better supported by authority, that the *Chinese* were indebted for the best part of their improvements to the light they received from the *Indians*<sup>†</sup>. The first accounts we had of the *Tartars*, or rather *Tatars*, represented them as a race of stupid and ignorant barbarians; but their own histories shew quite the contrary; because, if they had been really such, those histories could not have been written by them with so much simplicity, perspicuity, and elegance, as we see that they actually are<sup>v</sup> (D).

WE may add to all this, that it is very far from being im-  
probable, that those people, that now inhabit the greatest  
part of these far-extended countries, are not the descendants  
of those who were possessed of them in past times; neither is  
this supposition altogether grounded upon the hints received  
from such as have studied the *Chinese* and other oriental me-  
moirs, but upon the concurring testimonies of other writers.

Other na-  
tions have  
inhabited  
these coun-  
tries than  
those who  
are now  
settled  
there.

<sup>v</sup> DIODORUS SICULUS, l. xix. c. 2. ARRIAN. Indic. \* See the Abbé RENAUDOT's Preface to the Travels of Two Arabians into the Indies. <sup>†</sup> ABULGASI BAYADUR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartars.

(D) All the *Chinese* histories refer the forming of their constitution, as rational as any, and evidently the most lasting in the world, to very early times, that is, to almost two thousand years before Christ. The same books, speaking of the succeeding ages represent the northern and north-east countries as fully peopled, and granted as sovereignties dependent on the empire,

to princes of the blood; from whence we must conclude, that the inhabitants were as much civilized, and lived under the same laws with the *Chinese* (4). The other oriental histories accord very well with these accounts; so that it does not seem in any degree reasonable to set all these aside in favour of our own conjectures.

We are well informed, that even in those places that are now styled *steps* or *deserts*, there are evident remains not only of former inhabitants, but of inhabitants very different in their dispositions and manners from those of the adjacent nations \*. Tombs have been found, in which were the relics of persons well clothed, and with whom gold rings and other precious ornaments had been interred; and, which is still stronger and clearer evidence to this purpose, so lately as 1721 there was found in the midst of the great desert on the banks of the river *Tzulim*, a needle or obelisk sixteen feet in height, of very beautiful white stone, surrounded by several hundred monuments of the same kind, but of a much smaller size, upon which were inscriptions, much effaced by time, in characters that bear not the least resemblance to those that are at present in use amongst any of the nations that inhabit the north-east of *Asia* \*. As farther discoveries are made on this side, we may very probably receive greater lights; but in the mean time these are certainly sufficient to convince us, that great changes have happened in these parts; and that we should run a great hazard of deceiving ourselves, if we should form our idea of the state of things in past ages from the appearance of those countries at present. But we shall hereafter have occasion more than once to insist farther upon this subject, as it stands connected with other parts of our history; and therefore will not dwell upon it longer here, as having already set it in as clear a light as these inquiries seem to demand <sup>b</sup> (E).

\* Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. x. p. 116.      \* VAN STRAHLENBERGH Descr. of the N. E. parts of Asia and Europe.  
<sup>b</sup> ARRIAN. de Exped. Alex. l. v. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Alex. QUINT. CURT. l. viii.

(E) There cannot be a fact better attested than that mentioned in the text; to which we may add, that all the accounts we have from the *Russians*, even of the most northern and barbarous nations, either subject to them, or with whom they converse, agree, that these people have traditions of their having been formerly in a better state, and of more civilized nations that antiently inhabited those countries, and are now extirpated; and perhaps in process of time we may hear of farther monuments, that may put the truth of these things out of question; for what we have yet heard are but rude hints, reported by such as have accidentally conversed with, or made but a short stay among, these barbarous people (5).

(5) *Voyage de Moïcou à la Chine, par Mr. Everard Isbrants Ides, c. 19, 20.*

THE next communication between the *Indies* and the north A correspondence between the Indies and Spain practicable without entering the ocean. was by *Samarcand*, the capital of *Transoxiana*, that is, the country beyond the river *Oxus*, or *Amu*. It was by this river, which runs at no great distance from *Samarcand*, that a trade was antiently carried on by sailing down it into the *Caspian* sea, and so to the mouth of the *Volga*<sup>c</sup>. Bishop *Huet* very justly observed, that, by this route, there was no great difficulty in passing from the *Indies* to *Spain*, without ever entering the ocean; for, as he remarks, if, after passing the *Caspian* sea to the mouth of the *Volga*, and sailing up that river as high as the country of the *Cossacks*, the merchandize was transported by land for no greater space than six *German* leagues, they might then be conveyed down the *Tanais*, and so into the *Black Sea*, and, passing the streights of *Constantinople*, proceed by the *Mediterranean* to those of *Gibraltar*<sup>d</sup>. But the learned *Strabo* has pointed out another route by the *Caspian* sea, still shorter than that of the *Volga*, which was, by turning towards *Albania*, and so entering the river *Cyrus*, and sailing up as far as that is navigable, and then proceeding by land directly to the *Black Sea*<sup>e</sup>. Yet, notwithstanding this might be a shorter way than the former, most certainly it was not so commodious, nor at that time so practicable. However, the account he has given of it is a plain indication that all these things had been very well considered by the antients, who knew the importance of this commerce, and managed it as well as they could, making such alterations from time to time as the revolutions to which all countries are liable rendered necessary (F).

<sup>c</sup> STRABO Geograph. l. xi.  
des Anciens, p. 394.

<sup>d</sup> Histoire du Commerce  
<sup>e</sup> STRABO Geogr. l. xi.

(F) We ought to consider, that as the antients were but timid navigators, and unacquainted with the means of making long voyages by sea, they were under the necessity of having recourse to all possible methods for supplying this defect by the use of caravans, and an inland navigation; so that it would not be at all surprising if it should appear that they exceeded the moderns in these kinds of conveyances, since we exceed them so much in naval skill, and maritime expeditions.

Besides, if we reflect on the great empires that subsisted in those times, and the vast extent of country comprehended under them, we shall perceive that in this respect they had vast advantages, which there is no reason to doubt that they improved, since the facts mentioned in the text are evidences of such a disposition, and these improvements might be carried much farther than we can possibly collect from those small and imperfect records that yet remain to us.

BUT



These passages no new discoveries in the time of the Romans, but quite the contrary.

BUT Pliny informs us this was no new discovery, since, as he reports on the authority of *Varro*, *Pompey the Great*, during the war against *Mithridates*, had actually a design of opening such a commerce on this side. He was, says he, informed that it was but seven days journey from the frontiers of *India*, through the country of the *Bactrians*, to the river *Icarus*, which falls into the *Oxus*; so that the merchandize of *India* might be transported by that river into the *Caspian* sea, and from thence carried up the river *Cyrus*, within five days journey of *Phasis* in *Pontus*, which five days journey might very easily be performed over land<sup>f</sup>. *Solinus* indeed speaks of vessels passing this way; but that is a mistake, he must certainly have meant the merchandize. It is impossible to mention this passage to and from the *Indies* without observing, that it was the nearest and most convenient that could be to *Constantinople*; and there seems to be no reason to doubt that it was now in use, especially when the inhabitants of the coasts of *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Black Sea*, were subjects to the *Greek* emperors, or in times of peace; and by this means it might probably happen that the commerce of the *Indies* was preserved after the eastern provinces of the empire were lost; because it was not till a long time after that this road was in any danger of being disturbed by the excursions of the *Arabs*, who put an end to the trade through *Persia*<sup>g</sup>. This would have become still an easier and better method of carrying on this commerce; perhaps we should not err much in saying the easiest and best of all, if the project which, *Pliny* tells us on no less authority than that of the emperor *Claudius*, was formed by *Seleucus Nicator*, had been carried into execution either by him or by the *Greek* emperors, who had a much better opportunity of doing it, which was by cutting a canal from the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, to the *Caspian* sea, which would have shortened the passage extremely, and would, besides, have enabled the merchants to have conveyed their goods by water all the way<sup>h</sup> (G). The scheme itself, which must

<sup>f</sup> PLIN. Hist. nat. l. vii. c. 17.  
Commerce des Anciens, p. 428, 429.  
l. vi. c. 11.

<sup>g</sup> HUET Histoire du  
<sup>h</sup> PLIN. Hist. nat.

(G) At first sight it may seem as if reviving the memory of these ancient projects was not the business of a modern historian; whereas in reality there is nothing more so, since, while

these countries remain, every great genius, sustained by superior power, will naturally have recourse to schemes of the like nature. Thus the Czar *Peter the First* had this very notion in his

must be acknowledged truly great, was originally that of *Alexander*, who ordered the *Caspian* sea to be carefully surveyed, with this very intention of finding some communication between that and the *Pontus Euxinus*, that he might thereby open a passage from the *Indies*<sup>1</sup>, to his hereditary dominions of *Macedon*, which, by that means, might have been rendered the center of the commerce of *Europe*.

SOME writers inform us, that the city of *Samarcand* be-  
 came large, rich, populous, and a place of great trade, at  
 the expence of that of *Bogar*, the capital of *Great Buchar-  
 ia*, which, in earlier times, served as a magazine, to which the  
 love of gain attracted nations very far removed from each  
 other by nature: for thither resorted merchants from all  
 parts of *India*, from the different countries inhabited by the  
*Tartars*, from *Persia*, and even from the dominions of the  
 Grand Signior, on one side; and from *Russia* and *Poland*, on  
 the other: so that in the warehouses and markets here, might  
 be seen a large variety of oriental and *European* merchandize<sup>1</sup>.  
 The strongest argument for the antiquity of this commerce,  
 was the extent of the city, and the beauty of its buildings.  
 A countryman of ours, one *Anthony Jenkins*, visited it, about  
 the middle of the sixteenth century; and his account of this  
 mart has been esteemed so curious and important, that it has  
 been translated into other languages, and copied by the best  
 writers. But if it was injured by the neighbourhood of *Sa-  
 marcand* in those days, it has since had its revenge, as it is  
 now become the seat of the *Khân* of the *Usbeck Tartars*, who  
 is master also of *Samarcand*, which he visits only in the sum-  
 mer-season<sup>2</sup>. In consequence of this new change of fortune,  
 the commerce of *Bogar* is revived, and, as it is situated in a

<sup>1</sup> HUET *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 396. \* ABUL-  
 CASI BAYADÛR KHAN *Histoire Genealogique des Tartares*,  
 P. iii. cap. 14. JENKINS'S *Travels*, in Hakluyt's Collection,  
 p. 355.

his head, which made him so  
 desirous of being lord of the  
 Black sea on one side, as well  
 as of the *Baltic* on the other.  
 The *Shah Nâdir*, or *Kouli Khân*,  
 likewise turned his thoughts  
 this way; but the progress of  
 his arms was checked by the  
 vigorous opposition of the people  
 inhabiting the country between  
 the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* seas.  
 Neither have the *Venetians* been  
 wanting in their endeavours to  
 put the *Turks* upon opening some  
 such correspondence (6). It is  
 true, none of these schemes have  
 hitherto met with success; but  
 it does not follow from hence,  
 that they never will, or that it is  
 of no use to comprehend them.

(6) *Dictionnaire universel de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 582.

fruitful and pleasant country, the resort of merchants is as great there as ever : which sufficiently proves, that, notwithstanding the fluctuations of commerce, when once the situation of a place is found to be extremely convenient, it is seldom ruined to such a degree, as not, some time or other, to lift up its head again. And therefore, it is always a point of consequence, to such as will understand these things to the bottom, to be well informed of the antient channels of trade, that they may not be surpris'd by new relations, and thereby led to ascribe more to the spirit and industry of the moderns, than justly belongs to them. There is a perplexed and obscure passage in the history of an antient author<sup>1</sup>, which may be rendered intelligible by this account : for though it may not be very easy to settle the situation of the cities and rivers which he mentions, yet, upon the whole, there is good reason to believe, that the communication he describes between the eastern and western nations, must be referred either to the trade carried on at *Bogar*, or at *Samarcand* (H).

*A like correspondence is Cabul, or Gaboul, seated in the latitude of thirty-four degrees north, on the frontiers of Great Bucharia, on the south at Cabul, side of the mountains which divide the territories of Mogul from that part of Great Tartary. This city of Cabul is the capital of a little province called from thence Cabulistan. It is one of the finest places in that part of the world, large, rich, and very populous. As it is considered as the key of the Great Mogul's dominions on that side, great care is taken to keep its fortifications in constant repair, and a numerous garrison is maintained for its security*<sup>m</sup>. This city

<sup>1</sup> AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. xxiii. cap. 6. <sup>m</sup> ABUL-GASI BAYADÛR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, P. iii. cap. 16.

(H) The author alluded to in the text is *Ammianus Marcellinus* (7), who, in his history, mentions a passage from the country of the *Arians*, which lies north-west from the *Seres* quite to the *Caspian* sea. He mentions the river *Arias* as running through that country, and navigable by boats. This also receives some light from the description that *Strabo* has given us of the same

country (8). The first mentioned historian describes another route, which was longer, and less commodious thro' the country of the *Saci*. All which are pregnant proofs of the indefatigable pains heretofore taken, in order to keep up a correspondence with the *Indies*; for these reports arose not from speculation, but from practice.

(7) *Hist. lib. xxiii. cap. 6.*

(8) *Geograph. lib. ii. xv.*

is very antient, and has been always famous, as it still is, for being the prime resort of merchants from *India*, *Persia*, and *Great Bucharía*. The *Usbeck Tartars* drive there a great trade in slaves and horses, of which, it is said, that no fewer than sixty thousand are sold every year. It stands on a little river which falls into the *Indus*, and thereby affords a short and speedy passage for all the rich commodities in the country behind it, which when brought to *Cabul*, are there exchanged for slaves and horses, and then conveyed, by merchants of different countries, from thence into other parts of the world. The neighbourhood of this city is one of the pleasantest and most fertile regions that can be imagined; the climate temperate and wholesome, well watered, producing fruits of all kinds, in equal plenty and perfection". The inhabitants are most of them *Indian* pagans, though the officers of the *Mogul*, and most of the garrison, are *Mohammedans*. In time of war; and public distractions, such as have long reigned in *Persia*, no doubt the trade here is much lessened, and often interrupted; but as things return again into their old channels, merchants resume their former methods; and from hence it is, the *Armenians* frequently bring silk, and other rich commodities, by the way of the *Caspian* sea, into *Russia*, where hitherto they have generally disposed of them to the *Dutch*, for manufactures, with which they return the next season to the same market (I).

BUT the most considerable road of all lay through *Candahar*, for many ages the centre of commerce between *Persia* <sup>*the greatest of all the marts, till the com-*</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Recueil de Voyage au Nord*, tom. x. p. 157.

(I) The people of this province are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, on the very same account for which we have taken notice of them here. As there are no countries in the world so subject to revolutions as these of which we are speaking, this may be looked upon as the true cause of the frequent variation of these inland correspondencies, which are removed from one place to another, according as they become more or less safe from the tumults of war, or the oppressions of arbitrary

princes. But as the subjects of *Russia* frequent them all, and commonly vend what they purchase to the *Armenian* merchants at *Astracan* (9), these sold them again to the *Dutch*, or parted with them for the manufactures of *Europe*; but, of late years, other nations have been wise enough to vend their manufactures to these *Armenians*, and, by that means, have procured silks, and other valuable commodities, on very moderate terms.

(9) *Asia*, esp. 13. tab. 9.

and the *Indies*. This city is seated in thirty-three degrees ten minutes north, and by nature, as well as art, rendered one of the strongest places in the east. There are good reasons to believe, from the comparison of our modern maps with the old tables of *Ptolemy*, that this city either arose out of the ruins, or was built very near the place where *Alexandria* stood; which is a proof of the wisdom of *Alexander* the Great, in the choice of proper situations for the colonies he intended in this part of the world \*. This city and province have been exposed to many revolutions. It was long an independent principality, preserved in that condition not so much by the strength of the place, and the power of its princes, though both were antiently very considerable, as by its advantageous situation on the frontiers of the two great empires of *Persia* and the *Indies*, which secured it a powerful protector on one side, whenever it was attacked on the other. It has been since sometimes in the hands of the *Mogul*, sometimes in those of the *Persian*, where it now remains. It is not very large, but was, before the last wars, well built and peopled †. The caravans from *Isfahan* and *Agra* passed constantly through it, and even continued there some time, for the conveniency of merchants of all nations, who resort thither to barter the commodities of their own countries for those of the east; and in few places of *Asia* or *Europe* trade rose higher than here. It is extremely probable, that this commerce was in a very flourishing condition under the *Persian* kings cotemporary with the first emperors of *Constantinople*; and that, by the regular returns of caravans from the *Indies*, the *Persians* were furnished with vast quantities of the commodities of those countries, which they afterwards carried into their frontier provinces, to dispose of them at the fairs, in which they traded with the *Greeks* ‡. The settlements of the *Europeans* in the *Indies* have very considerably lessened this commerce by *Candahar*, as well as all the inland trade of those parts. But it is, for all that, a thing of consequence still, and must always continue so, from the natural conveniency of the place, which renders it the staple of *Persian* as well as *Indian* commodities, for the sake of which, there is, from several countries, a great resort. It is very likely, that the long wars, and great confusions, which have for so many years reigned in this part of the world, must, in

\* TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, BERNIER, &c. P ABULGASI BAYADÛR KHAN Histoire Genealogique des Tartares, P. iii. cap. 16. † HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 39—428.

this, as well as in many other respects, have produced, for the present, great alterations: so that the relations of modern travellers will, probably, correspond but little with the foregoing account. But this ought, however, to make no impression on a judicious and considerate reader; because experience has shewn, that such temporary cessations never change a well established road, unless, during the interruption of commerce, some other is discovered, or, through the prospect of gain, or from the motive of necessity, made as convenient. The very next instance will set this in the fairest and strongest point of view, and make it as apparent in point of fact, as it is in its own nature reasonable.

THE city, to which oriental commodities were carried, in Tadmor, antient times, from any of those marts before-mentioned, was *or* Palmyra, originally built by King Solomon, after he had conquered the *myra*, an antient king of *Hamath-zoba*, a little Syrian prince, within whose dominions the country lay upon which this city was afterwards erected<sup>1</sup>. It was called by Solomon, *Tadmor*, and, from its situation in the midst of a sandy desert, which surrounded it on all sides, *Tadmor in the Wilderness*, of which we have spoken largely elsewhere, and shall avoid repeating it here<sup>2</sup>. As the singularity of its situation was sufficient to charm whoever attentively considered it, so, in the decline of the *Macedonian* empire in the east, it became a free city, or rather the head of a small principality, under the name of *Palmyra*, from whence the country under its jurisdiction was called *Palmyrene*. This city and country are very well described by Pliny<sup>3</sup>. *Palmyra*, says he, is excellently situated, as well in regard to the pleasantness of the adjacent country, as from the great abundance of water; so that this little territory seems to be set apart by nature for a peaceful and undisturbed retreat, being surrounded on every side with dry and sandy deserts, which reach as far as the very confines of *Arabia*. This small state lay between the two mighty empires of *Rome* and *Parthia*, when the disputes between them were at the highest, having the *Parthian* on the east, and the *Roman* territory on the west<sup>4</sup>. So that it seemed to be perpetually in danger; and yet, though exceeding rich; it was so wisely governed, as to escape any great loss, during all those confusions; and never ran any eminent hazard, except from *Mark Antony*, who, being distressed for money to pay his army, sent a body of horse to plunder it; but the inha-

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings, ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. <sup>2</sup> Universal History, vol. ii. p. 272—280. <sup>3</sup> PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 24.

<sup>4</sup> PHILIP. CLUVERII Introd. ad Geog. lib. v. cap. 22.

bitants, having notice of his intention, removed their effects, and so prevented that desolation, with which they were threatened. The source of its great wealth, was the share it had in the commerce of the *Indies*<sup>a</sup>. This commerce was carried on thus: the goods were brought by sea to the mouth of the *Euphrates*, and perhaps a little higher; and thence they were sent by land, in caravans, for some hundred miles through the deserts, to *Palmyra*<sup>r</sup>; which stood one day's journey from the *Euphrates*, 127 miles from *Damascus*, and about 203 miles from the maritime coast of *Syria*, by the ports of which, it dispersed those goods to all the different parts of the *Roman* empire, that did not immediately correspond with the port of *Alexandria*<sup>z</sup>.

The rise  
and ruin of  
that little  
state.

A. D.  
130.

WHEN *Trajan* overturned the *Parthian* empire, the principality of *Palmyra* declared for the *Romans*; and they submitted themselves to *Adrian*, who was then marching with his army from *Syria* into *Egypt*; who was so well pleased with the situation of the place, and the behaviour of the people, that he granted them the privileges of a colony, and adorned the city with so many beautiful structures, that the inhabitants, in compliment to their benefactor, called it, for some time, *Adrianople*<sup>a</sup>. From the time of *Adrian* to that of *Aurelian*, which comprehended the space of 140 years, this city, and the territory under its jurisdiction, so flourished and increased, that, when *Valerian* was taken prisoner by *Sapores* king of *Persia*, *Odenathus*, who then governed *Palmyra*, was able to bring a powerful army into the field, to recover *Mesopotamia* from the *Persians*, and even to penetrate as far as their capital city *Ctesiphon*; which was so acceptable a service to the *Roman* empire, then governed by *Gallienus*, a lazy and inactive prince, that, with the consent of the senate, he took *Odenathus* into partnership with him, and gave him the title of *Augustus*; which incident, by a strange turn of affairs, proved the cause of the utter ruin and subversion of the place<sup>b</sup>. For his consort *Zenobia*, in right of her son *Wabalathus*, then a minor, assumed the government of the east; which she managed with so much discretion, that, after the death of *Gallienus*, she made herself mistress of *Egypt*, and held it during the short reign of *Claudius*. She might have enjoyed this prosperity longer, if she had enter-

<sup>a</sup> APPIAN. de Bell. Civil. lib. v. DION. CASSIUS, lib. xl.

<sup>r</sup> LUYT's Introduc't. ad Geograph. sect. iii. cap. 3. <sup>z</sup> HUET Histoire du Commerce des Anciens, p. 393. <sup>a</sup> See the learned Dr. HALLEY's Account of *Palmyra*. <sup>b</sup> FLAV. VOPISC. in Vit. Aurelian. ZOSIM. ZONAR. <sup>b</sup> POLLIO in Vit. Gallien.

tained it with greater moderation; but refusing all terms of accommodation offered by the Emperor *Aurelian*, she obliged him, against his will, to employ in a manner the whole force of the *Roman* empire for her destruction, which, as we have elsewhere shewn, he very fully completed; and having dissipated her troops, exhausted her treasures, and reduced her country, he carried her away prisoner to *Rome*, where she was led in triumph; but spent the remainder of her days in honourable privacy.<sup>c</sup> (K).

THE sweets of a lucrative commerce, as they come to be diffused, have as strong an influence upon the minds of pri-  
*Notwith-  
standing  
which, this*

<sup>c</sup> POLLIO in trigint. Tyran.

(K) There were some very peculiar and singular circumstances attending this small sovereignty, which are worthy the reader's notice. It was an inland district, and yet supported by commerce; which is very extraordinary and uncommon. Its inhabitants were equally remarkable for their industry, courage, and magnificence, all of which were produced by their manner of living. The trade by which they subsisted made persons of all ranks, some way or other, industrious. Their situation inured them to war, and obliged them to much caution and circumspection. Their wealth being great, and their territory but small, it is not at all strange, that, in a long course of prosperity, they rendered it as fruitful and pleasant as possible, and filled their capital, together with the places adjacent, as also their other cities, and their suburbs, with stately structures, and whatever might contribute to make that spot agreeable, to which, except when their commerce called them abroad, they were, in a manner, absolutely confined.

And lastly, this wonderful display of riches, in a great measure, dispensed to procure the necessities and conveniences of life, proves, that there is scarce any thing too hard for commerce; and that there can scarce be any situation so untoward, as not to be rendered flourishing, happy, and powerful, if it will admit of such a kind of correspondence, and is inhabited by those who prefer labour to want, and have a talent of applying the succours of art, to improve the blessings bestowed, and to acquire such as are denied by nature: for as idleness will introduce poverty in the best countries, so there are hardly any into which industry may not bring plenty, and even profusion. It is also observable, that science and politeness are ever the concomitants of habitual industry; and, in this respect, *Palmyra* was as remarkable as in any other; and the virtue and learning of *Zenobia* made her esteemed, admired, and celebrated, at *Rome*, in spite of the frowns of fortune, and the loss of her dominions (10).

(10) *Flav. Vopisc. in Vir. Aurelian. Zosim. Zonar.*



commerce is still carried on by the way of Aleppo.

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272.

vate people, as upon those of princes; and, in truth, the pride of riches is commonly more apparent in the former, than in the latter; so that it is not at all astonishing if it proved so here. If the inhabitants of *Palmyra* could have forgot the figure they made under her reign, or, from her example, learned to bear a change of fortune with discretion, they might have escaped, without suffering much by this unlucky accident; but believing, after *Aurelian* was once returned into *Europe*, that there was no danger of his coming back, they massacred the soldiers he had left in garrison; which so much incensed him, that he took an inflexible resolution of marching to chastise them; which he did; and, having made himself master of the place, caused the inhabitants to be destroyed, without mercy, and gave the pillage of the city to his soldiers <sup>d</sup>. This destruction of *Palmyra* put an end to the principality: but it is not probable, that the city was ruined to the degree which travellers see it now; because we find it mentioned in history as a very considerable place after this, though not as the seat of government, as in times past, when there were no less than sixteen cities under its jurisdiction <sup>e</sup>. The ruins of *Palmyra* itself are allowed, by all who have visited them, to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the same kind yet subsisting in the world, and consequently still remain a proof of the wealth and magnificence of its antient masters <sup>f</sup>. As for the course of that part of the *Indian* traffic which passed this way, it has, after some variation, been in a great measure fixed to *Aleppo*; particularly, that part of it which is the consequence of an intercourse with the *Persians*, some provinces of that empire being, within this period, always regarded by the western nations as part of the *Indies* <sup>g</sup>. Hence it is, that *Aleppo* is considered as the third city in the *Turkish* empire, in point of size, *Constantinople* and *Cairo* being the two first, and the second in point of trade, being preceded only by *Smyrna*. Standing as it does, about seventy miles from the sea, and having *Alexandretta* for its port, it reaps the double advantage of serving for a magazine of oriental commodities, for the use of the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* merchants, and, in the same manner, supplying the *Indian*, *Tartar*, and *Persian* traders, with all the goods and manufactures of *Europe*. This com-

<sup>d</sup> ZOSIM. lib. i. VOPISC. in Vit. Aurelian.

Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 167, 168, 169.

<sup>e</sup> See a Description of these Ruins, and an Account of the antient State of this City, in the Miscellanea Curiosa, vol. iii. p. 120. 160.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. xiii. tit. 5. leg. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Miscel.

merce keeps up a continual hurry, and finds employment for upwards of 12,000 *Armenian* merchants, who live in the city, and are employed as brokers. So that we had sufficient reason for saying, that this old road was not intirely lost, but only altered a little, in compliance with the changes that have happened in other things<sup>a</sup>.

As the empire of the *Mohammedan Arabs*, or *Saracens*, *The Ara-* took rise in the peninsula of *Arabia*, so as soon as their *bians en-* princes had any leisure to form schemes of politics, they began to entertain a design of attracting the *Indian* trade from *fix this* the country of *Persia*, where it was then carried on, as near *trade to* as they could bring it, to the capital of their dominions<sup>1</sup>. *their em-* It was with this view that *Omar*, the second *Khalif*, in the *pire very* fifteenth year of the *Hegira*, caused the city of *Bassora*, or *Balsora*, to be built a little above the entrance into the *Pers-* *fian* gulf. There never, perhaps, was any city more happily erected, or which sooner came to answer the end for which it was designed, than this<sup>k</sup>. The *Khalifs* did not, indeed, make it the place of their residence; and if they had, it is highly probable it would have been rather disadvantageous than serviceable to it. But they always sent thither a person of distinction as governor, and made it the chief port of their extensive dominions. It became, by this means, and by the privileges allowed to all merchants that settled there, exceeding rich, as well as very populous, and that too in a surprising short space of time. It was, for several ages, a place of the greatest concourse, and of the greatest trade, in the known world. The richest commodities in the east, but more especially spices, precious stones, drugs, silk, and cotton manufactures, were brought hither, and dispersed from hence, by caravans, till the *Portuguese* became masters of the city and island of *Ormuz*, on the coast of *Persia*; which, for a long time, sunk the commerce of *Bassora*, and brought it to decay<sup>l</sup>. But, after *Shah Abbas*, with the assistance of the *English*, made himself master of that island, and rendered it almost desert, he raised the famous emporium of *Bander Abassi*, or *Gambroon*, on the opposite coast of *Persia*; by which means, the trade of *Bassora* began very speedily to revive, and has been ever since considered as beyond comparison the greatest mart of this part of the world, ingrossing all the trade of the *Persian* gulf.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. LEONARD RAUWOLFF's Travels, published by Mr. Ray, P. i. chap. 8. <sup>1</sup> D'HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, artic. *Basrah*. <sup>k</sup> Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, première partie, lib. ii. cap. 8. <sup>l</sup> ABRAHAM PERITZOL *Itiner. Mundi*, cap. 26.

The situation of the place, its wealth, and importance, has made it a bone of contention between the *Turkish* and *Persian* empires, for the sake of the large revenue arising from the taxes levied there. At present, it is, and has been long, in the possession of the *Turks*, who, though ruder and less polished, are, notwithstanding, allowed to be the better masters of the two. But the late famous *Achmet*, Bashaw of *Bagdat*, who knew so well how to preserve himself against the Grand Signior and the *Shah Nâdir*, that the latter said he was the greatest prince of the three, kept always a governor in *Bassora*, where the *English* and *Dutch* have long, and the *French* have lately, had a consul, to regulate their trade, and protect their subjects<sup>m</sup> (L).

In all  
times the  
great ob-  
ject of  
ambition.

WE might very easily find a great deal more to say upon a subject so curious, so extensive, and, in truth, so inex-

<sup>m</sup> Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par Mons. OTTER, tom. ii. cap. 6.

(L) As we shall often have occasion to mention this place in the chapters ensuing, it may not be amiss to give the reader a short account of the time and manner in which it was reduced under the power of the *Turks*. This fell out in 1668, when *Hossein Bashaw*, the last of the *Arabian* princes, who governed there with that modest title, and paid only an acknowledgement to the *Port*, was betrayed by his son-in-law; and, to prevent falling into the hands of the *Turks*, embarked, with his whole seraglio, and immense treasures, on board the vessels that were in the port, and retired to *Surat*, where *Aurengzebe*, who then filled the throne of the *Moguls*, granted him his protection, and where he spent the remainder of his days in honour and quiet. His son-in-law *Hiaja*, according to the agreement made with the *Turks*, succeeded him, repaired and restored the place,

which *Hossein* had, in some measure, demolished before his departure. In a short time, however, the *Turkish* garrison treated the Bashaw with contempt, who, retiring secretly into the adjacent country, raised an army of 20,000 men, with which he made himself absolute master of the city. However, in a few months, the *Turks* came down upon him with so great an army, that he thought it best to retire, as his Father had done, and chose for his protector *Seva-gi*, who had revolted from the *Mogul*, in whose service he spent the remainder of his life. These Bashaws, while they governed *Bassora*, enjoyed a revenue of near one million of pieces of eight *per annum*, arising from the taxes laid upon their subjects, and from the customs of the port, which, in their time, were fixed at four *per cent.* (11)

(11) Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par M. Carre, tom. i. p. 100—130.

haughty; but as what we have already delivered in this chapter is sufficient to answer the purposes intended by it, we shall now conclude with a few short reflections, in order more effectually to explain the uses to which these historical deductions may be applied. In the first place, they will serve to make us sensible, that, whatever has been said of the industry, enterprising disposition, and sagacity, of the moderns, it must, nevertheless, be allowed, that, considering the difficulties the antients had to struggle with, they made very extraordinary efforts to maintain a correspondence with the *Indies*, and were so successful in their endeavours, that hardly any of the routes at present practised by land were unknown to, or unexperienced by, them. In the next place, we cannot but be satisfied, that as in our times, so in theirs, this commerce with the east was the great source of wealth, the true parent of magnificence and luxury, and the great object of ambition in those princes, who were wise enough to despise the vanity of useless conquests, and chose to establish their grandeur upon the more solid basis of their subjects' affluence<sup>a</sup>.

If we look into the Sacred History, we shall find, that, in the most early ages, the *Ismaelites* carried spices into *Egypt*. From whence it is apparent, that the inhabitants of the coasts of *Arabia* had already found their way to the *Indies*. The *Edomites* next possessed themselves of this lucrative trade, which they were deprived by the *Israelites*, in the glorious reign of *Solomon*; and, from them, it passed into the hands of their respective conquerors. If, on the other hand, we examine profane histories, the expedition of *Semiramis*, whether true or false, will bring the same thing to our view; as will also the boasted enterprise of the *Egyptian Bacchus*. When the foundations were laid of the *Persian* empire, the commerce of the *Indies* was one of its first acquisitions; and when *Alexander*, at the head of his *Greeks*, attempted and achieved the subversion of that empire, he looked upon this as nothing, in comparison of reducing the *Indies*; and those who have narrowly inquired into, and maturely considered, the plan he formed, for maintaining a general correspondence through all his dominions, esteem him as a statesman, to the full as much as those, who from the picture drawn of him by *Curtius*, admire him as a hero<sup>o</sup>. His companion, and his pupil, *Ptolemy*, discovered, in *Egypt*, how well he had di-

<sup>a</sup> Huet *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, cap. 17, 18. 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56. <sup>o</sup> *Diod. Siculus*, lib. xviii. c. 1. *ARABIAN. de Exped. Alex.* lib. vii. cap. 27, 28. & in *Indicia*.

gested lessons given him by so consummate a master. His successors prosecuted those views with such steadiness, that the wealth and trade of *Egypt* was the wonder of the world. And yet the *Tyrians*, and their colonies, found means to preserve some part of this traffic, of which, under the protection of the *Persian* government, they, in a manner, possessed the whole. When the *Romans* conquered *Egypt*, their becoming masters of this trade highly advanced the value of that conquest, which contributed not a little to sustain the majesty of *Rome*, while her sons retained virtue enough to preserve that power which their ancestors had acquired. Upon the division of the empire, *Egypt* remained to those monarchs who fixed their imperial seat at *Constantinople*. Nor was the *Indian* trade wholly lost by these princes, till they lost all; and then it came to those by whom they had been despoiled. Lastly, we may perceive how all parts of *Asia*, and some also of the northern parts of *Europe*, were, and still are, supplied with *Indian* commodities and manufactures, by the help chiefly of caravans; and we may likewise discern, from some of these passages, how very possible, and even practicable, it may be for certain princes to recover old, to open new, and to improve very much the passages that continue still to be frequented.

*The necessity of continuing the history of this trade, when again restored to Egypt.*

BUT before we can proceed with regularity and perspicuity to that discovery of a direct passage by sea, which, as we have shewn in the former chapter, has had so great an effect upon the affairs of *Europe*, it will be necessary to give a distinct view of the manner in which the commerce in *Indian* commodities was conducted in *Europe*, before the *Portuguese* attempted to double the *Cape of Good Hope*. This might have been dispatched in the present chapter, to which it is, in some measure, connected; but because it is a matter of more importance than any thing we have treated therein, and requires a more punctual and precise explanation, we judged it might be more expedient to comprise the matters relating to it in a chapter by themselves. We were the rather inclined to this; because, though they have been briefly touched by many writers, who, with different views, have had occasion to mention them, yet they have been hardly any-where so fully and so clearly stated, as to answer the

¶ *SANUDO* *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*.      ¶ See Sir *WILLIAM* *Monson's Naval Tracts*, in *Churchill's Collection of Voyages*. *MUN's Discourses upon the East-India Commerce*. And *PURCHAS's Apology for the Trade to the East-Indies*, inserted in his *Pilgrimage*.

intention of an inquisitive reader, desirous of penetrating thoroughly into a matter of such consequence, and thereby obtaining a true light into the transitions by which this commerce has become the source of riches, grandeur, and more especially naval power, to so many different nations. The task, indeed, of displaying this effectually is embarrassed with many difficulties, and requires bringing into a narrow compass a multitude of facts not easy to be found, or, when found, to be arranged in such a manner as may adapt them perfectly to this design, but it is our duty to attempt, and our utmost endeavours shall not be wanting, in some measure at least, to accomplish it. The subject, indeed, would supply materials for a moderate volume; but, as we have but little room to spare, we shall contract them into as small a compass as may be, referring, at the same time, to other parts of this work, in which it will be requisite to insist upon some points more particularly; and, by this method, we hope to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, at the same time that we provide against obscurity on one side, and prolixity on the other; knowing well, that nothing can please which is so perplexed as hardly to be understood, or which is so diffused as not to be without difficulty remembered.

## C H A P. III.

*The History of the Commerce of the Indies, while carried on by the Venetians, and other States of Italy.*

IT appears clearly, that, under the *Greek* emperors, voyages *A succinct view of* to the *Indies* were become more common than in former times; but we could scarce have believed, that so many different kinds of *Indian* commodities, and almost from every part of *India*, were common at *Constantinople*, if it were not verified by the public laws of the empire, as they stand collected by the Emperor *Justinian*; from whence it is evident, that there were several duties imposed upon a multitude of goods brought from the *Indies*, such as spices of different kinds. For instance, cinnamon, which came from the island of *Ceylon*; but not in any great quantity, for it was always very dear. The xilo-cinnamomum was no other than the wood of the cinnamon-tree, on which there was also a duty<sup>a</sup>, Cassia, described at large by several antient authors, appears to have been a sort of milder cinnamon; this likewise came

<sup>a</sup> Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. iv. PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 19.

from *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. Some very judicious writers, and who are well acquainted with the manner of collecting spices in the *Indies*, assure us, that the *cassia lignea* is in truth nothing more than the thick bark of the true cinnamon-tree, which has very little flavour; by which they mean, that this was the spice known to the antients by that name; but for the modern *cassia*, it is another thing, and has a somewhat higher flavour <sup>b</sup>. Pepper of several kinds, such as long pepper, white pepper, and black pepper, all of them from the *Indies*. *Pliny* is very angry that this spice should be so much admired; for, as he observes, other things are either pleasant to the sight, the smell, or the taste, whereas there is nothing in pepper agreeable to any of these senses <sup>c</sup>. In his time, long pepper was worth about nine or ten shillings a pound of our money; white pepper was of half that value, and black pepper about half a crown a pound; neither does it seem to have been cheaper at *Constantinople* <sup>d</sup>. Ginger, of which *Pliny* tells us, that many in his time thought it the root of the pepper-tree. It did not bear a very high price among the antients; for, in the time of *Pliny*, it was not worth above three shillings a pound, and at *Constantinople* not so much <sup>e</sup>. It may not be amiss to observe, that in those days, authors affirm, they adulterated their spices very dexterously; from whence it is evident, they were much in use, and, consequently, must have been brought from the *Indies* in considerable quantities. They had likewise precious stones of all kinds; but our enumerating them would signify very little, since it is very much doubted, whether the names by which jewels were then, and are now, distinguished, implied always the same; for, if not, we should be able to say little or nothing of them here to the purpose. Silk, cotton, mohair, and other manufactures, came also from thence, in vast quantities; and to these, other things might be added, if what has been already mentioned were not more than sufficient <sup>f</sup> (A).

WHILE

<sup>b</sup> PROSPER ALPIN. *Medicin. Ægypt. lib. iv. cap. 5.* ACOST. BONTIUS, &c. <sup>c</sup> *Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 7.* <sup>d</sup> RAI *Hist. Plant. tom. xi. 1343.* <sup>e</sup> *Hist. Nat. lib. xii. cap. 7.* <sup>f</sup> *Digest. lib. xxxix. tom. iv.*

(A) The decline of the empire of the *Greeks*, while in the full possession, and that in a more absolute degree than any other nation whatever, of this lucrative trade of the *Indies*, seems to be a strong objection to the principle laid down at the beginning, and maintained thro' the course of this chapter. But this,

WHILE the *Greek* empire continued in a flourishing condition, *Constantinople* was the center of trade to *Europe* and *Asia*, and the inhabitants grew so immensely rich, and more especially by the gain they made of this commerce with the *Indies*, that they grew excessively insolent and ungovernable. Out of the many different ways of corresponding with the oriental nations mentioned in the foregoing chapter, there were very few; indeed hardly any, that did not benefit this great city. The caravans that proceeded from *India*, through *Candahar*, into *Persia*, supplied those factors plentifully, who managed their traffic with the *Greeks*, at the great fairs upon the frontiers of the two empires <sup>a</sup>. No inconsiderable part of what was carried by the northern routes and *Caspian* sea found its way to *Constantinople*, through the *Pontus Euxinus*. What was conveyed by the *Persian* coast, and afterwards by land into *Syria*, came from thence by sea to this great city. But, above all, they received from *Egypt*, while it remained under the same sovereign, prodigious quantities of valuable goods <sup>b</sup>. The citizens of *Constantinople* were too opulent, and too lazy, to make use of their own ships for transporting this merchandize into the different parts of *Europe*, where there was always a demand for them; so that this fell to the share of the *Italian* states. From whence we may discern, that as the *Greeks* grew rich by this commerce, so the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, the *Florentines*, and other maritime states in *Italy*, were indebted to it for their naval power <sup>c</sup>. It was this that enabled them to fit out such formidable fleets, to make themselves masters of several fruitful islands, as well as of convenient ports, in *Asia*, and in *Europe*; while the *Greeks*, pleased with the temporary assistance that from time to time, they derived from squadrons which they took into their service, never considered the declension of their own maritime strength, or regretted those advantages which the subtle *Italians* drew from their negligence and inactivity.

<sup>a</sup> HUET *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, c. 58. <sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. lib. xiii. tit. 5. leg. 14—32. <sup>c</sup> CLAUD. BARTHOLOMÆUS *Orbis Maritimus*.

this, as the reader will see, is fully accounted for by their conduct; for, while in their hands, this commerce was really the source of vast riches, and great power, a great part of the former the *Greeks* retained; the remainder, together with the naval force, they abandoned. The objection then vanishes; for it is impossible to furnish a wanton, idle, and profligate nation with power of any kind, and least of all with a naval power.

While



While they could raise magnificent structures to gratify their propensity to pomp and splendor, and enjoy in any degree of quiet their excessive and expensive luxury, all went well in their opinion, and they had the vanity to conceit themselves the greatest and most potent of all nations, while every day furnished them with new instances of that imbecillity which was produced by their ill management<sup>k</sup> (B);

*The rise of the Saracen empire and the ruin of that of the Greeks, by which this commerce was in a great measure transferred to the former.*

It was by this absurd and distracted manner of acting that the *Roman*, as themselves called it, or the *Greek* empire, as it was called by the rest of the world, was in the end brought to absolute ruin, as by the same errors it lost, long before, the important province of *Egypt*, to a power that never could have raised itself, if there had been the least foresight or firmness in those who administered public affairs at *Constantinople*. We are under a necessity of taking this matter a little higher, and of pursuing the thread of its history closely, tho' very concisely, that it may the better appear how much the eastern commerce still benefited that country; and how, notwithstanding repeated interruptions, it constantly raised its head, and forced even the most barbarous masters to discover and cherish it. The second monarch of the *Saracens* from *Mohammed*, who set up for a sovereign when he had no more than thirty subjects, found himself strong enough, after the conquest of *Persia*, to exact a vast annual tribute from *Egypt*; which country though the emperor *Heraclius* was unable to defend, yet he could not bear that such a sum as two hundred thousand crowns of gold should be paid to any prince but himself by its inhabitants<sup>l</sup>. He commanded, therefore,

<sup>k</sup> CEDREUS. ZONAR. LUITPRAND. Ticinens. l. i. c. 2. <sup>l</sup> PAUL. DIACON. l. xviii. GUL. TYR. l. ix.

(B) The increase of the shipping and naval force of the *Christians*, and of the states of *Italy*, was the mere effects of their making a right use of the indolence and folly of the *Greeks*; but, trusting too much to that power, and not considering enough the sources from whence it flowed, they did not assist the *Greeks* as they ought to have done if they had been true to their own interests; and they

perceived their error the less, because for a long time they were as great gainers by the *Turks* and *Saracens*, and afterwards by the *Mamelukes*, as they had been by the *Greeks*. In the end, however, they saw it sufficiently, but then it was too late; for they had it no longer in their power to give laws, or in a short time to avoid receiving them (1).

(1) P. Fournier *Hydrographie*, l. xi. c. 39.

the tribute to be refused; upon this, war ensued; which ended in beating his troops, breaking his heart, and losing the country (C). Omar, the second Khâlif, who made this conquest, reigned but ten years and a half, and in that space of time subdued *Syria, Chalea, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt*, and part of *Africa*, that is to say, as far as *Tripoly* in *Barbary*. By this blow the *Greeks* lost all their eastern provinces, and the trade to the *Indies*, at least on that side, intirely<sup>m</sup>. It is scarcely to be conceived how great an alteration the rise of this new empire made in the face of affairs, and what prodigious desolation, ensued before these conquerors came to be softened so far as to cultivate the arts of peace, and to endeavour, by any rules of policy, to establish and maintain the empire they had acquired; the greatest indeed that the world had ever seen, reaching westward as far as *Spain*, and eastward to the very frontiers of the *Indies*<sup>n</sup>. That impetuosity, which enabled the *Saracens* to make themselves masters in so short a time of such vast dominions, was not like to suffer them to continue long under one head, which was undoubtedly the design of their founder. Not to enter further into their history than is absolutely necessary, let us observe, that *Abulcassim Mohammed Ben Abdallah*, being in possession of part of *Africa*, set up for himself in the year of the *Hegira* 296, and took the title, not of Khâlif, but of Mahadi, which signifies director<sup>o</sup>. He fixed the seat of his monarchy at *Cairoan*, which is the name the *Arabs* bestowed on the city of *Cyrene*, or rather a new city built on the ruins of the old one. He left the government to his son *Cajem*, who removed the seat of the empire to *Mabadi*, a new city which his father had erected; and his grandson *Abou Temim Maad*, surnamed

<sup>m</sup> GREGORII ABUL PHARAJII Historia Dynastiarum, p. 113.

<sup>n</sup> See OCKLEY'S History of the Saracens.

<sup>o</sup> Epitom. Historiæ Saracen. lib. v. p. 91.

(C) At that time the people of *Egypt* were so rich, that they were very well able to bear this large tribute, and to pay the revenue of the *Greek* emperors besides; which if he had caused to be expended in that country for raising fortresses, equipping a fleet, and assembling an army, he might have preserved that

province, which was the best of his dominions; but his avaricious desire of keeping all was the true cause of his losing all, and throwing that country into the hands of barbarians, from whom it neither has been, or, as far as we can foresee, ever will be recovered (2).

(2) Gregorii Abul-Pharajii Historia Dynastiarum, p. 179.

*Moez Ledmillah*, who succeeded in the year of the *Hegira* 341, prosecuted the design which his ancestors had entertained of making himself sovereign of *Egypt* <sup>p</sup>.

A. D. 958. His general *Jawhar*, a Greek by birth, accordingly invaded that country, of which he made himself intirely master; and, in the year of the *Hegira* 358, laid the foundation of a new city called *Caherah*, or *Al Caherah*, that is, the victorious, which the Europeans call *Cairo*, or *Grand Cairo* <sup>q</sup>. As soon as *Moez Ledmillah* was informed that this city was finished, he removed from his old capital, and made his entry into *Cairo* in the year of the *Hegira* 362, and there took the title of *Khâlif*. His successors were styled *Khâlifs of Egypt*, to distinguish them from the *Khâlifs of Bagdat*, the true successors of *Mohammed* <sup>r</sup>. This city was very conveniently situated on the *Nile*, and became in time no less considerable for its commerce than for its being the seat of empire: and it was by this means that the old trade by the way of the *Red Sea* was once more restored to *Egypt*, which flourished exceedingly under this new race of princes, as appears by the revenue which it produced to its *Khâlif*, and which, as *Elmacinus* tells us, amounted to no less than three hundred millions of crowns of gold <sup>s</sup>. The *Khâlifs of Egypt* were nine in number; and the last of them was *Adhad*, who was deposed by *Saladin*, general of *Noureddin*, Sultan of *Damascus*, in the year of the *Hegira* 567. *Saladin*, entering the palace of the *Khâlif*, who died immediately after he was deposed, found prodigious riches; and, among the rest, a noble proof of the commerce of the *Indies*, which was, the richest ruby in the world, perfectly fine and bright, and weighing very near an ounce and a half <sup>t</sup>. This, and the having a great army at his devotion, tempted him to set up for himself; which he did, and afterwards extended his dominions over all the countries of *Damascus*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*. He left at his decease his kingdom of *Egypt* to his second son *Othman*, who died in the year of the *Hegira* 595, and was succeeded by his brother, who was soon deprived by his uncle *Malek Al Adel*, whose grandson *Malck Al Salek* succeeded in the year of the *Hegira* 647. He enlarged the city of *Caira*, and fortified it with a strong wall, and was victorious over *St. Lewis of France*. But this prince, however, was the last of his house;

Cairo becomes the capital of Egypt, and the centre of this trade in that country.

A. D. 1171.

<sup>p</sup> HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 595. <sup>q</sup> GREGORII ABUL PHARAJII *Hist. Dynastiarum*, p. 315. <sup>r</sup> HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 595. <sup>s</sup> ELMACIN. *Histor. Saracen.* p. 391. <sup>t</sup> HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 742.

for, not long after, the *Mamlouks*, or *Mamelucs*, as they are generally called, who were a kind of mercenary soldiers, revolted from him, and forced him to take shelter in a wooden tower which hung over the *Nile*. To this tower the mureneers set fire, and thereby compelled the unfortunate monarch to jump into the river, where he was drowned<sup>a</sup>.

IN consequence of this surprising revolution, these *Mamelucs* became sovereigns of *Egypt*, and chose their general Sultan, who thereupon took the name of *Al Malek Al Azis*. He was the first prince of the dynasty of *Mamelucs* distinguished by the name of *Bahrites*, *Baharites*, or marines; for these people were either young *Turks* or *Tartars*, sold to private persons by the merchants, from whom they were bought by the Sultan, educated at his expence, and, when qualified, employed to defend the maritime places in the kingdom<sup>b</sup>. The reason of this institution was, that the native *Egyptians* were found so cowardly, treacherous, and effeminate, from a long course of slavery, that they were unfit for arms. These foundlings made excellent soldiers; for, having no friends but amongst their own corps, they turned all their thoughts to their profession, as they placed their hopes in acquiring the principal posts in their militia: for these were bestowed only as merit directed; and, upon the demise of a Sultan, his successor was taken from among the officers of the first rank<sup>c</sup>. One would have imagined that this military government, so well constituted, and founded upon so broad a basis, must have subsisted a long time; and yet, in about one hundred and thirty years, it sunk as suddenly as it rose, by an error in politics, the more inexcusable, since experience had read them a lecture against this solecism, in the very sedition which changed their own fortune from that of slaves to sovereigns. In few words, that error was this: As they were originally but a small part of the standing forces of the monarchs of *Egypt*, as a numerous standing army was absolutely necessary in a country where the first maxim of government was, that every native of *Egypt* must be a slave; and, as they were justly suspicious of all who had served before, they were under great difficulties how to act; but at length resolved to buy Christian children, and to bring them up in the same discipline which had been the source of so much good fortune to

<sup>a</sup> Supplementum Historiæ Dynastiæ ab EDWARDI PO-  
COCKII, p. 8.      <sup>b</sup> HERBELOT Bibliothecæ Orientale  
p. 545.      <sup>c</sup> EDWARDI POCCOCKII Supplementum Historiæ  
Dynastiæ, p. 9.

themselves (D). Thus far they acted sensibly; but, by a refinement upon this scheme, they rendered what had been otherwise a means of safety the sure instrument of their own destruction. By the way, these Christian children were bought in *Circassia*, from their own parents, who were pleased to style themselves Christians, but, by that infamous practice, shewed that their faith had no influence on their morals; but, what is still stranger than this, the *Greek* emperors of *Constantinople* made a treaty with the *Mamelucs*, by which they were permitted to send an annual ship into the *Black Sea*, to fetch these unhappy infants. When they had gone through their military education, and were fit for service, they were disposed through all the inland fortresses, erected to bridle the inhabitants; and, because in their language such a fort was called *Berge*, this new militia was called *Borgites*. By this scheme the *Mamelucs* thought to secure the sovereignty to their own body, in which it might have been easily foreseen they were quite mistaken. In process of time the old *Mamelucs* began to grow proud, insolent, and lazy; the *Borgites* took the advantage of this, rose upon their masters, deprived them of the government, and transferred it to themselves in the year of the *Hegira* 784<sup>2</sup>.

*The manner in which the* THESE, as well as the former, were styled *Mamelucs*; but the reader will easily perceive, that to the latter dynasty, rather than the first, must be applied what is commonly said

<sup>2</sup> Huet *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 428. \* HER-  
SLOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 211.

(D) We must put the reader in mind, that there is nothing more intended in the text than to connect the variations of this commerce with the known history of the people in whose hands it was, which is the sole reason of our mentioning the *Mamelucs*. They were of a turbulent race, almost continually engaged either in foreign or civil wars, and jealous to the last degree of strangers; so that while they held *Egypt*, the *Indian* trade sunk much below what it produced to the last line of princes; yet in their times it was managed in the same manner as afterwards; and those who dealt with them drew a prodigious profit to themselves by the sale of the commodities they purchased, and which they carried in their own vessels to *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Flanders*, and carried back all the native goods of those countries in return, many of which, when manufactured, were re-exported to the places from whence they came (3).

(3) *Abraham Perisot Itiner. Mundi*, c. xxvi.

of the *Mamelucs* by the Christian historians. Under both Arabs, dynasties, but more especially under the last, the *Indian* com-  
 merce flourished in *Egypt*, though they had very little con-  
 cern in it otherwise than as factors; for, on the one side, it was managed intirely by the *Arabs*, and was as absolutely in the hands of the Christians on the other. This it shall be our next business to explain, as concisely as is consistent with that clearness at which we endeavour. One would naturally imagine, from the accounts of them in general, that they were not the best disposed for settling themselves in different parts of the world, with a view to commerce; and yet it appears plainly, that they were at this time actually dispersed into the most distant countries in the *Indies*, nay, and through *China* itself, without the assistance of force, and where they could not have been led by the spirit of ambition (E). We learn from their own histories, that the *Arabs* formed their settlements four several ways; by conquest, by discovery, by pursuing trade, and by missions, to establish their religion\*. By the first, they possessed themselves of all the provinces which

Saracens,  
 or Moors,  
 spread  
 themselves  
 over the  
 east.

\* See the Abbé REAUBOURT's Preface prefixed to the Travels of two Arabian merchants into China.

(E) A learned French writer has given us a large and clear account of this matter, in his preface to the travels of certain Arabian merchants into China, which account does not at all depend upon the genuineness of those travels which some have suspected; because independent of them, it is supported throughout by facts, and more especially by the accounts given by the Portuguese at their first entrance into the *Indies*, when the Moors had spread their religion as far as the *Moluccas* and the adjacent islands, though their conquests had not reached near so far. Their progress into these parts appears to have been chiefly owing to a commercial spirit which prevailed strongly amongst them at that time; but that, at the same

time they promoted their trade, they likewise propagated their religion, which was chiefly owing to the temper and understanding of the nations with whom they conversed; for, when they made a little inquiry into their doctrines, they saw sufficient cause to reject their own idolatrous and superstitious opinions, which were in many respects equally ridiculous and absurd; and there seems to be little reason to doubt that they would have converted the inhabitants of all the islands, as far as the *Philippines* (4). If the Christians had not come in at that juncture, and put a stop as well to their religion as to their influence and their commerce, which would otherwise have spread to the utmost limits of Asia.

(4) L'Abbé Reaumont *Dissertation sur l'entrée des Mahométans dans la Chine.*  
 composed

composed their vast empire; by the second, they fixed themselves in *Africa*, down to cape *Corientes*, among the poor unarmed *Cafres*, who had it not in their power to prevent them from seizing on what parts they judged most convenient. Their colonies of *Magadoxo*, *Brava*, and *Quilao*, were somewhat in the nature of ours at this day; but not so difficult to maintain, because of the proximity of the *Red Sea*, whence the *Arabs* had all sorts of assistance. By the two remaining methods they seated themselves in all other parts, but more especially by commerce<sup>b</sup>. These voyages were not in those days so safe and so frequent; and therefore merchants were under a necessity of making a long stay at the principal marts, where they took wives, their religion allowing plurality. These new families quickly produced others in the places of their residence; and the princes being sensible it was for their advantage to draw the trade of *Persia*, *Arabia*, and at the same time of *Egypt* and *Europe*, by the *Red Sea*, into their own ports, these merchants met every-where with the kindest usage they could wish<sup>c</sup>. The idolatrous princes, confirmed in their old superstitions, were not at all scrupulous about religion, but admitted all indifferently; so they readily allowed their subjects to embrace *Mohammedism*, which they preferred to the rest, because of the hopes these *Arabs* gave them of protection from their sultans, whose power was known in the remotest parts of the east. Even princes themselves made profession of *Mohammedism* in troublesome times, that the *Moors* might join them; for, in latter days, they were so multiplied, that they inhabited whole cities, and at least a part of the most considerable. Thus this religion, which, to the lovers of this world, has nothing very inconvenient in it, obtained in many places, and at length received an accession of power, when some of its professors, being raised to the highest posts in the courts of *Cambaya* and *Guzarat*, invited a greater number of those *Asiatic Turks* called *Rumis*; and even seized on some posts; as for instance, at *Diur*, from whence they for a long time infested the *Portuguese*, when they came first into these parts<sup>d</sup>.

Began to propagate their religion a- By such steps the *Arabs* seated themselves in some parts of *Malabar*; and, by the same means, they came to be very considerable upon the coast of *Malacca*. They first went thither as merchants; and some of them, fixing there, gained

<sup>b</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.    <sup>c</sup> L'Abbé RENAUDOT Dissertation sur l'entrée des Mahometans dans la Chine, p. 302. 308.    <sup>d</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 394.

many of the idolaters over to *Mohammedism*. From *Malacca* <sup>amongst the</sup> they sailed round to the *Moluccas*; and having prevailed on <sup>islanders</sup> the kings of *Tidore* and *Ternate*, together with several others, <sup>towards</sup> to join with them in religion, they reaped immense advantages from these princes, whom the concerns of trade, and the influence of these *Moors*, gave them room to hope confirmed in the religion of *Mohammed*. According to the *Portuguese* writers, they had not been long settled in the *Moluccas* before their discovery of the *Indies* \*. Thus in a very short space of time, and without the assistance of any considerable maritime force, the *Arabs* did more than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the course of so many ages; and it is highly probable they would have pushed matters still farther on this side, if they had not been hindered by the coming of the *Portuguese* into this part of the world, which put an immediate stop to their progress, and in process of time weakened them very much. They found, however, so long as it lasted, means to make the most of their good fortune, and to become the carriers of *Europe* with respect to the commerce of the east; and this in such a manner, that they shut out all others from navigating those seas, and thereby drew an immense profit to themselves. For the *Indians* brought by land to *Cabul*, and some other places, and by sea to *Busfara* and *Siraf*, all the commodities of the *Indies* and *China*. Furs were introduced into *Syria* by the provinces of *Aderbejan*, by *Curdistan*, and other parts more to the north. Great quantities of the same they also had from the *Barbary* coast, and by the way of the *Red Sea*, from whence a trade was carried on throughout *Egypt*. From the same places they had gold-dust, as also from the mines of *Sofala*, brought to them by the negroes who traded into *Egypt* by the way of the desert, or from port to port quite to the *Red Sea*, from *Ceylon* and the *Indies*. They, by their trade with the *Chinese* and *Indian* merchants, had silk, rich stuffs, and many other manufactures, drugs, and spices † (F).

WITH

\* ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.      † MAR-  
SANUD. Secreta fidel. crucis. P. i. l. i. cap. 1.

(F) It is impossible, within the narrow compass of this chapter, to give the reader an accurate history of the variations to which this trade was subject; all that we propose therein is, to point out clearly the causes of those variations;      to shew who profited by them, and how that profit accrued. After the power of the *Mohammedans* was firmly established in the east: all its valuable commodities and manufactures, that passed by sea, came either into the *Arabian* gulph, and so thro' *Egypt*,  
MOD. HIST. Vol. IX.      P



How  
Alexan-  
dria be-  
came the  
centre of  
their com-  
merce with  
the Euro-  
peans.

WITH this stock of goods they drove an extensive commerce, by the way of *Cairo*, with the *Venetians*, the *Genoese*, the *Catalans*, and the *Greeks*, which was easily done by their reviving the old mart of *Alexandria*; which port, though it was far from recovering its former magnificence, grew once more famous, by becoming, what it formerly was, the centre of commerce between the eastern parts of the world and the west. It is true that the revolutions which happened in the government of *Egypt*, after it fell under the dominion of the *Mohammedans*, and of which we have already given a succinct account, frequently affected this city to a very great degree; but still the excellence of her port, and the innumerable conveniencies that resulted from the commerce carried on there, to whoever were masters of *Egypt*, preserved her from total destruction, though in the hands of the most barbarous nations. Before we speak of the last fatal revolution in this country, and the great declension of its commerce, it will be proper to say a few words of another channel by which the commodities and manufactures of the *Indies* were for a time brought into *Europe*; and this for two reasons: first, because it has been in a good measure overlooked; and next, because, experience having shewn it practicable, it is not impossible that it may some time or other be revived<sup>s</sup>.

Genoese  
endeavour  
to acquire  
an inde-  
pendent  
trade with  
the East  
Indies.

THE reader will remember, that we have already given him a description of the wretched state of the *Greek* empire for many centuries before its total dissolution, when, in its few gleams of prosperity, it had the *Italian* states for allies; and, in its frequent turns of adverse fortune, was obliged to suffer them to occupy whatever places (even to the suburbs of

<sup>s</sup> HUET *Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, cap. 44.

*Egypt*, to *Alexandria*; or else to *Ormuz*, and from thence up the *Persian* gulph to *Falgora*, *Bafgora*, or *Bazora*, from whence they were carried mostly by caravans to *Aleppo*. While the power of the *Khâlif*s subsisted in its full vigour, this passage had the advantage; and the best part of the *Indian* goods, that came to the several markets of *Europe*, were purchased at *Aleppo*, by *Italian* merchants, and chiefly by the *Venetians*; but in suc-

ceeding times, when *Egypt* threw off the yoke of the *Khâlif*s, the far greater part of the trade passed that way, and came almost wholly into the hands of the *Venetians*, who took great pains to make the rest of *Europe* believe that the *Saracens* and *Mamelucs* were the most barbarous and intractable people in the world; which was one means of their keeping that trade almost wholly to themselves (5).

(5) *Guyon Histoire des Indes*, P. iii. chap. 1. § 5.

the imperial city) which they judged most for their convenience. Amongst these, none served them better on some occasions, or on others treated them worse, than the *Genoese*; always esteemed a bold, plotting, and enterprising people. They had for many ages a large share in the trade of the *Greek* dominions, and were not so scrupulous as to decline profiting by their commerce with the *Mohammedans*; yet all this did not satisfy either their ambition or their avarice. They judged it possible, by securing a convenient station in the *Black Sea*, to gain for their republic a kind of exclusive trade, which might prove very beneficial. This temptation they could not resist; and the place, which they thought proper to seize with this view, was the port of *Cassa* in *Crim Tartary*<sup>b</sup>. This country was antiently called the *Chersonesus Taurica*; and we find this city very often mentioned by old writers under the name of *Theudusia*. They found it in a tolerable condition; but they improved it exceedingly. They adorned the port, they strengthened and augmented the fortifications; and they embellished the city with many stately edifices, the ruins of which are visible even at this day. All this they were well enabled to do out of the immense riches they acquired by the dominion of the *Black Sea*, which, so long as they held *Cassa*, remained in their hands, and in those with whom they were obliged, for the sake of their correspondence with the countries beyond the *Caspian*, to share it<sup>c</sup>. At last, when they had basely assisted in bringing the *Turks* into *Europe*, and in the taking of *Constantinople*, against all the rules of true policy, as well as dictates of religion, they were deprived of it *Anno Domini* 1475, by *Mohammed the Great*; an event which ought to be a warning to all commercial states, never, for the lucre of immediate advantage, to desert their antient allies, or listen to the deceitful promises of a potent neighbour; princes of all religions being least apt to pique themselves on punctuality, when both profit and impunity are on the side of infidelity<sup>k</sup>. But it is now high time to return from reflections to facts; and to pursue this subject, which we shall scarce have occasion to resume to its latest period.

*CASSA* was then in a very flourishing condition, and was *In order to* one of the best built and richest places of its size in *Europe*. *which,* We may the more easily credit this from its excellent situa- *they make*

A. D.  
1266.

<sup>b</sup> ABULGHASI BAYADUR KHAN Histoire Generale des Tartares, P. vii. c. 5.  
<sup>i</sup> HURT Histoire du Commerce des Anciens.  
<sup>k</sup> HERBELOT Bibliothecque Orientale, p. 615.

themselves  
masters of  
the city and  
port of  
Caffa.

tion; for it stands at the foot of a small hill upon the sea-shore, the buildings extending themselves north and south, with long walls stretching on both sides down to the sea; so that from the port, which is large, safe, and commodious, it makes a very agreeable appearance. There is a castle on the south side, in which the *Turkish* bashaw resides with his garrison. The number of houses in the place are about 4000, of which 800 belong to Christians, the rest to *Turks* and *Tartars*; but the former are masters here, and it is the only place the Grand Signor has in *Tartary*; of which it is esteemed, and justly, the key, which is the reason he keeps it. After the *Genoese* were driven from hence as masters, they still carried on, for a long time, as merchants, a very advantageous commerce with the inhabitants, who, by the way of the *Caspian* sea, found means to enter into a considerable trade in spices, drugs, cotton, silk, and other *Indian* commodities. At last the *Turks*, growing jealous of the intercourse of the *Genoese* in these parts, absolutely excluded them, as well as all other nations, from trading to, or even from so much as entering into, the *Black Sea*. Yet this did not immediately put an end to the commerce between *Caffa* and *Genoa*; for the *Tartars* preserved so strong a sense of the advantages derived from this commerce, that for some time they prosecuted it in their own vessels; and carried the spices, and other *Indian* goods, which they received by caravans from *Astracan*, and which had been brought thither from the opposite side of the *Caspian* sea to *Genoa*<sup>m</sup>. But the *Turks*, equally displeased with that as they had been with the former correspondence, soon put an end to this intercourse likewise, and thereby secured themselves from the fears of seeing a Christian fleet in those seas, at least from *Italy* (G).

LET

<sup>1</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 582.  
Histoire de Commerce des Anciens.

<sup>m</sup> HUET

(G) We shall have occasion to treat of this matter again more fully in another place; so that what is said of it here is purely to connect the several parts of the history of this commerce, and to make the reader sensible of that industry and zeal which all trading nations have ever expressed for acquiring this, as the surest

means of driving every other branch of commerce with advantage; and to explain the several methods by which, thro' so long a course of time, the *Italians* maintained themselves in the possession of this trade; and in all probability would have maintained themselves much longer, if the passage to the *Cape of Good Hope* had not been

YET *Cassa* still remains a place of very great trade, and *The present* the staple of the *Black Sea*; insomuch that Sir *John Chardin* *states of* tells us he saw, in the space of forty days, no less than four *that im-* hundred ships sail in and out of this port. The *Venetians*, *portant* in hopes perhaps of reviving in some measure the old trade, *place, and* procured at a very large expence, in the year 1672, leave *the proba-* from the *Ottoman* port to send annually a cargo of their manu- *bility of* factures, on board a small squadron of their own, into the *its being* *Black Sea*<sup>a</sup>. But this trade did not last long; for the *Jews* or other insinuated for many dangers would arise from permitting this *restored.* commerce, that in one year's time, notwithstanding the money advanced, the licence was retracted; and thus ended all attempts for retrieving the commerce of the *Indies* by this route. In process of time, however, it is not altogether incredible that it may be restored; for, since the *Russians* are masters of *Azoff*, and have a considerable number of trading vessels in those seas, some such revolution may happen, as will set the navigation of the *Black Sea* intirely open, and thereby restore the *Europeans* in general, but more especially the *Italian* states, to a commerce highly profitable in itself, and capable of very great improvements; which, should it ever happen, would give a new turn to the trade of *Europe* in general<sup>o</sup>.

LET us now return to that great chanel of the *Indian* *The vast* commerce before the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope* was *advan-*

<sup>a</sup> Histoire de Venice, p. 391.  
merce, vol. ii. col. 587.

<sup>o</sup> Dictionaire de Com-

been discovered. In respect to what we farther hint, that it is not absolutely impossible this communication may be some time or other restored, let us put the reader in mind of the mighty projects formed and executed by *Peter the Great* in *Russia* (6); let us farther recall to his memory, that, in our own times, the *Russians* have been masters of the capital, and all the open country, of *Crim Tartary* (7); and leave it to him to decide, whether there be any thing improbable in the supposition, that their good fortune in another war may put them in possession

of the fortress and port of *Cassa*; after which there will be nothing to hinder their reviving this commerce, which, as we say in the text, would not fail of being attended with very extraordinary consequences. In the mean time there is a wide difference between prophecies and conjectures: we do not pretend to foretell that this ever will, we only affirm that this possibly may, happen; and to point out, in case it should, what relation such an event would have to the subject of which we are treating.

(6) *Essai sur la Commerce & sur la Marine*, p. 21.  
*la dernière Guerre*, p. 397.

(7) *Histoire de*

*tages derived to the state of Venice by her exclusive possession of this trade.* found, the port of *Alexandria*; and let us consider a little of what consequence it was to those by whom it was managed. It was indisputably the true foundation of the extensive trade, the prodigious wealth, and the formidable naval power, of the *Italian* states. It was in consequence of this that they not only drew a considerable balance to themselves from every other nation in *Europe*; but, which is much more surprising, actually sent their agents to reside in, and to manage the trade of, other countries, as if there had been some natural incapacity in the minds of their inhabitants<sup>p</sup>. If in time of peace money was to be remitted from one country to another, they must have the management of it: exchanges were so intirely in their hands, that *Lombard* and *Banker* were synonymous terms. If taxes were to be imposed, they were sure to be employed; and this contributed not a little to render them odious in *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. In time of war they furnished both parties with ships, because other nations had them not; and the reason why other nations had them not, was, that these *Italian* states were in possession of all the commerce of the *Mediterranean*, and not only supplied, but carried their goods, to most foreign markets<sup>q</sup>. We say most, and not all; because the *Hanse Towns* were in those days very powerful, and had a great deal of shipping; but then it is to be considered, that the prosperity of these northern cities arose chiefly from their trade to *Italy*, and their carrying thither cargoes collected from different countries, and returning into the north with those kind of goods and manufactures which they obtained by that chanel which has been so often mentioned<sup>r</sup>. There is therefore nothing in nature clearer, than that this commerce gave the superiority in wealth and naval power to those who enjoyed it before the *Portuguese*; to the *Portuguese*, in consequence of their supplanting them; and to every other nation that, following the lights, and improving on the example, of the *Portuguese*, has sent their fleets, and established colonies in the *Indies*.

*Concern for their own interest induced them to offer assistance to the* WE need not therefore be at all surpris'd at the *Italian* states expressing not barely uneasiness and displeasure, but even passion and resentment, when, from the passage of the *Portuguese* to the *Indies* by sea directly, they saw themselves in danger of losing in a great measure that trade, which, of all others, it import'd them most to keep. We must admit,

<sup>p</sup> GERARD MALINES *Lex Mercatoria*, l. xi. c. 12. <sup>q</sup> DE WITT'S *Maxims*. Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S *Naval Tracts*. *Antient Treatise of Commerce*, in verse, printed in Hakluyt. <sup>r</sup> *Essai sur la Marine et sur le Commerce*, p. 177.

that, as politicians, they were not to be blamed; tho' certainly inexcusable, as Christians, for assisting the monarch of the *Mamelucs*, or, as he is commonly styled by historians, the sultan of *Egypt*, to protect the *Arabs* and *Moors* that were scattered throughout *Asia* against the subjects of the crown of *Portugal*, and such of the *Indian* princes as were contented to receive them (H). The *Venetians* particularly pushed this matter *against the Medans* *Portuguese, in order to keep all Christians out of the Indies.*

(H) We are informed by Cardinal *Bembo*, that the senate of *Venice* could not help expressing the greatest sorrow and consternation, when, in the year 1499, they received advice from their ambassador at *Lisbon*, that the *Portuguese* had effected their design, and actually opened a communication by sea with the *Indies* (8). Another great historian of the same country speaks of this as one of the heaviest misfortunes that ever befel that republic (9); and indeed, to a people subsisting by trade, what blow could be greater than that which deprived her at once of a branch of commerce more valuable than all the rest, and to the possession of which she owed her wealth, her influence, and naval power? Yet, great as this loss was, it will not excuse what is mentioned in the text; viz. their exciting the sultan of *Egypt* to attack and drive the *Portuguese* out of the *Indies*, while it was yet in his power, and before they were in a capacity to prevent it, which by some writers is positively averred; and that they supplied the best part of the timber, artillery, and naval stores, with which the

fleet he equipped with that design was built and furnished. It is likewise added, that he was assisted with engineers from the same quarter (10). But, on the other hand, there are not wanting some authors who positively deny all this, and treat the several particulars of this charge as so many calumnies (11). Some circumstances there are; however, which have not been thoroughly cleared up; such as, that the sultan should, at so critical a juncture, be in a condition to build, and that all at once, a powerful squadron in the *Red Sea*; while the materials for such an undertaking were the only commodities of which the *Egyptians* were in want; and though it be true that he had other dominions where timber was plentiful enough, yet what was employed in building these ships and galleys was transported across the continent from *Alexandria*, as the great guns and other necessities likewise were (12); which looks as if some of his neighbours had been exceedingly concerned for his misfortune, and equally ready at the same time to assist him in his distress; for otherwise the

(8) *Histoire de Provinces-Unies* par Sallengre, p. 55. *Histor. Venet.* lib. vi.

(9) *Histor. d'Ital.* lib. vi. tom. iv. p. 168.

(10) *La Clede Histoire generale de Portugal*, tom. iv. p. 168.

(11) *Lastau Histoire des Descouvertes et Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 387.

(12) *Huet Histoire du Commerce des Anciens*, p. 311.

matter so far, and offered the *Mohammedan* prince so freely, and yet so sincerely (it being for their own sakes), naval and military stores, to be employed in driving the Christians out of *India*, that, if he had pursued his own interest with any proportion of that vigour used by them in prosecuting theirs, it may be esteemed highly probable that he might have succeeded, since at that juncture the naval power of the *Mohammedans* in the *Indian* seas was incomparably greater than any the crown of *Portugal* could have sent thither\*. But, in events of this nature, those who have any tolerable penetration may very easily discern the interposition of an over-ruling power, against which no human policy could provide, or force prevail.

How this  
scheme  
failed  
them.

THE sultan of *Egypt* found his dominions but ill provided for a war; and, though violently solicited by those of his own faith in the *Indies*, and by those who preferred gain to any faith in *Europe*, yet, frightened with the apprehensions of bringing all Christendom upon him if he attacked the *Portuguese*, he lost that short opportunity, in which, with any probability of success, they might have been attacked. His successor *Thomam Bey* was the last monarch of the second dynasty of the *Mamelucs*; and perished, together with their principality, under the victorious arms of the first *Ottoman* emperor *Selim*†. By this means *Egypt* was annexed to the *Turkish* empire, of which it has continued a province ever since; but the confusion which naturally attends a violent revolution prevented any interruption from being given to the *Portuguese* by that power which was most able to oppose them. Thus the commerce of *Alexandria* received its last and most fatal blow; not that the port is absolutely deserted, or that ships from *Venice* and other places do not trade thither, and even for *Indian*

\* Histoire de l'Empire Ottom. P. ii. lib. i.  
Histoire des Turcs, tom. ii. p. 277.

† VANNEL

preparations for this expedition would have taken up more years than it did months; but, as it did not answer its purpose, it is prudent enough to disown it. About sixteen years after, when the *Portuguese* were thoroughly settled, so as to send and receive annual fleets to and from the *Indies*, we are assured, that

the *Venitians* sent an embassy to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, to desire they might become the sole purchasers of the spices which remained, after the wants of his own subjects were supplied (13); which negotiation came to nothing, as might well have been expected.

(13) *E. Soufu*, lib. iv. cap. 10.

commodities,

commodities, to this day, but not to an amount in any degree comparable to what they did 300 years ago". If, therefore, the *Italian* states sustained themselves notwithstanding, kept up their power at sea, and their credit at land, for some time after this, we ought to ascribe it to the wealth they had acquired while their commerce was in a prosperous condition, which they frugally kept, and wisely managed, for a long series of years. There is no need of bringing proofs to support this, because the fact shews itself; the commerce of *Alexandria*, and the power of the *Italian* states, have been sinking ever since; not in the same proportion indeed, because the *Venetians* have been assisted by the wisest councils in *Europe*, and the *Turks* have acted without any policy, or, if with policy, such a one as none could ever yet penetrate or understand except themselves".

It will certainly be acceptable to the curious reader, if, *As succin*<sup>t</sup> after discoursing so long on the profits which accrued to the *view of* people of *Egypt*, by their having this commerce for so many *the prodig*<sup>ies</sup> ages fixed, as it were, to their country, we should attempt to *gious pro-*form some computation, or, to speak with greater propriety, *fits accru-*indicate certain circumstances, which may enable us to form *ing from* some notion of the different state of the affairs of this people, *this com-*while that trade was in their hands. As to the immense *merce to* wealth of the *Egyptians* in the earliest times, it would require *the pos-*more time and room than we have to spare, to give so much *sessors of* *Egypt*. as a concise account of it. *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of three thousand cities in that country, where now it would be very difficult to find the tenth part of as many towns<sup>1</sup>. Under the *Romans* they were so rich, that it was a point of policy to oppress them; and, after the defeat of *Zenobia*, there was a single merchant of *Alexandria* who undertook to raise and pay an army out of the profits of his trade<sup>2</sup>. The *Greek* emperors drew from thence prodigious tributes; and yet the *Arabian* *Khalifs* of *Egypt* found their subjects in so good circumstances, as to screw their revenues up to three hundred millions of crowns. Under the first dynasty of *Mamelucs*, things seem to have gone worse; but, under the last, trade flourished; and, though the people became wanton and weak, yet both the subject and the government were wealthy. The last sultan of *Egypt* but one gave twenty millions of ducats, as a bounty to the soldiers, upon his election<sup>3</sup>; and yet at

<sup>1</sup> Voyages de MONCONNIS, LUCAS, D'ARVIEUX, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Description de l'Egypte, du Monsieur MAILLET, pag. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. i. <sup>4</sup> ZOSIM. l. i. VOPISC. in vit. Aurelianus.

<sup>4</sup> HERBELOT Bibliothéque Orientale, p. 1031.



this day the *Turks* levy but three millions, and are hardly ever without a civil war upon their hands, from the difficulty with which this inconsiderable sum is raised. Yet the antient fertility of *Egypte* remains; it is still extremely populous, it enjoys to this hour the advantage of its most happy situation; what then can be the reason of this amazing alteration? Why, it is fallen under the government of *Turks*, who prefer immediate profit to every thing; and it has thereby lost the *Indian* trade, which is a convincing argument that its prodigious wealth in antient times flowed in a great measure from that commerce, and from the consequences inseparably annexed to it. If any doubt remains of this, what follows will intirely take it away. We are to shew where the *Indian* commerce went next; and, in doing this, we cannot help shewing that wealth, industry, and a superior naval power, went along with it, and were held precisely by the same tenure with that commerce.

## C H A P. IV.

*The History of the Discoveries, Conquests, and Establishments, made by the Portuguese in the East Indies.*

## S E C T. I.

*By what means the Portuguese were induced to undertake Expeditions on the Coast of Africa, the Series of these Expeditions, and the long-wished-for Discovery and Daubling of the Cape of GOOD HOPE.*

*The desire of Indian commodities survived the loss of a direct correspondence with the Indies.*

AFTER the riches and delicacies of the *Indies* were spread, by the luxury of the *Roman* commanders, to the utmost limits of their empire, such a relish of them prevailed through all nations, that it appears plainly enough, even from the dark and ill written histories of those times, that these precious commodities were known to, and esteemed by, princes, prelates, and other great men, through all the intermediate ages; notwithstanding there was no direct communication between *Europe* and the *Indies*, so much as by land; neither have we any accounts, at least that can be depended upon, of private travels, from the fifth down to the twelfth century<sup>a</sup>. It will therefore be a necessary introduction to the business of this chapter, to shew the reader

<sup>a</sup> PROCOPI. Hist. Arcan. c. xvii. GERBERON Histoire des Tartares.

how the first streaks of light broke through this gloomy obscurity, in respect to the people of *Europe* in general, so as to restore to them some imperfect acquaintance at least with countries that had been so long hidden; and, next, by what means it fell to the share of the *Portuguese* to make the earliest attempts for extending their dominions and their revenues by this new method of discovery. The design indeed is both great and difficult; the bounds prescribed us are narrow; but, notwithstanding these obstacles, we will use our utmost endeavours to treat it in a manner that may be at once succinct and satisfactory.

THE holy war, as it was called, in which most of the *Whatever Christian princes of Europe* were, by the solicitations of several *bad effects* popes, engaged to rescue the city of *Jerusalem*, and the coun- *the holy* try of *Palestine*, out of the hands of the infidels, gave the *war might* first opening to the renewing of a direct correspondence be- *have on* tween the people of *Europe* and those who inhabited the re- *particular* moteft countries of the east <sup>b</sup>. There is no doubt that a vio- *nations, it* lent spirit of ambition, together with a great mixture of pri- *was ser-* vate views and political intrigue, had a great share in exciting *viceable to* and supporting this long and bloody war, which in some *Christen-* respects, no doubt, had very untoward consequences with *dom.* regard to those countries in *Europe*, whose monarchs, to signalize their courage, and to acquire the then fashionable reputation of martial piety, left their dominions exposed to many inconveniencies, while, with a vast expence of blood and treasure, they were engaged in expeditions which promised little, and which produced still less <sup>c</sup>. But, notwithstanding this, the consequences of the holy war were highly beneficial to Christendom; they gave a check to the *Mohammedan* power when at its height; it taught the *European* princes the value of a naval force; and, by affording them an opportunity of gaining a much truer knowledge than otherwise they could have done of the situation, produce, and state, at that time, of the great powers in *Asia*, made way for those discoveries and conquests which have been since attended with such mighty advantages. It must be allowed that this followed at a great distance of time, and when these expeditions were all laid aside; which is the reason that very few writers have considered the thing in the light we have placed it; but this derogates not at all from the truth of it, as will hereafter fully appear <sup>d</sup>. Besides, it was proposed and pointed out at the

<sup>b</sup> PURCHAS's Pilgrims, book viii.  
de l'Histoire de France, tom. ii. p. 535.  
Histoire des Tartares.

<sup>c</sup> MEZERAY Abregé  
<sup>d</sup> P. GERBERON

*The rumour of Jenghiz Khân's conquests revived the correspondence between the western and eastern parts.*

very time by a *Venetian*, who wrote a learned and judicious treatise upon the subject, which, though in that season it might have little or no effect, yet remains an incontestable proof that these beneficial consequences were foreseen long before they were either felt or understood <sup>e</sup>.

ANOTHER great event contributed not a little to the same purpose. This was the amazing irruption of the great *Tartar* monarch *Jenghiz Khân*, who, in the space of twenty-five years, from being the inconsiderable and unknown head of a tribe of his own nation, became the greatest and most famous prince of his time; and, all things considered, perhaps of any time. He died in the year 1227, after overturning the antient empire of *China*, making himself master of the best part of the *Indies*, and subverting the great monarchies which the *Mohammedans* had erected in *Persia* and *Chaldea* <sup>f</sup>. His immediate successors extended their dominions still farther; and, having thus changed the face of affairs in the east intirely, we need not at all wonder that the Christian princes, who were then warmly engaged in the holy war, were very desirous of procuring the friendship of these new conquerors <sup>g</sup>. It was this disposition that produced the embassies that were soon after sent into *Great Tartary*; and as, according to the genius of those times, these were chiefly managed by monks, it was from the accounts they gave of their travels that the *Europeans* came to have any distinct knowledge of the remoter parts of *Asia*; and indeed, except this, hardly any thing resulted from their negotiations (A).

<sup>e</sup> SANUDO in libro cui tit. *Secreta fidelium crucis*. <sup>f</sup> PETIS DE LA CROIX, *Histoire de Giniis-Khân*. <sup>g</sup> ABULGASI BAYADUR KHAN *Histoire Genealogique des Tartares*, Part iii. C. I.

(A) The reader may possibly wonder that these travels did not produce an extraordinary effect immediately; but, if he considers the countries through which these monks travelled, the least inviting perhaps in the world, and at that time in no very flourishing condition, he will easily see they were rather calculated to raise wonder and

amazement, than to afford satisfaction or delight; and yet our famous Frier *Bacon* (1) collected enough from them to make him tolerably master of the geography of this part of the world, as may be easily discerned by consulting his works, or the collections, in which what he relates of the *Tartars* is contained (2).

(1) *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opus Majus*, p. 228—235. vol. iii. p. 52.

(2) *Purchas's Pilgrims*,

THE first of these ambassadors, or rather agents, was a *Voyages of Franciscan monk*, one *John Du Plant Carpin*, who, with five *Du Plant* or six other monks, carried letters from Pope *Innocent IV.* *Caspin* to the Grand Khàn of *Tartary*, in favour of the Christians inhabiting in his dominions. He made this journey in the year 1246; and, at his return, he wrote an account of his travels, in which he has inserted many ridiculous and absurd things upon hearsay; but what he reports of his own knowledge seems agreeable enough to truth, but contains nothing very considerable<sup>a</sup>. Seven years after this, the *French king* *St. Lewis* sent *William Rubruquis* to establish, if possible, an amicable correspondence with that monarch<sup>b</sup>. He embarked at *Constantinople*; and, having passed the *Black Sea*, traversed the vast country of *Tartary*; and, having done as much as could be expected from him, returned by another route; and, having passed the river *Euphrates*, continued his journey to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, from whence he wrote to the king his master, and afterwards composed a large account of his whole journey, which was very faithful, very exact, and gave a just notion of the *Tartars* and their conquests. It does not appear that either of these pieces could have been of any great use towards facilitating a correspondence between the western parts of *Europe* and the interior parts of *Asia*; but the humour of travelling, and seeing strange places, and penetrating, if possible, farther than others had done, began strongly to prevail; inasmuch that several, moved partly by curiosity, and partly from the hopes of making their fortune at the court of the *Tartar* emperor, resolved to run the risk of visiting his dominions<sup>c</sup> (B). To this humour we owe the history

<sup>a</sup> HACKLUYT's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 21.<sup>b</sup> *Itinerarium*FRATRIS WILLIELMI DE RUBRUQUIS ad Partes Orientales, 4<sup>o</sup>.<sup>c</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, P. i. chap. 9.

(B) An excellent collection of these antient writers has been published not many years ago in *Holland*, with proper maps, and their voyages and travels very distinctly marked (3). We say nothing in the text of the famous Jew traveller *Benjamin of Tudela* (4), because there seem to be good grounds to question whether that work be genuine; and, if it be, it is certainly in many respects inferior to those which are above-mentioned, and to which, with justice, we may ascribe the humour of traversing the deserts of *Tartary*, in order to visit the

(3) *Recueil de diverses Voyages curieuses en Tartarie, &c. par Benjamin de Tudela, Carpin, Rubruquis, et autres*, in 4to. *Leyde*, 1730. 2 Vols. (4) See the Preface and Remarks on the French translation of that work by Baratter.

history of *Marco Polo*, to whom the *Europeans* are indebted for the first clear and distinct account of the utmost limits of *Asia*. His discoveries were of such importance, and were attended with consequences of such a nature, as that the reader will be certainly pleased to meet with a short account of him, his family, and adventures.

*The wonderful discoveries of Marco Polo, and the distant travels of Sir John Mandeville.* SIGNIOR *Nicolo Polo*, the father of *Marco*, and his brother Signior *Maffio*, began their travels from *Constantinople* in the year 1250; and, having proceeded to the court of the Grand Khàn of *Tartary*, resided there for many years; and returned, as the reader will see, to *Venice*, about the year 1269, where they found the wife of Signior *Nicolo* deceased, and her son, of whom she was left big at the time of their departure, a well accomplished youth of nineteen years of age<sup>1</sup>. Him they carried back to the court of the Khàn; and, after having spent twenty-six years more without any news being heard of them by their friends at *Venice*, returned safely thither in the year 1295. A short time after his return, *Marco Polo* serving his country at sea against the *Genoese*, his galley, in a great naval engagement, was sunk, and himself taken prisoner, and carried to *Genoa*. He remained there many years in confinement; and, as well to amuse his melancholy, as to gratify those who desired it from him, he sent for his notes from *Venice*, and composed the history of his travels. In this work there are without doubt many strange, and some false things, which he wrote from report; but what he wrote from his own knowledge are both curious and just. He not only gave better accounts of *China* than had been before received; but likewise furnished a description of *Japan*, of many of the islands in the *East Indies*, of *Madagascar*, and the coasts of *Africa*; so that from his work it might be easily collected, that a direct passage by sea to the *Indies* was not only possible, but practicable. *Ayton*, or *Haiton*, king of *Armenia*<sup>m</sup>, after he had traversed many of the most remarkable countries in the east, about the year 1305 retired to *Cyprus*, and there took the habit of a monk; after which he wrote, or caused to be written, a kind of history of the empire of the *Tartars*, to which he added the principal observations

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. ii. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii. <sup>m</sup> Inserted also in the Collections of RAMUSIO, PURCHAS, and HARRIS.

court of the Great Khàn, where it appears that persons of all nations and of all religions, who had any degree of capacity, were kindly entertained, and often preferred.

made

made by him in his travels, which, in respect as well to the dignity of the author as to the many new and surprising particulars which they contain, were much esteemed, and universally read (C). Our countryman Sir *John Mandevile*, a man of a good family, liberal education, and who had applied himself to the study of physic, being very desirous of visiting remote countries, and more especially those of which he had read such strange things in antient authors, set out on this design in the year 1332, and spent no less than 34 years in his peregrinations through *Armenia, Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Grand Tartary*, and other countries, of which he wrote an account, which has been very differently censured; some esteeming it an excellent piece, and others looking upon it as a heap of fables and falsehood<sup>a</sup>. The truth is, that his learning, his curiosity, and his desire to excite the wonder of his readers, have had a very bad effect upon his work, into which he has thrust every thing that he had either read or heard, as well as what he had seen, which is the reason his writings have been considered in such different lights. But, whatever may be thought of them now, they were highly valued at the time they appeared, and had a considerable effect in supporting this humour of visiting remote countries, which must have been strong enough before, since, as he tells us in the relation of

<sup>a</sup> His travels, or rather extracts from them, are to be found in various collections; but the only genuine edition bears this title, *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir JOHN MAUNDEVILE, Knight, which treateth of the Way to Hierusalem, and of Marvayles of Inde, with other Ilaunds and Countryes.* From an original MS. in the Cotton library; 8vo, 1727.

(C) There are certainly, in all these treatises, abundance of strange, and, at first sight, incredible and ridiculous passages, which, after the countries they described were somewhat better known, not only lessened their credit, but brought them into absolute contempt; and yet, in succeeding times, those who have looked more closely into the history and learning, as well as geography, of these distant countries, have discovered that there was a ground of truth in many passages of these writers that were held most glaringly absurd (5). However, at the time they appeared, the wonders they contained had a very good effect; for it roused all the stirring spirits in *Italy, Spain, and Portugal*, which produced those inquiries and enterprises that have furnished us with materials for this and the following sections.

(5) See the Preface to *Mandevile's Voyages and Travels*, in the authentic edition cited in the text.

his travels, the world was amused in his youth with the story of a man who had gone round the world<sup>o</sup>; upon which he makes some remarks, which shew him plainly to have been a man of parts, and no despicable mathematician for those times (D).

*The conquests made by Timur, or Tamerlane, in the east, favourable to the Christians.*

THERE was yet another great event that happened towards the close of the fourteenth century, which operated powerfully towards removing those obstacles the *Europeans* would undoubtedly have met with upon their coming into the *Indies*; whereas the reader will see they found but a feeble resistance, most of the nations they had to deal with being hardly recovered from former confusions. This event was the second irruption of the *Tartars* under *Timur Bec*, or, as our historians call him, *Tamerlane*, who resolved, though perhaps his rights were not extremely well founded, to vindicate the title derived to him from his ancestor *Jenghiz Khan*; which he fortunately performed, becoming in process of time master of the greater part of *Asia*, which he divided amongst his sons, leaving to his third, *Miracha*, the empire of the *Indies*, with

• MAUNDEVILLE'S Travels, p. 222.

(D) This story that he tells of a man who travelled round the world, he says he heard in his youth, and affirms it to be a possible thing. But that he believed it, especially with that remarkable circumstance, which he gives of his returning into this island, and hearing his own tongue spoken, and the customs he had seen in his youth still practised, without knowing it to be his own country, does not very clearly appear. One would rather think, that he introduced it for the sake of shewing how it might be, and removing those objections which prevailed strongly in his days, that it was impossible for men to go under the earth, because then they must fall into the sky; which he very sensibly refutes, by observing that there is not either under or over, properly

speaking, but that the earth is every-where alike invested with the firmament. He takes occasion from hence to tell the reader how a figure may be drawn on paper, which will represent this to his eye, by describing a lesser and a larger circle, and drawing lines from their common centre, through the circumferences of both. These, says he, will shew the relation between the parts of the earth to the correspondent parts of heaven, and how a degree may be measured upon the surface of the earth; and from thence how the periphery and diameter may be determined. He was not therefore, certainly, a weak or an unlearned man, though, by trusting to hearsay, and transcribing from what ancient authors had written, he appears to have been very credulous (6).

(6) Maundeville's *Voyages and Travels*, p. 222.

other territories; and though parts of these were afterwards lost, yet the *Indies* remain in the possession of his posterity to this day<sup>p</sup>. By this time the humour of travelling, and seeking adventures in the east, had prevailed so much in *Europe*, that several persons of courage, and some of good families, but for the most part *Italians*, were in *Tamerlane's* army, and did him good service<sup>q</sup>. It must be acknowledged, that, even after so very great a blow given to the *Turkish* power by this conqueror, the *Ottomans* soon recovered themselves, and made a great impression upon *Europe*, some parts of which were also invaded and subdued by the *Tartars*; yet, notwithstanding this, it may be affirmed, that about this time that spirit sprung up of opposing the *Mohammedans* by land and sea, which soon after drove them out of *Spain*, gave a check to their conquests in the north<sup>r</sup>, and has kept their power at a stay in most places ever since; to which nothing has contributed so much as destroying that strength they were forming, and indeed had in part formed, through the maritime provinces and islands of *India*.

As from the several means before-mentioned, as well as other lesser incidents, of which we have not room to take notice, there was a general report spread over *Europe* of the great riches of the east, so it created an inclination in several princes and states to try whether some method might not be found for corresponding with them by sea. Amongst these there was none thought so seriously of raising a naval force, and employing it for augmenting his revenues, and extending his dominions, as King *John I. of Portugal*<sup>s</sup>. He was a prince whom his courage and conduct had placed upon the throne, being the natural son of the monarch he succeeded; but, notwithstanding this flaw in his title, and some others in his government (as what prince is there without them?) he had as many great qualities as any person in his rank at that time, which made him beloved by his subjects, and respected by his neighbours. His assuming the crown had involved him at once in a civil and foreign war; out of which being extricated by the assistance of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, whose daughter *Philippa* he married, and by whom he had eight children, he was desirous of employing the brave men and busy spirits, naturally produced in such stirring times, in such a manner,

*The Portuguese under the reign of John I. began in earnest to make discoveries.*

<sup>p</sup> D'HERBELOT *Bibliothèque Orientale*, au mot *Timur*, et autres. <sup>q</sup> CHEREFEDIN ALI *Histoire de Timur-bec*. <sup>r</sup> See the *History of Spain*, in the chapter ensuing. <sup>s</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, l. iv. c. 1.



as to hinder their disturbing that tranquillity which had been so lately restored to his dominions<sup>†</sup>. He contrived, therefore, several expeditions for discoveries; in one of which the island of *Madeira* was again found, which had been long before visited by *Edward Macham*, an *Englishman*, who had fled thither with his mistress; and, she dying there, he built a little chapel over her grave, which proved at once a monument to the lady, and of his discovery, as the *Portuguese* writers unanimously allow (E). This, which happened in 1419, and the finding *Puerto Santo* two years before, encouraged Captain *Yanez* to double cape *Bejador*, which had never been at-

<sup>†</sup> *Histoire de Portugal*, p. 391.

(E) The time when this discovery was made is not a little uncertain; according to one writer, it must have been about 1344, but, according to others, later. The substance of the relation, than which nothing can be better attested, is this: *Edward Macham*, on board an *English* ship bound to *Spain*, with a lady he had stolen, was by a storm driven to sea, and carried to the island of *Madeira*, then desert, and overgrown with wood. He landed with his mistress, who was much indisposed, and some few other persons, providing for her with as much conveniency as he could, in which those who were with him assisted; but, while they were thus employed, the ship put to sea, and left them. How long they remained upon this island is uncertain; but, the lady dying, *Macham*, having interred her body in a homely chapel, which he had raised to the honour of the holy *Jesus*, erected a monument to her memory, on which he inscribed their names, and these particulars of their story. After this,

he and his companions cut down a large tree, which they hollowed into a kind of canoe; and, embarking on board it, reached with much difficulty the opposite coast of *Africa*, where they were seized by the natives, and presented to their king, who sent them as a present to the king of *Castile*. This affair made so great a noise, that it occasioned the fitting out of those vessels by which the *Canaries* were discovered, as some say, in 1395; but, as others relate, in 1405 (7). However, those discoverers met not with the island where *Macham* had been, which was found again, as we have mentioned in the text, in 1419, by *John Gonzales Zarco* and *Trifram Vas Teixeira*, who, from its being overgrown with wood, gave it the name of *Madeira*, which the *Spaniards* write *Madera*; and, meeting with the chapel and tomb before-mentioned, they bestowed upon the bay, on the side of which it stood, the name of *Machico*, in honour of the original discoverer of this island (8).

(7) *Galvano's Discoveries translated by Hackluyt*, p. 2.  
*Decad. 1. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

(8) *J. de Barros*,

tempted

tempted before. King *John* also transported a great army into *Africa*, where he made himself master of the fortress of *Ceuta* in a few days, and projected greater things, the execution of which, however, he left to his successor \*.

As Providence had been pleased to bless this great and *Succinct* wise prince with five sons, he neglected nothing that might *characters* improve this blessing in respect to their education. We have *of the five* said that he had formed great designs, and he had hopes that *princes his* his sons might live to execute them with as much success as he *sons, who* had shewn prudence in contriving them. His eldest son *promoted* *Edward*, whom, after the *English* custom, he caused to be styled *these discoveries* Prince of *Portugal*, he took the pains of instructing himself in the arts of government, and particularly in those maxims which he thought most conducive to the welfare of his dominions. His second son *Don Pedro* had at once very quick parts and a very solid understanding, which enabled him, under the eye of his father, to master most branches of learning while he was very young; and, for his farther improvement, the king sent him with an equipage, suitable to his quality, to visit several parts of *Europe*; after which, he made a tour into *Asia* and *Africa* \*. It may be inferred from hence, that his father relied chiefly upon him in reference to the discoveries and foreign conquests he had projected; but that young prince, being obliged to turn his thoughts early to civil affairs, contented himself with giving all the lights derived from experience and learning to his younger brother *Don Henry*, of whom we shall speak more at large hereafter; and shall here therefore only observe, that, from his very infancy, he was addicted to the study of the mathematics, took great delight in conversing with men of letters, but more especially such as understood cosmography and astronomy, which were his favourite studies \*. He had a penetrating genius; and, with that, a temper calm and sedate; an extreme passion for the glory of his country, without any mixture of ambition, unless we bestow that name upon his earnest desire to do good, agreeable to the *French* motto he took, *Talent de bienfaire*, which he caused to be inscribed under the arms of *Portugal*, on the crosses and forts erected in the places discovered at his expence. He was master of the order of Christ; and kept his court at *Sagres*, at a small distance from cape *St. Vincent*, in the kingdom of *Algarve* †. *Don John*, the fourth son, was

\* MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 3.    † Histoire de Portugal, p. 413.    ‡ LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde, vol. i. p. 8, 9. MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 3.

master of the order of St. *James*; Don *Ferdinand*, the youngest, was master of the order of *Avis*, which had been his father's first title; and, after his decease, was styled *the martyr*, upon account of his dying a prisoner among the *Moors*<sup>a</sup>.

What ob-  
jections  
were  
raised  
against the  
infant Don  
Henry's  
conduct in  
this re-  
spect.

PRINCE *Edward* succeeded his father in the throne of *Portugal*. In the year 1433 he undertook, in the second year of his reign, an expedition against *Tangier*, which proved unsuccessful, and where his brother Don *Ferdinand* was taken prisoner, for whose ransom the *Moors* demanded the fortress of *Ceuta*; which the king being unwilling to part with, that unfortunate prince spent the remainder of his days in captivity. King *Edward* did not reign long, deceasing *September* the ninth 1438, leaving behind him two sons, both very young<sup>a</sup>. The eldest of these, Don *Alonzo*, succeeding to the crown, his uncle Don *Pedro* was declared regent, yet not without great opposition; which obliged him, though naturally inclined to study, and the love of discoveries, to devolve all cares of this sort upon his brother Don *Henry* Duke of *Viseo*, to whom, however, while in power, he gave all the assistance he could<sup>b</sup>. It is the more necessary to make this observation, because, in the former reign, the enterprises of that worthy person were looked upon with a jealous, or at least an envious eye. It was suggested to King *Edward*, that the affairs of the *Portuguese* nation, did not by any means admit, the hazarding ships and men in expeditions of a very uncertain nature, and the very success of which would be naturally productive of new and greater enterprises, altogether improper, since the country was already exhausted by the unfortunate attempt upon *Africa*, for advising of which this prince was also blamed<sup>c</sup>. But, after the accession of his nephew Don *Alonzo*, he was freed from these restraints, and suffered to employ his own revenues according to his own mind. Yet the domestic troubles which ensued very much impeded his progress; for, when Don *Alonzo* came to take the reins of government into his own hands, he in a very short time quarrelled with his uncle Don *Pedro*; and, upon this, a civil war broke out, in which that great and gallant prince, who had distinguished himself both by his sword and by his pen, was killed in the field<sup>d</sup>, to the great regret of those

<sup>a</sup> Histoire de Portugal, p. 419. <sup>b</sup> MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 4. <sup>c</sup> LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 27. <sup>d</sup> MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, l. iv. c. 5. <sup>e</sup> LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 35.

who sincerely wished the welfare of *Portugal*, and who now discerned that it was much better to employ high and restless spirits in expeditions for the service of their country, than to afford them opportunities of disturbing its peace. This leads us to the proper business of the chapter, which requires us to recapitulate, in their natural and chronological order, the several discoveries by his order within this period, and the progress made after these quarrels were composed \* (F).

THIS worthy and excellent prince, the Duke of *Viseo*, was endowed with all the qualities that distinguish heroes. He had shewn his courage in the wars against the *Moors*; but he thought the most proper object of valour was, the facing those dangers that hinder such designs as may be beneficial to the human species. He resolved, therefore, in order to gratify his passion for discoveries, to make himself master of the *Canaries*, then in the hands of *Maciot de Bethancourt*, who held them from the king of *Castile*; and who, for a consideration, made them over to Prince *Henry* about the year 1406†. He sent *Ferdinand de Castro* to take possession of them; and, conceiving that they might be of use in the discovery of the coasts of *Africa*, which were then very little known, he began about the year 1410 to fit out ships, admitting *Spaniards*, and others who were skilled in navigation, into his service for that purpose. The limits of the south-west part

*Discoveries of the infant Don Henry recapitulated for forty years.*

\* *Histoire de Portugal*, p. 431.

† *GALVANO's Discoveries.*

(F) As we have mentioned in the text, that the infant *Don Pedro* was a great traveller, and that he willingly gave his brother all the assistance in his power towards furthering his discoveries, it may not be amiss to mention here a very remarkable instance of it. That prince, after passing through *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, went to the holy land; and, on his return to *Europe*, visited *Rome*, and made a tour to *Venice*, where he is said to have procured a very extraordinary map of the world, in which not only the *cape de Buena Esperanza*, was

particularly delineated under the name of the *Front of Africa*, but also the freights of *Magellan*, called therein *the Dragon's Tail*, which, tho' very positively asserted, and that by some who pretend to have seen it (9), seems to be a fact very doubtful, or, to speak plainly, very improbable. Yet it is not at all impossible that the infant *Don Pedro* might meet with some very useful informations at *Venice*, and better charts too than were common in *Portugal*, of which his brother the Duke of *Viseo* might make use, and from whence it is very likely this story might take rise.

(9) *Galvano's Discoveries.*

of *Africa*, at that time known to the *Portuguese*, was a cape running out from the foot of mount *Atlas*, the proper name of which was *Chaunor*, but called by the seamen *Cape Non*, situated in the latitude (as it was then esteemed) of  $28^{\circ} 10'$  north; and these vessels proceeded beyond that, along the coast, to *Cape Bojadore*, in twenty-six degrees north latitude, but they had not the courage to double it. In 1418 *Tristan Vaz* discovered the island of *Porto Santo*; and gave it that name, because he first saw it on the feast of *All Saints*. The next year the *Portuguese* discovered the island of *Madeira*, which, as we have observed, received its name from its being covered with wood. In 1439 a *Portuguese* captain doubled *Cape Bojadore*, which some think *Ptolemy* called *Cape Canarca*. The next year they sailed as high as *Cape Blanco*, in the latitude of twenty degrees, so that they discovered about eight degrees in the first forty years<sup>a</sup>.

An account  
of the discoveries  
made by  
the Portuguese  
in  
the next  
forty years.

IN 1446 *Nuno Tristan* doubled *Cape Verd* in the latitude of  $14^{\circ} 40'$ . In 1448, in the spring, *Don Gonzalo Valls* sailed to the *Açores*, or *The Hawk Islands*, from the word *Açor*, which in the *Spanish* language signifies a hawk. They were at that time uninhabited, and were settled by this commander, who did not however visit the islands of *Florez* and *Corvo*, which, being discovered and planted by *Flemings*, were from thence called the *Flemish Islands*<sup>b</sup>. In the year 1449 the islands of *Cape Verd* were discovered for the infant *Don Henry*. The first of these was called the island of *May*, because they came thither on *May-day*; and at the same time they bestowed the names of *St. James* and *St. Philip* on two of those islands, the rest not being visited till the year 1460<sup>c</sup>. The progress made by the Infant *Don Henry* gave great satisfaction to the princes that possessed the crown of *Portugal*, inasmuch that King *Alphonso* the fourth, or rather the Infant *Don Pedro*, who governed the kingdom during his minority, granted him the islands of *Porto Santo* and *Madeira*. The Infant, however, according to the custom of those times, was desirous to obtain the sanction of the holy see; and, for that reason, sent *Don Ferdinand Lopes d'Azevedo*, his ambassador, to Pope *Martin* the fifth; who, as the concession was honourable to the chair of *St. Peter*, bestowed on the crown of *Portugal* all that should be discovered on that side, as far as the *Indies*. This bull was dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his successors *Eugenius IV.* *Nicholas V.* and *Sixtus IV.* Prince

<sup>a</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 3.    <sup>b</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 6.  
<sup>c</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries.

Henry, who began as well as laid the plan of these discoveries, lived to see them pushed as far as *Cape Sierra Leona*, within eight degrees of the line; and, being far advanced in years, deceased A. D. 1463<sup>k</sup>. In 1471 *Pedro d'Escovar* discovered the island of *St. Thomas*, and *Princes Island*; and, on the first day of the next year, another island on the same coast, which he called *Anno Bueno*, now called corruptly *Annobon*. In 1484 *Diego Cam* discovered the kingdom of *Congo*; and, having heard of a Christian monarch who reigned in *Ethiopia*, he magnified his power so much on his return, that *John* the second took a resolution to send by land two persons he could trust, to gain certain intelligence of this prince, whom he judged to be *Presbyter John*, and to acquire at the same time the most satisfactory knowledge they could of the state of the *Indies*; but they returned without performing much, and the king found himself obliged to make a new choice<sup>l</sup> (G).

THE persons charged with this commission, May 7, 1487, Covillan were *Pedro de Covillan* and *Alphonso da Payva*, who had strict orders to reduce into writing whatever they judged worthy of notice, more especially the situation of places, and the navigation of the coast of *Ethiopia*, which it was hoped might be made the means of passing by a new route to the *Indies*<sup>m</sup>. These gentlemen, who spoke *Arabic* perfectly, went together to *Alexandria*, and from thence to *Cairo*, from which city they proceeded to the famous port of *Aden* in *Arabia*, where, by conversing with traders of all nations, and from all parts of the *Indies*, they learned many things of great consequence towards yielding the king a just report of their commission. Here they resolved, while one made a tour thro' the *Indies*, the other should go to the emperor of *Ethiopia*. Accordingly *Pedro de Covillan* went to the *Indies*; and, having made a very exact map of the coasts of that country, he crossed the

<sup>k</sup> SPOND. Ann. Ecc. ad ann. 1420. n. 12. <sup>l</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 5. <sup>m</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad i. l. iii. c. 5.

(G) Some *Portuguese* writers say, that these two gentlemen went no farther than *Jerusalem*, being assured there, that it would prove a thing impracticable for them to travel through the eastern countries without

being perfectly acquainted with the *Arabic* tongue; and that this was the true reason of their return, that the king might lose no time in finding others properly qualified in that respect (10).

(10) P. Leftau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 62.

*Arabian sea to Africa*, and, after having visited most of the principal ports there, came to *Sofala*, fully persuaded, as well from the reason of the thing, as from the concurring opinions of the seamen he conversed with, that a short and easy passage might be found round the continent of *Africa* into the *Indies*". He made the best of his way to *Cairo*, very well pleased with what he had already learned, as expecting there to meet his companion; but being informed, on his arrival, that the unfortunate *Alphonso de Payva* had been murdered on the road to *Ethiopia*, he was somewhat at a loss; but, after mature consideration, he resolved to acquaint the king with the discoveries he had made by letter, and to continue his journey into *Ethiopia*, that, at his return to *Portugal*, he might be able to satisfy the king in every respect°. He executed this journey at the beginning with the same good fortune that he did the former; and was perfectly well received by *Alexander*, at that time emperor of *Abyssinia*, who was extremely well pleased with the offers made him, and promised to send *Pedro de Covillan* back again with letters to the king his master; but, the emperor dying suddenly, his successor *Nahu* treated our *Portuguese* not only with coldness and disrespect, but with the greatest cruelty, refusing him leave to return home, and keeping him at his court as a prisoner for many years, so that in *Portugal* they concluded him dead, though he lived afterwards to recover his liberty<sup>P</sup> (H).

° MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 19. ° P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. i. p. 63. P. MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 20.

(H) While these gentlemen were thus employed, the king sent two *Jews* into the *Indies*, from whom he received a distinct account of the prodigious commerce carried on in the island of *Ormaz*; of the route of the caravans that went from *Bassora* to *Aleppo*, with the nature, the quantity, and the value, of the merchandize, that one year with another was this way conveyed; which account was very pleasing to the king, who sent them back with orders to meet Don *Pedro de Covillan*, who received from them the king's direction to repair to *Ethiopia*. He is reported to have been the first *Portuguese* that entered the *Indies*; and it was from his journal, sent by the *Jews*, that the king his master was fully persuaded his endeavours would be attended with success. This Don *Pedro* remained a kind of prisoner in *Ethiopia* to the year 1520 (11).

(11) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. i. c. 11.

BUT,

BUT, while this new method of inquiring by travels over *Captain* land was pursued, the other plainer method of pushing gra- *Diaz* dually, though slowly, the discoveries made along the coast, *bles* *Cabo* was not neglected. For the same *John* the second employed *del Bueno* *Bartholomew Diaz*, a person remarkable for p.udence, and skill *Esperanza, and* in navigation, as well as for invincible courage, to proceed *shows the* along the fourth coast of *Africa*; which accordingly he did in *passage* the year 1486, when, arriving in sight of a high cape, he *opening to* met with very bad weather, and lost the company of his *Asia*. victualling-bark; upon which his crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at once the hardships of the sea and of famine. But *Captain Diaz*, representing to them that the former was not to be escaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was, to proceed till they came to some place where they could get refreshments, he prevailed upon them to double this cape, and to sail a good way beyond it, to a place where he erected a pillar of stone; and, having obtained a small supply, he returned, and in his passage homewards met with his bark, in which, of nine men that he left, three only survived, and, of these, *Ferdinand Colazzo* died with joy at the first sight of his captain<sup>1</sup>. He continued his voyage safely to *Lisbon*, where he arrived in *December* 1487, sixteen months and seven days after his setting out, having discovered in that time above 1000 miles along the coast. He gave the king his master a full account of all that had happened; and insisted particularly on the difficulty with which he had doubled that stupendous promontory, which he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormentoso*, that is, *The Tempestuous Cape*: but the king, who, from the lights he had received from *Covillan's* letters, was enabled to form a right judgment of the importance of this discovery, styled it *CABO DEL BUEN ESPERANZA*, or, *The Cape of Good Hope*, which name it has ever since retained; for he saw clearly, from the agreement between these accounts, that the passage was open, and that there wanted but one voyage more to finish what they had so much desired, viz. the finding a direct passage by sea to the *East Indies*<sup>2</sup>. But, while King *John* meditated this great design, and busied himself in contriving the means of executing it in such a manner, as might be most honourable to himself, and advantageous for his sub-

<sup>1</sup> PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 7. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 20.

<sup>2</sup> OSOR. de reb. Eman. lib. i. MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. i. c. 17. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 68.



jects, the great Ruler of all things disposed of him otherwise, by calling him out of this life \* (1).

## S E C T. II.

*The Voyage of Vasquez da Gama to the Coast of Malabar; the Disputes and Wars with the Samorin; and the Progress of the Portuguese Affairs, to the sending over the First Viceroy.*

*Arguments  
used to per-  
suade King  
Emanuel  
to persist in  
prosecuting  
discoveries.*

THIS wife and good king, John the second, who, for his virtues, was surnamed the *Perfect Prince*, dying, October 25, 1495, without lawful issue, left the crown to Don Emanuel, the son of Don Ferdinand, duke of Viseo, to whom of right it belonged. This prince succeeded, in the flower of his age, being about twenty-seven, and possessed most of those qualities worthy of a monarch. He had great parts, much penetration, and an excellent judgment; yet so diffident of his own abilities, that, foreseeing the execution of his predecessor's projects would be attended with larger expences than hitherto they had been, he declined prosecuting them, without the advice of his council, before whom he laid all the in-

\* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iv. cap. 8. MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. i. cap. 20. P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais*, vol. i. p. 90.

(1) As this monarch made the discovery of the *Indies* the great business of his life, so we may easily conceive, that he must have been chagrined to the last degree by the arrival of Columbus, March the 4th, 1493, in the Port of Lisbon, after having discovered *America*, which discovery he had proposed to this prince, and, through the ill offices of some who envied him, had his offers refused. He was so piqued at this, that when the king sent for him, and desired a relation of his voyage, he intermixed such se-

vere reflections on the usage he had received, as provoked some of the courtiers to tell the king, he deserved to be assassinated; which proposition he not only rejected with horror, but treated Columbus with great civility, and ordered all the *Indians* he had on board to be clothed in scarlet, at his expence (12). At the time of his demise, the discovery, upon which he had so much set his heart, was considered as a thing certain and practicable; but was not, however, accomplished, till the succeeding reign (13).

{12} P. Lafitau *Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais*, vol. i. p. 87. {13} Emanuel de Faria y Sousa *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iv. cap. 8.

formations that either himself or King *John* had received \*. The *Portuguese* statesmen were divided in their opinions; for some pressed the king to tread in the footsteps of his ancestors, and to complete with glory what they had begun; while others as vehemently opposed his pursuit of this design; neither did each party fail of advancing very plausible arguments, in maintainance of their proposal. Such as were desirous that this new navigation might be attempted, observed, "That the trade to the *Indies* had been the source of power and riches to every empire that had been possessed of it: that Providence seemed to have thrown it into the hands of their nation in such a manner, that it would not only be disadvantageous, but dishonourable, to refuse it: that all difficulties were in a manner already overcome; so that there remained scarce any thing, but going to take possession of those fine countries, and that vast wealth which, though all the world thirsted after, none but themselves knew how to reach: that the engrossing so rich a trade to *Portugal* would balance their small extent of territory, and enable the king's subjects to make as great a figure as the inhabitants of kingdoms much more potent in appearance: that, in fine, there were as many dangers to be apprehended from abandoning this design, as benefits to be expected by pursuing it; since, in all probability, their ambitious neighbours the *Spaniards* would undertake, and accomplish, this great work, the wealth derived from which would enable them to execute, with ease, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundless ambition."

On the other side, it was alleged, "That there were *Other reasons* many things more apparently necessary to the kingdom, *sons for* than such long, such expensive, and such uncertain expeditions; since there were several large tracts of land, and *discontinuing them, as* particularly that spacious plain between the *Ebro* and the *Tagus*, not properly cultivated, the improvement of which *prejudicial to Portugal.* would free them from the necessity of depending for their daily bread upon strangers: that their country was but thinly peopled, at least in proportion to the numbers it might be able to maintain, if, instead of maritime expeditions, they turned their thoughts towards making the most of what was in their power; so that it was very unreasonable to consume numbers of men, that might be immediately useful to their country, for the sake of distant,

\* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iv. cap 9.

“ and perhaps fallacious, expectations : that all discoveries  
 “ and conquests hitherto had furnished only a few negroes,  
 “ elephants teeth, strange birds, and other curiosities ; in  
 “ procuring which, they had suffered many shipwrecks, and  
 “ run the hazard of many more : that, for a century toge-  
 “ ther, they had been amused with these golden dreams,  
 “ and therefore it was high time to awake from this delu-  
 “ sion : that the kings his predecessors had been at vast ex-  
 “ pences, to very little purpose, in pursuit of the like de-  
 “ signs ; and that this ought to render him not only the  
 “ more cautious in following their example, but oblige him  
 “ also to consider the dangerous consequences of running an  
 “ exhausted nation into disbursements she was unable to  
 “ bear : that besides, the success of the undertaking might  
 “ bring such demands upon the crown of *Portugal*, as would  
 “ greatly exceed her force ; so that, perhaps, her interests  
 “ at home might come to be sacrificed to those abroad .”  
 Don Emanuel, having maturely considered what had been  
 offered on both sides, resolved to select so much of either  
 opinion, as might conduce most to his own reputation, the  
 completing his predecessors scheme, and the welfare of his  
 subjects (K).

A. D.  
 1494.  
 Vasquez  
 da Gama  
 proceeds, by  
 the Cape  
 of Good  
 Hope, to  
 the Indies.

IT was in consequence of this resolution, that, in the  
 spring of the second year, he ordered four ships to be  
 equipped ; three of which were armed vessels, with some  
 pieces of cannon on board, and the fourth a small store-ship.  
 We may be sure that these vessels were not very great, since,  
 in the whole, there were on board but 160 soldiers and

▪ P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i.  
 p. 94, 95.

(K) There are three very re-  
 markable particulars mentioned  
 with regard to this prince's  
 coming to the throne, and ac-  
 complishing happily what had  
 been so ardently wished by his  
 predecessor. In the first place,  
 he was bred up and adopted by  
 the Infant Don Henry, who  
 seemed to consider him as the  
 heir of whatever should result  
 from his endeavours and in-

quiries. The second, that King  
 John commanded him, while a  
 boy, to add a globe to his arms,  
 which was afterwards looked  
 upon as a preface of the *Indies*  
 being found under his auspice.  
 And lastly, he came to the  
 throne very unexpectedly, Don  
 Alphonso, son to King John the  
 second, being killed by a fall  
 from his horse, in the flower of  
 his age, July 12, 1491 (14).

(14) Emanuel de Faria y Sousa *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iv.  
 cap. 9. *Musæi Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. i. cap. 21. P. Leftau. *Histoire des*  
*Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 93.

seamen. The person chosen to command was Don *Vasquez*, or *Vasco da Gama*, a man of very high quality, who possessed all the talents necessary for such an employment \*. On the 9th of *July*, he embarked on board the *Gabriel*, which was the admiral, of the burthen of 120 tons, and the same day put to sea. On the 3d of *August*, he left the island of *St. Augustine*. On the 20th of *November*, he doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*. In the beginning of the month of *January*, he put into a port of *Ethiopia*. And on the 1st of *March*, he entered that of *Mozambique*; where the scurvy destroyed many of his people, and where they were in great danger of being destroyed, as soon as it was known they were Christians. His artillery, however, preserved him; and from thence he continued his voyage to *Mombaza*; and there he met likewise with perfidious dealing. He sailed from thence to *Melinda*; the king of which country received him with civility, and promised to send an ambassador to King *Emanuel*, when they returned into *Portugal*. Don *Vasquez*, in obedience to his instructions, sailed from thence for the coast of *Malabar*; and, arriving at *Calicut*, first heard of a puissant monarch in those parts, styled the *Samorin*. There he met, very unexpectedly, with an extraordinary act of friendship; for on his officers first going on shore, they were met by a *Moor* of *Tunis*, whose name was *Monzaida*, who knew them, by their dress, to be *Portuguese*; and though, as well on the score of his country as his religion, it was natural for him to hate them, yet he very kindly offered them his service, and sincerely fulfilled all that he had promised. He acquainted the *Samorin*, that a powerful and warlike nation were come from the farthest parts of the earth, to seek his friendship, and to trade with his subjects. This representation had its effects; *Gama* was allowed to anchor in that port, and also admitted to an audience (L), in which he was treated with kindness and respect \*.

THE

\* J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 2—11. MAFFREI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 21. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, lib. iv. cap. 9. OSOR, de Reb. Eman. lib. i. \* P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 112.

(L) The *Portuguese*, not without good reason, were very suspicious of this monarch's faith, and therefore unanimously dissuaded their general from trusting his person in his hands. Don *Vasquez* gave, upon this occasion, a noble testimony of true courage, and, at the same time, of public spirit. He made his

*Difference  
with the  
Samorin,  
which  
obliges Don  
Vasquez  
to leave  
Calicut.*

BUT things did not remain long in this posture; for the *Mohammedans*, who were settled in the dominions of this prince, foreseeing their own commerce must be destroyed, by the coming of the *Portuguese*, took incredible pains to misrepresent them, as an ambitious and cruel people, who meant nothing less than to depose the *Samorin*, and to conquer his country; which stories had such effect on the *Indian* monarch, that he began to lay snares for the destruction of *Gama* and his people. Don *Vasquez* had very early intelligence of his designs, and therefore hastened on board his ships, and quitted the coast. He wrote, however, a letter to the *Samorin*; in which he complained of this breach of faith, justified himself from the imputations before-mentioned; and advised the *Samorin* to return to his former sentiments. The *Samorin* wrote him a polite answer; in which he laid the blame on his ministers, and the *Mohammedans*, promising to punish the guilty, assuring him, his nation should meet with no reason to complain; and, to these compliments, added a respectful letter to the king of *Portugal*, in which he accepted the propositions made him on his majesty's behalf, and promised a free trade to his subjects, without prejudice, however, to his former allies (M). Don *Vasquez* having received the letters, proceeded to the island of *Angediva*, at

Y MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 29.

his brother *Paul* general in his absence, with this express direction, that if any mischief befel him, he should not either attempt to deliver or revenge him, but immediately put to sea, and return to *Portugal*; charging him to tell the king, that he died his faithful servant, happy in having performed his orders, and discovered the *Indies* for *Portugal* (15). But Providence protecting him, he lived to carry that news himself.

(M) It was to this *Moor* that Don *Vasquez* owed his own safety, and the *Portuguese* the possession of the *Indies*; for the *Mohammedans* laid before the *Samorin*

all the consequences that would attend the coming of the Christians into the *Indies*; and shewed him, that the only method to prevent it was to cut off these strangers to a man, and burn their ships: to which, if a fair opportunity had offered, it is thought he was well enough inclined; but the *Moor* gave Don *Vasquez* intelligence of all, from a spirit of honour and generosity, taking, at the same time, a resolution of sharing his fortune, and accordingly returned with him to *Portugal*; where he became a Christian, lived with honour, and died in peace (16).

(15) J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 7.  
P. i. lib. i. cap. 29.

(16) Maffæi Hist. Indica,

the distance of fifty leagues from *Calicut*; where having repaired his vessels, and refreshed his people, he sailed thence for *Europe*. In his passage, he took care to put into *Melinda*, where he was received, as before, with great friendship; and the king, according to his promise, sent with him an ambassador to *Portugal* <sup>2</sup>. He proceeded then to the island of *Zanguebar*; but, finding by the way his crew much diminished, he burnt the *Saint Raphael*, which was commanded by his brother *Paul Gama*, and took the men on board his own ship. From *Zanguebar* he sailed to *Mozambique*, where he took in a supply of fresh provisions. On the 20th of *March* following, he doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*; proceeded from thence to the *Terceras*; and, in the month of *September* 1499, arrived safe at *Belem*; having spent two years and ten months in his voyage, and having lost, by sickness and fatigue, 100 men, and amongst them his brother <sup>a</sup>. The success of this voyage put an end to all disputes; all ranks of people were loud in their commendations of the noble person who had achieved this enterprize; but it was observed, those were loudest in their applause, who, before his departure, had treated this discovery as a vision; and the plain reason was, that, considering it as a thing of expence, their love of money made them against it, and now, on its succeeding, the hopes of profit carried them with greater violence the other way <sup>b</sup> (N).

## THE

<sup>2</sup> GALVANO's Discourses. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 29. EDEN's Hist. of Travel. <sup>a</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. iv. cap. 11. <sup>b</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. i. cap. 29.

(N) Don *Vasquez da Gama*, as soon as he arrived at *Lisbon*, went to spend a week in devotion at the hermitage of our Lady, built by the Infant Don *Henry*, and where he had offered up his prayers to God, for the success of his voyage, at the time of his departure. Thither the king sent several persons of distinction, to compliment him in his name; after which, he made his public entry into *Lisbon*, with all the pomp and ceremony of a sovereign prince, illuminations, bonfires, and every other testimony of public joy, being expressed, on his return. Besides these honourable marks of favour, the king granted him more solid evidences of his gratitude and esteem, by augmenting his coat of arms with part of those of *Portugal*, declared him admiral of the *Indies*, added to that, a perpetual rent-charge of a thousand crowns out of his exchequer, with a permission to invest 200,000 crusadoes in every cargo sent to the *Indies*; which produced upwards of 200,000 pounds of our money in return; and some time afterwards, he created

*The second fleet sent to the Indies,* under Don Pedro de Capral. THE council of *Portugal* being unanimous, the king was solicited not to lose time, or spare expence, in seconding his good fortune, and reaping the benefits of that discovery, of which his royal predecessors had only a prospect. The fleet for this second expedition was composed of thirteen sail, some of which were large ships. Don *Pedro Alvarez de Capral* was appointed general and commander in chief, and carried with him 1500 regular troops. In the month of *March*, experience having shewn that was the properest season of the year for visiting the *Indies*, he sailed from *Lisbon*. In his passage, keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the storms that had been met with in doubling the cape, he found himself near an unknown continent, opposite to that of *Africa*, and, as it made a very pleasant appearance, he judged it requisite to go on shore, and take possession, on the behalf of the king his master, which country he called *The Land of the Holy Cross*, but it has been since known by the name of *Brazil*; and thus the *Portuguese* first set foot on the continent of *America*<sup>d</sup>. This discovery seemed of such consequence to Don *Pedro*, that he thought fit to send *Gaspar Lamidos* back to *Portugal* with the good news, putting one of the natives of the new-found country on board; and having left likewise twenty condemned persons, who were sent with him for such desperate services in *Brazil*, prosecuted his voyage<sup>e</sup>. In a short time after he left *Brazil*, he was surprised by a most dreadful storm, in which he lost many of his people, and one of his ships, on board which was *Bartholomew Diaz*, who first doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and who, by this accident, perished with the rest. The general, notwithstanding, continued his voyage to *Mozambique*, where he arrived, with no more than six sail, and those but in a poor condition. The

<sup>c</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 2. <sup>d</sup> MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 2. <sup>e</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 160.

ated him Count *de Videguiera* (17). To perpetuate the memory of this great event, and to do honour to the original promoter of it, the king converted the little hermitage of the Infant Don *Henry* into a most magnificent church, to which he added a convent of *Jeronomites*, endowed with great revenues, and gave it the title of *Bethlehem*, or, as the *Portuguese* pronounce it, *Belem*, which has been since the burial place of the kings of *Portugal*, placing a most noble statue of the Infant Don *Henry* over the great gate of the church (18).

(17) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 1.  
des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 154.

(18) *P. Lafitau Histoire*

inhabitants remembering the disputes they had with his predecessor, received him with respect, and furnished him with whatever he demanded, he proceeded from thence to *Quiloa*, and then continued his route to *Melinda*, where he set on shore the ambassador of that prince, whom *Vasquez da Gama* brought over. He proceeded from thence, with a fair gale of wind, to the *Angedive Islands*, where he refreshed, and refitted <sup>f</sup>.

THE *Samorin* having intelligence of his arrival, sent to compliment him thereupon, and to invite him to *Calicut*, which he accepted, provided he had hostages for security. Those he demanded were the *Catual*, or commissioner of the customs, and some other of the *Samorin's* ministers; at which that prince hesitated at first, but at length consented. On his landing, he was admitted to an audience of the emperor; at which *Capral*, who was naturally vain, made a display of his magnificence. The *Samorin*, to demonstrate the sincerity of his professions, made him a present of a house, by a deed of gift, ingrossed in letters of gold; he permitted him also to set up the standard of *Portugal*, to appoint a factor, or consul, for his nation, and to open magazines for commerce; but all this fair shew of reciprocal friendship soon came to nothing. The *Portuguese* historians acknowledge, that it happened through the imprudence of their factor *Corresa*, who, on some slight information, acquainted *Capral*, that the *Samorin* intended somewhat foul. The *Portuguese* general, upon this, began to seize ships, and to commit other acts of hostility. Upon which the inhabitants, as might be expected, attacked the *Portuguese* factory, forced the gates, pillaged and burnt the house, and, of sixty-six people that were in it, murdered fifty, the rest saving themselves, with great difficulty, on board their ships <sup>g</sup> (O). The *Portuguese* general took

<sup>f</sup> In the language of that country, *Anche-dive*, that is, five islands. <sup>g</sup> MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 4.

(O) The *Moors* were, at this time, masters of the best part of the commerce in the dominions of the *Samorin*; for the management of which, they had two officers residing in his capital, called *Schaubanders*, one of which had the inspection of the caravans, and all the trade carried on by land, as the other had of

the marine. The *Portuguese* general appointed *Andrew Corresa* to be the consul, or merchant-general, of his nation, to whom both the *Schaubanders* addressed themselves, the former with the fairest, and the latter with the foulest intentions possible. As bad men make the best flatterers, so he soon wrought him-



took a severe revenge, by burning ten vessels, richly laden, in the port, making slaves of their crews, and beating down a great many houses. After which, he sailed for *Cochin*, which lies thirty leagues from *Calicut*. On the throne of *Cochin*, at that time, sat a prince worthy of renown, *Trimumpara*, who, having reasons to be offended with the *Samorin*, received Don *Pedro* very kindly, and concluded a treaty with him, into which the kings of *Coulan* and *Cananor* were afterwards admitted<sup>b</sup>. For *Capral*, taking great state upon him, did not immediately listen to this proposal, but offered to carry their ambassadors into *Portugal*; assuring them, that his majesty would send them speedy and powerful assistance against the *Samorin*. They accepted this offer; and the general, having taken on board a rich cargo, paid a visit to the king of *Cananor*; and, having received the ambassadors of all the three princes on board, in the month of *January* sailed for *Europe*. In his passage home, one of his ships ran ashore on the coast of *Melinda*, when, to prevent the *Mohammedans* from making any advantage, he first nailed his cannon, and then set it on fire; notwithstanding which, the king of *Monbaza* found means to weigh the artillery, and to render them serviceable, to the great prejudice of the Christians. The *Portuguese* general continuing his voyage, doubled the cape, without any great difficulty, and arrived safely at *Lisbon*, on the 23d of *July* 1501. He brought home with him a large cargo, the ambassadors of three princes, and a pompous account of the great exploits he had performed against the *Samorin*<sup>c</sup>. All which, however, did not procure him a very favourable reception, from the great loss he had sustained in this voyage, and the number of gallant men who had perished in it, not to be replaced by all the wealth of the *Indies*, at least in the sentiments of the king his master, to whom his subjects gave the title of *Great*; and, indeed, no monarch of theirs deserved

<sup>b</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 3.  
Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 5.

<sup>c</sup> MAFFEI

self so much into *Correa's* favour, that, by filling his head with groundless suspicions, he induced him to commit various acts of insolence and violence, and, at the same time, privately irritated the people, and put them upon attacking and plundering the *Portuguese* warehouses, where they murdered *Correa*, and fifty more; which produced those flagrant acts of revenge that are mentioned in the text (19).

(19) J. de Barros, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 5.

it so well, or, perhaps, any monarch of any other nation better (P).

THE foresight of this fortunate king was so great, that, *A third* before the return of *Capral*, he had sent a small squadron to *Squadron* the *Indies*, of four sail, under the command of Don Juan *sent this* *Calleca*, who very happily repaired the mischiefs that had been *ther under* done by the *Samorin*, and prevented his attempting greater, *Don Juan* *Calleca*, by defeating a fleet of eighty sail, of which he destroyed ten; *who does* and by giving the king of *Cochin* such assurances of continual *remark-* protection, as kept him firm to his alliance <sup>k</sup>. This vigilance *able ser-* and moderation procured him the universal esteem and af- *vice.* fection of such of the *Indian* princes as had already negotiated with the *Portuguese*; and enabled him to provide, in a short time, a valuable cargo, with which he returned to *Portugal*. In his homeward passage, he touched at the island of *St. Helena*, and was so much pleased with it, that he procured an order from the king, that his fleets, for the future, should likewise touch there for refreshment <sup>l</sup>. It cannot be supposed, that the returns he brought from the *Indies* were of greater value in themselves than those of the former fleets; but, in proportion to the force of his squadron, and to the expence with which his expedition was attended, they made a much superior figure. To this we may attribute that wonderful ardour with which all ranks and degrees of people embraced the *Indian* commerce, that began now to draw a vast number of foreign vessels to *Lisbon*, and to excite such a desire in strangers, as well as natives, to embark in this lucrative trade, that,

<sup>k</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad. i. lib. v. cap. 10. <sup>l</sup> MAFFEI Hist. Indiae, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 6.

(P) What is said in the text regards the personal qualities and royal endowments of the *Portuguese* monarch; but it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader, that these were not the only motives which procured him that title; for, in reality, he had a very fair prospect of having the most extensive dominions of any prince of his time. He had espoused the Infanta of *Spain*, and had by her a son; so that he was considered as the presumptive heir of their Catholic Majesties *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*; which fair hopes, though afterwards they were disappointed, set him very high in the sentiments of strangers, as well as his own people; so that none accused him of vanity, when he added to the plain and modest titles of his predecessors, lord (20) of the navigation, conquest, and commerce, of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and the *Indies*.

(20) *Emanuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguezas*, l. 5. l. 4. cap. 10.

when King *Emanuel* declared his resolution of sending a fleet of twenty sail of large ships<sup>m</sup>, he found himself in a condition to accomplish it, as soon as the season would permit. Which is so clear a proof of the amazing consequences that attend new discoveries, and that opinion which it is, at all times, natural for mankind to have of difficult enterprizes, when they are once attended with success, that it ought to make a strong impression upon all statesmen, and more especially upon such as direct the affairs of maritime powers, where the very reputation of opening any new passage is capable of producing advantages, of which no conception could have been formed, before the event which produced them. But our business is history, and not reflections; yet sometimes they rise so strongly, that an author, who has any attention to what he writes, or affection for those to whom he writes, can hardly forbear them.

*The second  
voyage of  
Don Vas-  
quez da  
Gama,  
and his  
exploits in  
the Indies.*

THE two last expeditions shewed plainly, that the choice of a commander in chief was a point of more importance than even the strength of a fleet: when therefore this formidable armament was ready, the king desired *Vasquez da Gama* to undertake a second voyage to the *Indies*, which, believing the service of the public ought to take place of that satisfaction which, as a private man, he tasted in repose, that true hero, without any difficulty, accepted. At the proper season of the year, the Count *de Videguara* sailed from *Lisbon*; and arriving at *Guilox*, he forced the king to become tributary to his master, and to promise an annual tribute of 2000 crowns of gold. He sailed from thence to *Cananor*; where he landed the ambassador, made rich presents to the king, renewed the alliance, and then sailed for *Cochin*. Soon after his arrival there, he received a deputation from the Christians of *India*, or, as they are generally called, Christians of *St. Thomas*, to whom he promised assistance, and that he would leave, as he did, a squadron behind him to protect them<sup>n</sup>. The *Samorin* all this time neglected nothing that could be contrived or executed to destroy his enemies. He laboured to engage *Trimumpara* to betray *Don Vasquez*; but that prince answered, that the *Portuguese* had behaved towards him with great generosity; and that, while they continued to do so, he would never abandon them. The *Samorin* finding these measures ineffectual, declared, by assembling a fleet of twenty-nine sail, that he was resolved to attack *Don Vasquez*, when

<sup>m</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. iv. cap. 9. MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 6. <sup>n</sup> MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 7.

ready to return with his fleet laden, and in a condition least able to oppose him; which he accordingly did. Don *Vasquez* suffered them to come as near as they pleased, and then engaging two of their largest ships, the seamen and soldiers, after a short resistance, in which they lost 300 men, jumped over-board; which struck such a terror into their companions, that they bore away in the utmost confusion. In the two ships taken were found immense riches, besides gold and silver plate, to a great value; all which being brought on board the admiral, the ships were set on fire°. Don *Vasquez* proceeded, after his victory, to *Cananor*, conferred with the king, on the measures necessary to be taken in his absence; and then, leaving six large ships, under the command of *Vincent Sodrez*, sailed for *Mozambique*; where, having taken in necessary refreshments, he continued his voyage, without any unlucky accident, to *Lisbon*; where he was received with the utmost joy, and the tribute of the king of *Guiloa*, in a silver basin, was carried in triumph before him, at his public entry<sup>p</sup> (Q).

THE *Samorin* did not suffer this opportunity to be lost; *The Samorin* invaded *Cochin* with a great army, and drives *Trimumpara* to great distress. but, as soon as the *Portuguese* fleet left the *Indies*, marched, at the head of 50,000 men, against the king of *Cochin*, whose subjects were unwilling to fight in this quarrel, and therefore besought their sovereign to make his peace, by giving up the strangers; but *Trimumpara* acted on other principles, and acted with the utmost firmness and dignity. At this critical season, *Vincent Sodrez* arrived; to whom the king of *Cochin* para to great distress.

° P. LAPITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 196, 197.  
p. 184. P. MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 7.

(Q) Among the precious spoils that adorned the triumph of the admiral, there was a famous idol of gold, taken on board one of the *Indian* ships. It weighed sixty pounds; the pupils of the eyes were emeralds, perfectly fine; and on the breast there was a ruby, of the size of a chestnut, upon which the jewellers knew not how to set a value. Besides this, there was a mantle overlaid with the finest pearls the *Persian* gulf had ever produced. In the management of this solemnity, all flowed from the king; for the admiral of the *Indies* heightened the merit of his services, by an unaffected modesty, and that generous repugnance, which he shewed in receiving the rewards that were due to them, saying, upon all occasions, that the success of his endeavours was to be ascribed wholly to God, and that all the honours he had received flowed from the bounty of his prince (21).

(21) P. Lapitau *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 196, 197.

applied himself for relief, and desired he would land a part of his forces, to assist him in this extremity<sup>9</sup>. This *Portuguese* officer, if we may trust the historians of his own country, was a very brave man, and understood his business perfectly; but he loved money, and had found an easy way of acquiring it, by plundering the *Mohammedan* traders, and was loth to leave it. He therefore pretended, that, by his instructions, he was to act only by sea; on this pretence therefore, he would not consent to land so much as a single man<sup>r</sup>. This amazed the good old king, and disoblighd the *Portuguese* at *Cochin* to the last degree; but *Sadrez*, out of pain about their resentments, sailed for the *Red Sea*, in order to make prizes; where his own ship was lost, and he and his brother drowned (R). The *Samorin*, during his absence, marched with his army into the territories of *Cochin*; where, the king being betrayed, a pass was opened that led to his capital, by which the *Samorin* imagined he had him intirely at his mercy. As soon as *Trimumpara* was informed of this unlucky accident, his first care was for the safety of the *Portuguese*; in order to which, he directed that they should be sent to the island of *Viapan*, over-against *Cochin*. This island was consecrated to the mysteries of the *Indian* religion, and had therefore been hitherto accounted inviolable, in all the disputes between monarchs of that faith, but it was also a place of strength, not only in some measure inaccessible by nature, but from its being rendered quite so by the assistance of art; and in this island there were considerable magazines, and a competent garrison of good troops. The *Samorin* carry-

<sup>9</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 203. F. MAFFEI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 8.

(R) There is no character more rudely treated than that of this officer, by all the *Portuguese* writers; by which it plainly appears, that avarice is not the vice of their nation, but it was the ruling passion of this man, in the highest degree. He was driven ashore upon the islands of *Curia* and *Muria*, from which danger the *Arabians* on the neighbouring coast rescued him, but took care to be well paid for it; they told

him, at the same time, that he would do well to quit those seas, in which ships were often exposed to such violent gulls from the north, as were absolutely irresistible. Four of his captains quitted him upon this, and retired to the island of *Angedive*, himself and his brother perished, through their obstinacy, with those immense treasures they had acquired by rapine, while their good ally was left in so great distress (22).

(22) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.

ing all before him, a great part of *Trimumpara's* subjects deserted their master, and submitted to that tyrant; by which the king of *Cochin* found himself at last obliged to follow the *Portuguese*, and take shelter in the same place \*. The governor of *Viapan* remained firm to his master's interest, and thereby preserved him from the rage of his enemy; for the *Samorin*, having burnt the town of *Cochin*, attacked the island of *Viapan* several times, but was as often repulsed, with loss, and at last obliged to abandon his design, and to return again into his own dominions, the winter-season coming on, in which it is impossible for an *Indian* army to keep the field. He left, however, a considerable garrison in *Cochin*, and ordered several forts to be erected, resolving to return thither again in the spring, and perfect his scheme of expelling the Christians †.

BUT, before that season of the year returned which would *Don Francisco* permit an *Indian* army to act, a new fleet, well manned, arrived from *Portugal*, under the command of *Don Francisco Albuquerque*, a man of a long head, and a stout heart; and he, having very luckily joined that squadron which the commander in chief had left upon the coast, found no great difficulties in disappointing all the *Samorin's* schemes, or, after that was done, in executing his own; for in the *Indies*, as well as every-where-else, whoever is absolute master upon the sea, may prescribe laws on land also, as we shall see this *Portuguese* general did. He drove out the garrison which the *Samorin* had left in *Cochin*, and having demolished their forts, brought the king back to his capital †. As this gave the *Portuguese* admiral an irresistible interest over the monarch of *Cochin*, he took occasion from thence, to desire liberty of erecting a place of strength, for the security of his countrymen, that they might not be exposed to such dangers as they had gone through for the future. The proposal was, without difficulty, accepted; and the king of *Cochin* not only gave him leave to build a fort, but to build it where he thought fit †. In consequence of this, *Francisco Albuquerque* made choice of an eminence, commanding both the town and the royal fort; and as the king, to facilitate it, allowed him to cut down the fine palm-trees that were planted round his palace, he quickly finished the fortress, in the best manner such ma-

\* P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 209, 210. † MAFSÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 8.

† P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 211.

‡ GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, P. i. cap. 10.

terials would permit. He likewise built a chapel for the performance of Divine service. And thus, as the *Portuguese* writers themselves express it, their nation \* became possessed of the dominion, as well in spirituals as temporals, of the *Indies* (S). Don *Francisco* pushed these ambitious projects, and, under pretence of reducing such as had rebelled against the king of *Cochin*, made himself master of their countries, pillaged all their towns and villages at pleasure, and committed even greater devastations than the *Samorin*, during the last invasion †.

Upon  
which the  
Samorin  
concludes a  
treaty of  
peace with  
him and  
the Portu-  
guese.

THE poor *Indians* were amazed; it was impossible for them not to abhor these strangers, who treated them with such insolence and barbarity; but, at the same time, they knew not where to fly for refuge, except to the clemency of their sovereign, who, like the true father of his people, forgot their disobedience to him; and, by his intercession, procured them some indulgence from the *Portuguese*. The *Samorin* entered, about this time, into a private negotiation for peace; which was quickly concluded, but with great secrecy ‡. All the articles of it were highly favourable to the crown of *Portugal*, and the consequences might have been highly advantageous to its subjects; but they were now become so insolent, that they broke the peace as soon as it was concluded; and when the *Samorin* complained, *Francisco Albuquerque* heard his ambassador very coldly, and, to shew his contempt for his master, did not so much as vouchsafe to give him an answer. It was impossible for so great a monarch to sit down tamely under such usage, and therefore he began to make, though with as much secrecy as possible, all the preparations in his power, to take revenge. *Trimumpara* had intelligence of this, with which he acquainted the *Portuguese*

\* MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 9. † P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquistes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 217.

‡ MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. ii. cap. 9.

(S) It is very remarkable, enough to repent (23). It is, that *Vasquez da Gama* endeavoured to fix the *Portuguese* dominion in *Asia* on the voluntary attachment of the natives; and that it was owing to his modesty and uprightness, that *Trimumpara* conceived so high an opinion of that nation, which he had afterwards occasion

however, very doubtful, whether this humour of building forts, and making themselves lords of all the places where they came, was so advantageous to the *Portuguese*, as the other method would have been, as the reader will see in the sequel of this chapter.

(23) *Guyon Hist. des Indes Orientales*, P. i. cap. 10.

general,

general, and desired him to delay his return to *Europe*; to which *Alphonso Albuquerque*, the nephew, would have consented, but *Don Francisco* absolutely refused. All he could be brought to was, to leave *Edward Pacheco*, with three ships and 150 men, to assist the king of *Cochin*<sup>a</sup>. The reason of this stubbornness, was his having made a vast fortune in the *Indies*; which, however, proved fatal to him, and those about him; for, in their passage home, meeting with bad weather, and the ship being crouded with rich goods, they went all together to the bottom<sup>b</sup> (T).

THE war broke out in the kingdom of *Cochin*, as soon as Trimun-  
the *Portuguese* failed; the people of the country behaved as <sup>para's</sup> they had done before, that is, they either ran away, or de-<sup>kingdom</sup>serted; but *Pacheco* defended the king with great courage <sup>gallantly</sup> and generosity, till, by the arrival of fresh forces from *Europe*, <sup>defended by</sup> Edward and repeated victories gained over the *Samorin*, the peace of *Pacheco*, that part of the world was intirely restored. After seeing <sup>and a</sup> this fully established; *Pacheco* returned home, with a very <sup>bandful of</sup> moderate fortune, but with ample testimonials, not only of Portu-  
his courage and conduct, of his zeal for the honour of his <sup>gueste.</sup> country, and of the ample services rendered to its allies, but also of his equity and justice, which procured him a very extraordinary reception in *Portugal*; where the king ordered one of the most eloquent prelates of that age to write the history of this war, and to do justice to that disinterestedness

<sup>a</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 222. <sup>b</sup> PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 32.

(T) It is necessary to observe, that *Francisco* and *Alphonso Albuquerque* were cousins; that the former was the elder, and had the command at this time; so that the latter, with whom he rarely advised, could not prevent those acts of haughtiness and violence which had so bad an effect. Yet it is, on all hands, agreed, that this *Francisco Albuquerque* was, in other respects, a very gallant man, and a good officer; and it is recorded, as a singular stroke of his policy, that when he found the good old king of

*Cochin* shut up in an island, and in the lowest condition imaginable, he not only paid him the highest respect, but took 10,000 pieces of gold out of the cash intrusted to his care, and made that monarch believe it was a present sent him by his brother of *Portugal*; which made such an impression, as nothing could remove; and some have remarked thereupon, that, with this small sum, well timed, and given with a good grace, he purchased the *Indies* (24),

(24) P. Lafitau *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. i. lib. iii. p. 212.

with



with which *Pacheco* had behaved<sup>c</sup>. The king drew from him many lights towards carrying into execution a very great design which he had been for some time meditating, the driving the *Mohammedans* intirely out of the *Indies*. This, without doubt, was very noble and heroic; very consistent with his character as a Christian hero, and like to be attended with beneficial consequences to his people; but at the same time it did not seem in any degree so practicable as it was glorious. After much deliberation, however, it appeared to him in another light. Don *Emanuel* had been informed that there were three great ports in the east, in which the *Mohammedans* were established, and from whence they carried on all their commerce to the most distant parts of the *Indies*. These ports were, *Aden* in *Arabia*; *Ormuz*, in the island of the same name, on the coast of *Persia*; and *Malaoca*, near the streights of *Sinca-pour*. As their strength was by this means divided, Don *Emanuel* judged it not impossible to make himself master of all these places in their turns; and, with this view, he began to fit out a stronger fleet than hitherto he had sent to the *Indies*<sup>d</sup>. His notions were well founded; and we shall see, that by degrees, and more especially by a due distribution of his designs, this wise and fortunate prince actually accomplished all the vast things that he desired.

### S E C T. III.

*Various Fortunes of the Portuguese, from the regular Foundation of their Empire in the Indies, to the Death of their successful Statesman and renowned Captain the Great ALBUQUERQUE.*

By the advice of the Brammins **T**HERE happened in the mean time a new scene of affairs in the east, where the Brammins, who were about the *Samorin*, shewed themselves able politicians, by giving him the very best advice his affairs would admit. They observed that the Christians and *Mohammedans* were equally his enemies; and therefore the wisest thing he could do, was, to call in one to combat the other; that, thus wasting their forces, they might be so reduced and he become a match for both. He, in pursuance of their advice, demanded succours from the sultan of the *Mamelucs*, who were at that time in possession of *Egypt*; the news of which alarmed all

<sup>c</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, l. iv. c. 9. <sup>d</sup> MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. iii. c. 5.

the Christians in the *Indies*, and occasioned their sending immediate advice to *Portugal*. This obliged King *Emanuel* to dispatch his fleet sooner than he intended, and with smaller force, though even then very considerable, consisting of thirteen large ships and six carvels, with a large body of soldiers on board<sup>c</sup>. He made choice of Don *Francis Almeyda* Count d'*Abrantes* to command it, who had served King *Ferdinand* of *Castile* with great reputation, and gave him first the title of vice-king and governor-general of the *Indies*; assigned him guards for his person, a certain number of chaplains, and whatever else could be thought necessary to give an air of grandeur to his office. On the twenty-fifth of *March* 1505 the fleet sailed from the river of *Lisbon*, and on the eleventh of *April* following reached the islands of *Cape Verd*; from whence stretching too far to the south, in hopes of doubling the cape with greater ease, the fleet ran so far south, that the seamen had many of them their fingers frozen; but, varying their course a point or two to the east, they at length arrived safely at *Guilboa*, where *Abraham*, the tyrant of that country, refusing any longer to pay tribute, the viceroy drove him out, and settled *Mohammed Anconin* in his place, raising a fort there, to keep the people in subjection<sup>f</sup>.

THENCE he proceeded to *Mombaza*, a small city in an island, well fortified with two citadels, furnished with some small pieces of cannon, which encouraged the king to refuse *Almeyda* entrance; which he soon forced by beating their forts to the ground, afterwards took the city by storm, and made slaves of a great part of the inhabitants. He next continued his voyage to the *Angedive Islands*, which are five in number, not far from *Goa*, where, according to his instructions, he built a fort; proceeding then to *Cananor*, where, with the consent of the king, he likewise built a fort, and put a strong garrison into it<sup>g</sup>. On his arrival at *Cochin*, he found *Trimumpara*, worn out with years, had resigned the crown to his sister's younger son *Noubeador*, rejecting the elder because he had deserted him on the last invasion. This occasioned great troubles; but the viceroy put an end to them, and, as a vassal to *Portugal*, fixed *Noubeador* firmly on his uncle's throne. He was a vain and a proud man; but understood the interests of his country, and pursued them. While the Count d'*Abrantes* was in possession of the government,

<sup>c</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 9. <sup>f</sup> MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iii. c. 5. <sup>g</sup> P. LAPITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 277.

the great island of *Madagascar* was discovered; which received the name of *St. Lawrence*, because first seen on the day consecrated to that saint. Don *Lorenzo Almeyda*, the son of the viceroy, first surveyed the *Maldivé Islands*, and then discovered the great island of *Ceylon*, the chief monarch of which he compelled to submit to the protection of *Portugal*.

A. D. 1508. After his return from this expedition, he joined the *Portuguese* fleet, which was to be employed against *Calicut*, the viceroy being determined to fix the security of the *Portuguese* empire in the destruction of that power. Don *Lorenzo d'Almeyda* behaved very gallantly in a great fight at sea, which gave a mortal blow to the naval strength of the *Samorin*; but in that action this gallant young officer lost his life, nor could his body be found. The viceroy gave upon this occasion a very extraordinary testimony of his heroic courage; for, when he was informed of the victory, and of the loss of his son, he contented himself with saying, *All men must die, and Lorenzo could not die better than in the service of his country*.

His unfortunate death, in his return from the Indies to the port of Lisbon. A DESIRE of revenging his son's death, and reducing the whole coast of *Malabar* under the power of the *Portuguese*, were the designs that intirely occupied the mind of the viceroy, in which he might have been greatly assisted by Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*, who was now returned into the *Indies*, and had performed some great exploits; but the jealousy of the viceroy was such, that he not only declined his assistance, but even carried his resentment so high as to confine him in the citadel of *Cananor*, because he knew the time of his government was nearly expired, and that the king intended Don *Alphonso* should succeed him<sup>i</sup> (V). But, before he quitted his

<sup>b</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 2. <sup>i</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 429.

(V) In the text we have endeavoured to represent, as briefly as possible, the capital exploits by which the *Portuguese* founded their empire in the *Indies*; and, in the notes, we propose to add such explanatory circumstances as may render them perfectly clear to the reader; but as to the history at large, and the gallant exploits of particular officers, they are not to be expected, as not falling within the compass of our design.

At present it is necessary to acquaint the reader, that *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* sailed from *Lisbon* in 1500 with *Tristan d'Acugna*, having private instructions to take upon him the government of the *Indies*, when the time of the viceroy should expire. He seems to have been intrusted with his master's great secret in its full extent; and with great bravery and diligence assisted his general in destroying the fortresses which the *Moor*s had erected

his command, he had the satisfaction of engaging the whole power of the *Mohammedans* at sea, and of gaining a complete victory; by which in a great measure the force of that formidable league was broken, from which the *Samo-rin* was in hopes of compelling the *Portuguese* to abandon the conquests they had made in the *Indies*. The arrival of the marshal of *Portugal* with a great fleet, and three thou-

erected on the coasts of *Africa*, to facilitate and protect their commerce in the *Indies*; neither was he less active in the taking their ships; after which services he proceeded with the general to the coast of *Malabar*, and joined the viceroy (25). He then sailed again for the coasts of *Arabia*, in order to ruin the trade of the *Moors*, in which he was very successful; but, disdaining an employment that had so much the air of a pirate, and knowing how desirous the king his master was to add *Ormuz* to his conquests, he came before that island *September* the 25th, 1507; where, meeting with very indifferent usage from the young king's guardian, he attacked, defeated, and burnt, a numerous fleet that was in the port, destroyed all the ships and small vessels that were built or building, and forced the king of *Ormuz* to become tributary to *Don Emanuel*, and to consent that he should erect a fort. His guardian and prime minister, however, found means, by distributing money, to corrupt some of the officers, and to excite numbers of the soldiers and seamen to mutiny, under pretence that they were employed as labourers at a fort, when they might be making themselves

rich by cruising upon the *Moors*. While things were in this disorder, the war was renewed; and the *Portuguese* obliged to abandon their half-built fort, and the island; yet *Don Alphonso* persisted in his design, and resolved to famish the people of *Ormuz*, if they did not renew the treaty, and perform what they had promised; and this he had certainly effected, if three discontented captains had not basely quitted their posts, and sailed for the coast of *Malabar* (26). To justify themselves, they took all the pains they could to irritate the viceroy against *Don Alphonso*; in which they succeeded so well, that he wrote to the governor of *Ormuz*, desiring his friendship, and, disapproving all that had been done against him, promised to procure him ample satisfaction from the court of *Portugal*. In this ill humour he was when *Don Alphonso* arrived, whom he treated with great coldness, refused his company in the expedition he was about to undertake; and, at his return, caused him to be arrested, and sent prisoner to *Cananor*, where he remained for three months, and in that space was very indifferently treated (27).

(25) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. iii. c. 5.  
L. v. vi. vii.

(26) *J. de Barros, Decad. 2.*  
(27) *P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. i.  
p. 418, 419.

sand land-forces on board, put an end to the disputes between the viceroy and Don *Alphonso Albuquerque*; the marshal acquainting the former, that it was the king's express pleasure he should resign his charge, and return home; and that the latter should succeed him, tho' with the title only of general and commander in chief of the *Portuguese* forces in the *Indies*<sup>k</sup>. The viceroy accordingly, having resigned the administration, embarked the great riches he had acquired; and, leaving *Cochin*, continued his voyage to *Europe*, which however was fatal to him, through his own imprudence. For, landing upon the coast of *Africa* with an intent to procure some fresh provisions, his attendants some-way provoked the barbarous inhabitants, so that a fray ensued; and the viceroy, rashly interposing sword in hand in support of his domestics, was unfortunately run through the body by one of the natives with a lance, the end of which had been hardened by burning it in the fire<sup>l</sup>. A strange and deplorable death for so great a man; though it must be confessed, that this whole transaction is otherwise reported by some writers, either from better memoirs, or out of tenderness for his memory, in respect to which one circumstance is very remarkable, that, when the news of his death reached the court of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* went into mourning for him<sup>m</sup> (X).

The first  
action of

As soon as *Alphonso de Albuquerque* was invested with the government,<sup>n</sup> the marshal of *Portugal* represented to him, that

<sup>k</sup> PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 32. GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, P. i. c. 10.

<sup>l</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 4.

<sup>m</sup> J. DE BARROS, Decad. ii. l. x. MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA, CASTANEDA, &c.

(X) At the time that the viceroy quitted his government to Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, he went immediately on board his ship, as being unwilling to trust himself in the hands of a person he had used so ill; and, at his return to *Portugal*, he saw with great pleasure abundance of officers embark with him out of spite to *Albuquerque*, under whom they pretended they disdained to serve; though in fact, not knowing that he was intended to command after the departure of the viceroy, they had provoked him to such a degree, as, judging of his heart by their own, they conceived he could never forgive. It was these officers who gave the viceroy that fatal advice which proved his ruin; in which the standard of *Portugal* was taken by the negroes, and eleven of these captains lost their lives in a dispute which would have done them no honour if they had been conquerors (28).

(28) P. Lestau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. i. p. 431, 432.

it was impossible to execute the schemes formed by himself, or *Don Alphonso* the court of *Portugal*, without previously reducing *Calicut*, phonso and thereby putting an end to a power which had already d'Albu- given them so much, and was continually threatening fresh querce, troubles. *Don Alphonso* entered readily into this advice; and the *Governor of the Indies* made the necessary dispositions for the service immediately, attacking the place by land and sea with such fury, that he quickly made himself master of the town, which he burnt; and of the fortrefs, which he demolished. The marshal in the mean time attacked the royal palace, which he likewise carried, after an obstinate resistance; but, finding an immense booty therein, his soldiers fell to plundering, of which the *Indians* taking advantage, surrounded, and cut them all to pieces, being so embarrassed with their plunder, that they were unable to defend themselves. The general, perceiving the danger they were in, advanced, as soon as he was able, to their assistance; but, receiving two dangerous wounds in his passage, was not able to come up time enough to save them; and, in renewing the attack, was so unlucky to be crushed under a large stone that fell from an adjacent building, by which he was so terribly bruised, that his soldiers with much difficulty carried him on board his ship, and made the best retreat they could, after losing in the action fourscore men killed, and three hundred wounded, besides the great marshal, who fell a martyr to his own impatience, and the ambition of becoming master of the emperor's palace without any assistance<sup>n</sup>.

As soon as *Albuquerque* was tolerably recovered, he formed *He attacks,* a design upon *Ormuz*; and, for that purpose, assembled a fleet, and at a body of troops, amongst which were two thousand length, tho' veteran *Portuguese*, that had served some time in the *Indies*; with diff- but, on the point of sailing, he altered his scheme, and re- culty, re- solved to attack *Goa*, a large and rich city, in the island of duces the *Ticuarin*, with one of the best ports in the *Indies*. This strong for- island, which is about nine or ten leagues in circumference, tress of *Goa*, was esteemed from its situation the most important post on the coast of *Malabar*, it belonging to the king of *Devan*; and the person who commanded for him there was one *Malcan*, a *Moor* by birth, and a man of great courage and experience. He took all imaginable care to put the place into a good posture of defence; notwithstanding which, the whole island was reduced, and the city of *Goa* taken by storm, the *Portuguese* being assisted by a fleet and army from the king of *Onor*,

<sup>n</sup> PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 32. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 13.

under the command of *Timoia* his general °. Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* made his public entry into *GOA* on the seventeenth of *February* 1510, with great magnificence; and, having settled every thing there in the best order, appointed his nephew *Antonio de Norogna* governor of the city; but *Gaspar de Payva*, director of the commerce, and *Timoia*, had the charge of the revenues, which amounted to eighty-two thousand pieces of gold, or crusadoes, *per annum*. This conquest was not long maintained; for *Idalcán* returned with such a force as enabled him to recover the place; and the new governor *Antonio de Norogna* was slain in the dispute, which however served only to increase the desire of *Albuquerque* to raise the credit of his nation, by securing a country and city of such consequence <sup>P</sup> (Y). This, after a war of long

° GUYON *Hist. des Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 385. P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 45.  
<sup>P</sup> MAFEEI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. iv. c. 7.

(Y) The history of this enterprise on *Goa* would make a small volume of itself; and demonstrate, that the high praises bestowed upon *Albuquerque*, by his countrymen, were not founded in partiality, but truth. He undertook it with the consent of his officers, which he procured by shewing many concurring circumstances that seemed to assure them of victory, all owing to precautions himself had taken without their knowledge. He made himself master of the place with ease, though the strongest, the best garrisoned, and at that juncture the most important, place in the *Indies*. He was driven out of it as much by the seditious practices of his own officers, as the superior force of the enemy. He wintered in the port in spite of all their endeavours to the contrary, and when only those on board his own ship could be depended upon. He gave an instance of his firmness, even in that situation, of which

there is scarce an example in history: A *Portuguese* gentleman of distinction debauched one of the *Moorish* ladies under the general's protection, for which he was condemned to be hanged. The whole fleet mutinied to preserve him; and deputed two of the most seditious captains to know by what authority he proceeded to such an act of severity. Don *Alphonso* civilly invited them on board his ship; and told them, he would convince them that he had not exceeded his power. As soon as they quitted their boat, and came to him on the deck, he said, *I do it by the same authority that I do this*; and ordered them to be put in irons till they had seen the execution performed; which frightened the whole fleet into obedience. Disliked by many, deserted by some, and obeyed through fear by most, he persisted in his design; and, when he attacked *Goa*, told his officers, it was for the king's service,

long continuance, he accomplished; and this city became afterwards, viz. in 1559, the seat of the governor, and the see of an archbishop and primate, of the *Indies*, which lofty titles it still continues to bear.

THE conquest of *Goa*, though in itself of vast importance, *Proceeds* was far from satisfying the ambition of *Albuquerque*, whose mind was continually occupied with the desire of extending the *Malacca*; power of his prince, and his own reputation. It was with this view that he sailed with a great fleet to the road of *Malacca*, where he demanded the *Portuguese* prisoners the king of that place had in his hands. The *Indian* monarch put him off with fair words and promises; and the general, being afraid that he might put the prisoners to death, bore with this treatment for some time; but at last was so provoked, that he made an attempt on the place, and actually set it on fire; upon which the king of *Malacca* immediately sent all his prisoners, and offered to make peace with the *Portuguese* upon their own terms. Those prescribed by *Albuquerque* were pretty high; for he demanded leave to build a fort where he thought fit, reparation of all damages done to the *Portuguese*, and a sum of money equivalent for the expence of this expedition. The *Indian* monarch absolutely refused to yield to them; and thereupon hostilities recommenced on both sides, which ended in *Albuquerque's* attacking the city of *Malacca* by sea and land with great fury; and, after an obstinate resistance, it was taken by storm, and given to the pillage of the *Portuguese* soldiers; and we may judge of the riches of the place

service, for the honour of the nation, and for the security of themselves; adding, *I desire to be followed only by those who have a just sense of these motives* (29). The soldiers and seamen giving a shout of applause, the officers found themselves obliged to do their duty; and, to efface the memory of past transactions, did it effectually, and made themselves masters of the place. The prodigious importance of *Goa* was not discerned by the *Portuguese* till after it was in their possession; and then they readily confessed, that *Al-*

*buquerque* acted from very wise principles in pushing things so far as he did to obtain a settlement the most advantageous by its situation in the midst of the *Malabar* coast, the most defensible from its natural strength, and the most commodious from its safe and capacious port. Besides, this conquest was so much the more valuable, as it was obtained chiefly at the expence of the *Moors*, who intended to have made it a place of arms for facilitating their great design of driving the Christians out of the *Indies* (30).

(29) *J. de Barros, Decad. ii. l. x. vol. i. p. 385, 386.*

(30) *Gayon Histoire des Indes Orien-*



by the clear fifth which was reserved for the king, -and which was bought on the spot by the merchants for two hundred thousand pieces of gold<sup>9</sup>.

*Obliged to take extraordinary precautions for the preservation of the city.*

THE general immediately caused a fort to be erected for the security of the place; and, putting a good garrison into it, he gave the command thereof to *Rodriguez Patalino*: he raised one *Utikut*, an Indian lord, who, by deserting the king of *Malacca*, had been very useful to him, to the post of supreme magistrate of the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and, having received the compliments of several Indian princes upon his victory, he prepared to return to *Goa*. Before he quitted the place, a conspiracy was discovered, in which *Utikut* was principally concerned, who thought to have made himself master of the place. As his letters were intercepted, the proof against him was clear; and the general ordered him and his son to be executed, notwithstanding his great age, and an offer made him of an hundred thousand pieces of gold to spare their lives<sup>r</sup> (Z). After this, and staying there near a year, he left an experienced officer commander at *Malacca*,

<sup>9</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 109. <sup>r</sup> PURCHAS *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 33. MAFFÆI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. v. c. 1, 2.

(Z) The first attempt to fix a settlement at *Malacca* was made by *Diego Lopez de Sequeira*, who, by orders of the viceroy *Almeyda*, sailed thither, towards the close of the year 1509, with a squadron of five sail. At that time *Malacca* was one of the richest places in the *Indies*, having in it several merchants able to fit out three or four ships with cargoes at their own expence; and was the centre of the commerce between the spice islands, and also between *China* and the rest of the *Indies*. At first *Sequeira* was well received by the king, whose name was *Mahmut*; but at length, thro' the insinuations of the *Niours*, he attempted a general massacre of the *Portuguese*, and was very near completing it. A great

many he killed, some prisoners he took, and forced *Sequeira* to retire in so weak a condition, that he was obliged to sink one of his ships, that he might have men enough to navigate the other four, two of which he sent with the news of his misfortune to the general, and with the other two he sailed for *Portugal*. It was to revenge this insult, and to recover the *Portuguese*, that Don *Alphonso* sailed thither in the month of April 1511; and, finding no greater reason to rely upon the king than *Sequeira* had done, he boldly attacked, and with infinite difficulty achieved the conquest of, that important place, which opened a correspondence with the islands of *Sonda*, and with the empire of *China* (31).

(31) *Purchas Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 32.

with

with a sufficient number of ships and men, and sailed for the coast of *Malabar*; but, in his passage, met with such a storm as destroyed the greatest part of his fleet, with all the riches on board; and it was with very great difficulty that the general himself escaped, and with his shattered vessels returned to the port of *Cochin*.\*

AFTER remaining a small space of time there, and putting *His affairs* things in the best order, Don *Alphonso* returned to *Goa*, where *vity and* affairs were in some confusion; but he soon restored them, *good fortune raise* and humbled all the *Indians* in his neighbourhood to such a degree, that the *Sanorin* himself sent ambassadors to desire *the credit* peace; and to offer his consent to build a fort at *Calicut*, in *of the* what place he thought fit. The emperor of *Ethiopia* also sent *crown of* an ambassador to *Goa*, and from thence to *Portugal*; and so *Portugal* strong was the terror of the *Portuguese* arms now become, *in the* that *Idalcán*, and the princes that had given the greatest opposition to their settlement, were glad to atone for their indiscretion by offering to accept such terms as Don *Alphonso* thought fit to prescribe. Such a splendid scene of prosperity would certainly have turned the head of a man of less abilities than the great *Albuquerque*, to whose capacity the *Portuguese* were more indebted for their conquests than to the armies and fleets which he commanded†. He loved the ancient frugality of his country, and did not suffer himself to be at all corrupted by the power or wealth that he possessed; and indeed he made no use of either, but for the service of the crown.

WHEN he observed it was the disposition of the *Indians* to *The vir-* measure every thing by outward pomp, he seemed to give *tues and* into their notions; and affected upon publick days prodigious *high qua-* magnificence in even the minutest things; yet, in the midst of all this, he relaxed nothing of his former severity, but *lities of* lived, in the midst of public splendor, as coarsely, in respect to his person, as any private man. In exacting the dues of the crown he was somewhat severe; but with regard to his private fortune, he took so little care of it, that, except his public appointments, he had scarce any thing he could call his own. His officers were his children; and he took as much pains in teaching them their duty, as an affectionate parent does in the education of his sons. He overlooked miscarriages; but punished treachery, or neglect of duty, with inexorable severity. He was extremely ready to reward; and all his discourse at his table, was of the great actions per-

\* P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 160.

† MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 3.

formed by his officers; while he was not barely silent as to his own, but would not even permit others to commend them. It was a saying frequent in his mouth, that he was afraid of nothing but flattery; and it was observed, that he never preferred any who attempted to gain his favour that way. This we may consider as very singular in his character, for we rarely find great men inaccessible on this side; but at the same time we may regard it as a principal cause of his being so well served, since merit was the sole means of gaining his good graces; and flatterers, who are always false and unworthy creatures, stood excluded during his administration. It has been well observed by some of the *Portuguese* historians, that the vanity of *Almeida* made him affect the state of a prince, when the power of the *Portuguese* was but indifferently established; whereas the modesty of *Albuquerque* was most conspicuous when his victories had left him nothing to fear, and when the greatest princes of the east sent their ambassadors to intreat his friendship<sup>u</sup>. Yet, with all these shining qualities, this hero wanted not his faults: his ambition was boundless; and, carried away by an extravagant desire of extending the dominions of the crown of *Portugal*, he little regarded whether the measures he took for that purpose were just, or not. In his private life, he was a man of the strictest honour; in his public character, truth will not permit us to say so much. The remaining part of his history will sufficiently demonstrate the impartiality of this remark (A).

He

▪ J. DE BARROS, Decad. ii. l. x. c. 5.

(A) It has been alleged, in defence of this great man's character, that he found the scheme of *Vasques de Gama* absolutely impracticable; and that there was no possibility of preserving the trade, but by becoming master of the *Indies*. Allowing this to be true, it will justify him as a politician beyond question; but the point is, to know how far either he, or the king his master, had any right to impose a yoke upon the necks of those nations, with whom having had formerly no correspondence, they could not pretend to have been injured; and

who, in fighting against them in their present circumstances, acted only in their own defence. Be this as it will, his justice and equity, independent of his ambition, were such as those who envied him, amongst his countrymen, could not deny; and all the inhabitants of the *Indies*, tho' of different religions, freely acknowledged while living, and gave a most extravagant proof of the sense they had of it after his decease; for, whenever they were oppressed or ill treated by his successors, they went and made prayers, and left offerings, upon his tomb, invoking the spirit

HE made himself master of Goa without any other pre-<sup>Yet not</sup> tence, than that it was necessary to the crown. He seized <sup>wholly</sup> Malacca for the same reason; and meditated the conquest of <sup>free from</sup> Ormuz from the like motive, which he accomplished in the <sup>sailings.</sup> following manner. He had formerly, that is, before he was declared general of the *Indies*, as we have shewn, attempted to raise a citadel there, without being able to effect his design; but the power of the *Portuguese* being so much increased, that all the commerce of the east depended upon them, the king of *Ormuz* had been obliged to become tributary, because his city and subjects depended upon trade. The name of the king of *Ormuz* at this time was *Torun Sháh*, a young prince of no great abilities, and of a weak and timorous spirit. In the beginning of his reign he was intirely governed by an old minister whose name was *Noradin*, a man of immense cunning, but of no enterprising genius; and who, to support himself, and secure the administration to his family, brought three of his nephews to court, and gave them great posts in the government and in the army. *Hamed*, the youngest of these, in a short time, by his intrigues, gained such a share of power, that neither the king nor his uncle had any more than a shadow of authority left<sup>w</sup>.

DON *Alphonso Albuquerque*, being informed of this, assembled an army; and gave out, that his design was to attack <sup>His last</sup> *Aden*; but, when at sea, he sailed directly to the coasts of <sup>enterprise</sup> *Ormus*. *Persia*, and appeared before *Ormuz* when he was least expected. He demanded that the citadel should be immediately put into his hands, *Portuguese* factories settled in the place, and that the king should acknowledge himself dependant on the crown of *Portugal*. *Torun Sháh* judging it better to be the vassal of a sovereign prince than the slave of his own minister, exerted his authority to lessen his own dignity, admitted the general into the citadel, assigned the *Portuguese* some of the best houses in the town for their factory, and ordered their flag to be displayed upon the palace. *Hamed* could not help discovering his impatience at a change so sudden and unexpected; to prevent the effects of which, he formed some designs against the general's life; of which Don *Alphonso*

<sup>w</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 7.

spirit of the great *Albuquerque* exposed while it dwelt in his to protect them from those injuries, to which they were never body (32).

(32) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 253.

was no sooner informed, than he gave orders to some of his soldiers to dispatch him; which they without ceremony performed. If the general had stopped here, it had been well enough; but his projects were not of a nature to be bounded by any thing but the absolute possession of what he aimed at; and therefore, under pretence that a fleet was coming from *Egypt* to make a descent upon the island, he demanded all the artillery of the place, which he said was necessary for preserving it from the enemy. *Torun Sháh* assembled his council; who declared they knew nothing of any such design, and that they thought it very imprudent to comply with the general's desire. The cowardice of the king got the better of the good sense of his ministers; the artillery was put on board, which the general would never restore; but, having made *Pedro d'Albuquerque* governor of the citadel, seized fifteen of the princes of the blood, with their wives and children, and carried them away with him to *Goa*, that he might have hostages for their good behaviour. And thus, for the present, *Ormuz* was subjected to the *Portuguese*; by which another part of *Don Emanuel's* great scheme was happily effected, if indeed that can be said with propriety where justice and success are not united \* (B).

Complimented by the Sháh of Persia, and other Indian princes, on this conquest.

THE *Portuguese* general had the satisfaction, soon after this, of receiving an ambassador from the Sháh of *Persia*. That monarch could not but see with apprehensions so powerful a nation established so close to his own coast; but necessity taught him to dissemble; and, besides, he thought it better became a prince to put on an appearance of friendship than of fear. *Don Alphonso* penetrated the true motive of this

\* *GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 388, 389.

(B) In a former expedition, in the year 1513, *Don Alphonso* made an attempt upon the city of *Aden*, then in the power of an *Arabian* prince, well fortified, and with a garrison of nine thousand men under the command of an emir; in which design the general failed, not without considerable loss. It is generally acknowledged, that he might, notwithstanding, have reduced the city, if he had persisted with the same firmness that

he was wont to do; but he began to discover, that his own system was as impracticable as that of *Gama*; and that, if he had taken *Aden*, it would have required a greater garrison than his whole army; and therefore he chose to bend his forces against *Ormuz*, where he took such precautions as enabled him to keep it with a very small body of forces; which expedition happened in 1515, and was the last of his conquests (33).

(33) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. l. l, v. c. 7.

embassy;

embassy; and with very great sagacity managed it so, as to remove the jealousy of the *Persian*, and to convert a suspicious compliment into real confidence. He received the ambassadors very respectfully in public; in private very graciously: he expressed a great esteem for the person of the Shâh; and, in return for his presents, sent him a train of field-pieces, with some good engineers to manage them. The Shâh was equally surpris'd and pleas'd with this polite behaviour in the Christian general, who very wisely contriv'd by this measure to put it in the power of the *Persians* to act successfully against the *Turks*, who were the common enemies both of them and of the *Portuguese*. It is certain that Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque* was one of the most formidable, as well as one of the most determin'd, enemies that nation ever had: he foresaw that they would be one day masters of *Egypt*; and he knew, that when they became so, they might, by wise management, secure the trade of the *Indies*. This he resolv'd to prevent; and, with that view, form'd two schemes that he did not live to execute, but which, notwithstanding, will for ever do honour to his memory, and shew that his genius was as extensive as his ambition.

THE first of these projects regarded the reviving the trade by the way of *Alexandria*, in which he knew the *Venetians* great projects form'd by him, would have assist'd the *Turks*, or any other barbarians what-ever, for their own sakes. To prevent this, he insinuated to the emperor of *Ethiopia*, that, for his own security against such bad neighbours, the best step he could take would be to divert the chanel of the *Nile*, by cutting a passage for it into the *Arabian* sea before it reach'd *Egypt*. If this design had been practicable, it would have rendered the greatest part of *Egypt* uninhabitable, and made it at the same time impracticable to renew the old method of transporting *East India* commodities from the *Red-Sea* to *Alexandria*, which was the principal point he had in view. His second project was, to transport three hundred horse from the island of *Ormuz* to the opposite coast of *Arabia*, which is but seventeen leagues distant; and this party he thought sufficient to plunder the tomb of *Mohammed* at *Mecca*, which he conceived must have been attended with advantageous consequences, and more especially must have struck the *Mohammedans* in the east with terror and amazement, and so have divert'd that concourse of people thither which in some measure supports the commerce of *Arabia*, and consequently would have promoted in a great degree his other design of rescuing the trade of the east out of

Dec. 16,  
1515.

the hands of *Turks*, and other *Mohammedan* nations<sup>a</sup>. In a very little time after the return of Don *Alphonso* to *Goa*, he was seized with a distemper which in a few days brought him to his end, at the age of sixty-three. He was called by the *Mohammedans* *Albuquerque Malandy*, because he was born at *Melinda* in *Africa*, which in all the eastern tongues is called *Malanda*; by the *Portuguese* he was styled, and that very justly, *Albuquerque the GREAT*. He was the ablest statesman, and by far the most consummate general, they ever had in the *Indies*, and left their affairs in the best situation; and yet he performed all the great actions of his life with a very inconsiderable force. For, with thirty ships he took *Calicut*; with twenty-one he became master of *Goa*; with twenty-three he surprised *Malacca*; and had no more than twenty-two in his expedition against *Ormuz*. The death of this excellent commander, though at so great an age, proved a considerable disadvantage to the *Portuguese* affairs; and would have been a much greater, if his successor had not been at that time at *Cochin* with a squadron of ten sail, with which he was just arrived from *Portugal*. This general *Albuquerque* left all the settlements in the *Indies* in perfect peace, and in admirable order, with such a body of regular troops as were capable not only of maintaining what was acquired, but also of adding such conquests as the king or his successors should judge necessary. His funeral was performed with great solemnity; and his body interred in a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, he had built at *Goa*, and which was much enlarged by his son *Alphonso Albuquerque*, who lived to the age of fourscore, and wrote a large book of memoirs, in which he recorded his father's actions<sup>b</sup> (C).

## S E C T.

<sup>a</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. v. c. 7. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 250, 251. <sup>b</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vii. c. 1. P. LAFITAU Hist. des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 252.

(C) This truly great man, who had done such wonders for the crown of *Portugal*, and who had the honour to serve one of the wisest and best princes that ever sat upon a throne, had notwithstanding the misfortune to die in disgrace. His ambition, his austerity, and his strict regard to justice, raised him abun-

dance of enemies. Most of these were returned into *Portugal*, where they were continually filling the king's ears with insinuations to his prejudice, as if he had his own interest more at heart than the king's; to which, however, no great credit was given, till unluckily Don *Alphonso*, suspecting that *Goa* might be

## S E C T. IV.

*The Succession of the Portuguese Viceroys; and a succinct View of their respective Administrations, to the Government of Don Constantine Bragança, under whom their Empire arrived at the Summit of its Grandeur.*

THE successor of Don *Alphonso Albuquerque* was *Lopez Lopez Suarez de Albergaria*, who without delay entered upon the administration of affairs. He was a person of great candour and integrity; and those virtues are said to have rendered him but little qualified for his office. He made the necessary dispositions for preserving and supporting his countrymen in the posts of which he found them possessed. He likewise dispatched a fleet to *China*, which was in truth the wisest act of his government; but he was not over-forward in seizing new countries, or in forming designs to the prejudice of his neighbours. Upon receiving intelligence that the sultan of *Egypt* had fitted out a great fleet in the *Red Sea*, he sailed thither with the whole *Portuguese* naval force, which was very far superior to any thing that had been seen in those parts. Fortune seemed to favour him extremely at the entrance upon his government; for the people of *Aden*, finding

\* *MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vi.*

be less carefully preserved than the importance of the place merited, demanded it, with the title of a duchy, as a reward for his services; and this did what his enemies could never have done, *viz.* inspired the king with jealousy, and a resolution of putting his affairs into other hands. Don *Alphonso* received the news when he lay upon his death-bed; and is said to have expressed himself in these words: "How! *Suarez* governor of the *Indies*! *Vas-* " *concell's*, and *Diego Perira*, whom I transmitted to Por- " tugal as criminals, preferred! " I incurred the hatred of men by " my love for the king, and am " disgraced by him thro' his " prepossession for other men. " To the grave, unhappy old " man, it is time thou wert " there: to the grave!" He wrote a letter to the king, in favour of his son, who was a natural child; very short, and concluding with these words: "I say nothing of the *Indies*; " they will speak for them- " selves, and for me." He died December 16th, 1515, in the sixty-third year of his age (34).

(34) *P. Lastau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 248, 249.*  
*Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. i. p. 391.*



their forces much diminished, and the fortifications of their city in a great measure ruined; were so apprehensive of being attacked by him, that they sent deputies to offer their submission. He received them kindly, accepted of refreshments; and, relying upon the professions they made, took no care either to erect a fort, or send a garrison, to secure the place: of which neglect the people soon took advantage; fell to repairing their walls with great diligence; and in a little time put themselves into such a posture of defence, as enabled them to make him sensible of his oversight, by despising the orders he afterwards sent them; which made him repent of his credulity, and discern the bad effects of his want of diligence when it was too late<sup>d</sup>. He shewed the same want of spirit in opposing the progress of the *Turks*, who in a short space of time made themselves masters of *Egypt*, and began to make themselves formidable as well in the *Persian* as in the *Arabian* gulf; so that it became daily more and more visible, that, notwithstanding his great virtue, and strict regard to justice, he was by no means fit for the dignity to which he was raised; and in all probability the affairs of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* had suffered still more through his ill conduct, if *Diego Sequeria* had not arrived from *Portugal*, and taken upon him the command<sup>e</sup>.

*Don Diego Sequeira enters on the administration with better success.* THE new viceroy landed at *Malacca*, and settled every thing in those parts to the benefit and satisfaction of the *Portuguese*. He afterwards turned his arms against the *Mohammedans*; and reduced the king of *Baharen*, an island in the *Persian* gulf, who had revolted from the king of *Ormuz*, who was a vassal to the crown of *Portugal*; which as it was a very wise and well conducted enterprise, contributed not a little to spread the reputation, and extend the power, of the *Portuguese*. He miscarried, however, in some attempts upon *Diu*; and began to be sensible, that the carrying on of continual wars, in order to prosecute the great design of driving the *Mohammedans* out of *India*, had much weakened the force of his countrymen, and thereby rendered it very difficult for them to support that vast empire which they had obtained. His three years being expired, he was succeeded by *Don Duarte Menctez*; who quickly found himself involved in a variety of contests, against which he struggled with great patience and fortitude, and with some diversity of fortune<sup>f</sup>. In the

<sup>d</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais*, vol. ii. p. 271. 277.

<sup>e</sup> MAFFEEI *Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. vii. c. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>f</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais*, vol. iii. p. 3.

first year of his government died *Emanuel the Great*, king of *Portugal*, who had happily acquired, prudently kept, and by dint of his admirable policy extended, the influence of his crown over a great part of *Asia* and *Africa*. His great secret in government, by which, through his whole reign, he was continually acquiring victories, without any remarkable check or reverse of fortune, was this: he never trusted to chance or expedients. His revenues were very large, which he managed with great frugality: he wasted nothing upon favourites or pleasures; he rewarded merit to the full, and commonly beyond the expectation of its possessor; he sent out new fleets every season, and never suffered the least relaxation in his naval or military discipline: he very easily pardoned mistakes, but never fraud; and punished treachery with the utmost severity &c.

He was succeeded by his son *John* the third; who, being *John III.* desirous to pursue his father's maxims, immediately sent a *send* reinforcement of ships and men into the *East Indies*, by which *forces into* *Menezes* was enabled to prosecute his designs in all parts of the *Indies*, which, so long as the government remained in his hands, he successfully performed. The next year *Vasquez de Gama* Count *de Videguira* was appointed viceroy of the *Indies*; but, as he was in a very advanced age, it being improbable he should live so long as the usual term of three years, a commission was made out for *Henry de Menezes* to succeed in case of his decease. There was a third commission to *Pedro Mascarenhas*, appointing him viceroy if *Menezes* should die; and a fourth to *Lopez de Sampayo*, to succeed in case of the death of *Mascarenhas*. Don *Vasquez de Gama* did not enjoy his new honour for any time; but, having first defeated the people of *Calicut* in an engagement at sea, died within four months after his arrival at *Goa*, so that the viceroyalty devolved upon *Henry de Menezes*<sup>h</sup>.

THE commission, by which he was to succeed, was sealed up with this superscription, "Not to be opened till on the" (which God forbid!) Don *Vasquez de Gama*, viceroy and death of "high admiral of the *Indies*, shall have departed this life." D. *Vasquez Gama*. This being opened by the commanding officers in the great church at *Cochin*, *Menezes*, who was then absent from the place, was proclaimed viceroy; whose administration was likewise of a short date, and diversified with both good and bad fortune; for, after several engagements with the people of

<sup>h</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 10. Osor de reb. Eman, l. xii. p. 366.

<sup>b</sup> MAFFEI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. viii. c. 14.

A. D.  
1526.

*Calicut* with various success, he defeated their fleet in the port of *Guleta*, and made himself master of most of their ships: soon after which he destroyed a fleet of *Turkish* ships off *Dabul*; another of *Moors* off *Zeila*; engaged and beat that of the prince of *Patana*, and *Laqueximenes* the admiral of *Bintam*; and then, advancing to relieve the *Portuguese* besieged by the enemy in the fortrefs of *Calicut*, he very gloriously atchieved it; but died of a wound he had received in his leg by an arrow supposed to be poisoned. This unlucky accident had very bad effects on their affairs; and, as these were chiefly the result of the very precautions taken to avoid them, it may not be amiss to examine them particularly.

Two vice-  
roys at a  
time.

As soon as it was known at *Goa* that *Henry de Menezes* was dead, the great officers assembled, to open the billets by which the successor was appointed; and, from these, it appeared the authority of viceroy devolved upon *Don Pedro Mascarenhas*, who was then at *Malacca*. One of the officers present thought proper to distinguish upon this occasion between a general present and a general at a distance: he said, that the intent of these substitutions was plainly, that the government in the *Indies* might never want a head; and that, an absent head being in effect no head, it was necessary to open another billet, in order to procure a viceroy for the present, till *Pedro Mascarenhas* should arrive from *Malacca*. This proposal was far from being universally approved, because many foresaw, that, under pretence of providing against a slight evil, or rather inconvenience, they were on the point of running upon a much greater mischief. However, *Alphonso Mezas* pressed it with such earnestness, that at last it was complied with; and, the billet being opened, *Lopez de Sampayo*, the fourth substituted viceroy, took upon him that charge, and gave the *Malabars*, then in arms, a signal defeat in an engagement at the mouth of the *Bacanor*<sup>k</sup>. But *Mascarenhas*, highly resenting it that *Sampayo* should usurp the administration out of his turn, would by no means acquiesce under that proceeding, but assumed the title and office of viceroy; and, being forced to wait the proper season for coming down to *Goa*, took that opportunity to repair with a fleet of nineteen sail to the coast of *Bintam*, where he defeated *Laqueximenes*, the enemy's admiral, together with the fleet of *Pahang*, which came to their assistance; then taking the city of *Bintam* by storm, he burnt it; and the king

<sup>i</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. iii. p. 127.

<sup>k</sup> MAFFÆI, &c. P. ii. l. ix. c. 1.

dying

dying with grief at his ill success, *Mascarenhas* appointed another in his room, on condition that he should maintain no army or fleet without leave from the *Portuguese*, but commit himself wholly to their protection. On his sailing thence with his fleet to *Goa*, he desired arbitrators might be appointed to judge whether he or *Sampaya* was the proper viceroy, but the latter refused to submit to any arbitration; instead of which, he seized and imprisoned him, supposing that this would put an end to the contest; but he took his measures quite wrong; for this violence, instead of lessening the interest of *Don Pedro*, increased it; so that he found himself under a necessity of yielding to his proposition; and thirteen judges were chosen to decide this difficult question, which, by an accident that happened in the mean time, was made still more difficult<sup>1</sup>.

A SMALL squadron arriving from *Portugal*, at *Cochin*, *An unex-* brought the king's orders to *Alphonso Mexias* for suppressing *pecced acci-* all the former billets<sup>1</sup>; instead of which, new ones were sent; *dent ren-* of which taking advantage, *Mexias*, contrary to the advice *ders this* of a great part of the council, ordered the first of them to be *dispute still* opened; and, finding therein what he expected, made no *more per-* doubt at all of carrying all things at his pleasure. This billet *plexed.* being in favour of *Lopez*, he asserted, that both the former nominations were void, and insisted only upon this last; and they being for the most part of his faction, or corrupted by *Mexias*, came into it at once, declared him viceroy; and, to put an end to all disputes, ordered *Don Pedro Mascarenhas* to return immediately to *Portugal*. On his arrival at *Lisbon* he laid the whole proceedings before the king, who alone could set things right. The king accordingly heard and decided this matter with great justice and wisdom: for, in the first place, he cancelled the decree of the arbitrators, and ordered that the present viceroy *Lopez* should pay to *Don Pedro* twenty thousand crowns, as the profits of his two years government; and made a regulation for the future, that, on the opening of these billets of substitution, absence should not prejudice in any degree, provided the person named was between *Cape Cori* and *Diu*, which, taking in the best part of the *Indies*, rendered it impossible that any such accident should fall out, as that which had occasioned all this confusion. But, as *Don Lopez Vaz de Sampayo* had, in other respects, behaved well, it was judged expedient to leave him in possession of the

<sup>1</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iii. p. 158.

Don Lopez Sam- government, more especially since he was obliged to part  
pajo con- with all the money he had hitherto acquired in it <sup>m</sup>.

As soon as the king's orders arrived in the *Indies*, Don Lopez executed them with all imaginable punctuality, reconciled himself to the friends of Don Pedro Mascarenhas, and behaved in every other circumstance as became a worthy man and a good subject. He had a strong desire to blot out, by his great services, all memory of former mistakes; and therefore, having intelligence of a great fleet of one hundred and thirty sail, bound to *Mecca*, with spices, he attacked them in their passage, dispersed and destroyed a great part, and took the rest. He likewise reduced a formidable pirate, who had taken possession of a place called *Porca*; and had amassed so much wealth, that, when the booty came to be divided amongst the *Portuguese* soldiers, every private man had a thousand dollars for his share <sup>n</sup>. He gained not long after another victory over the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*; and then returned to *Goa*, where, knowing that his term was near expiring, he made all the preparations requisite for the reception of his successor, and omitted nothing that was in his power towards putting all things into the best posture possible. His success in this respect was equal to his zeal; so that the best historians agree, that, at the time he delivered up his charge, their affairs in the *Indies* were in all respects in the most flourishing condition that they had ever been from the time of the first expedition of *Vasquez de Gama*; for the royal palace, the cathedral, the convent, and the great hospital at *Goa*, were completed; all the fortresses upon the coasts and in the islands in thorough repair; every governor at his post; every garrison complete, the magazines well furnished; and, to crown all, the fleet the most numerous, and in the best order, that had been ever seen, consisting, in the whole, of one hundred and thirty sail, of which fourteen were large men of war, six royal frigates, eight light armed vessels, six brigantines, and one hundred and two feluccas; and, before he laid down his command, he issued from the royal treasury three hundred thousand crowns in gold, by which all the arrears to the fleet and army were intirely discharged. Such was the situation of things when Don Lopez quitted his office <sup>o</sup> (D). His

<sup>m</sup> MAF-FÆI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. ix. c. 4. <sup>n</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portuguais, vol. iii. p. 194. <sup>o</sup> MAF-FÆI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. ix. c. 7.

(D) This governor was certainly a man of great parts, and one who had the interest of the crown and nation of *Portugal* very

His successor was *Nunho da Cunha*, who, setting out from *Nunho da Portugal* with a commission to be general, accompanied by *Cunha*, his brother *Simon de Cunha*, who was constituted admiral of *general of the Indies*; and in his way thither, attempting to put in at *Mombaza*, in order to pass the winter there, was refused entrance by the king, but forced a passage into the port; and, making himself master of the town, gave the plunder to the mariners, and set it on fire. Sailing from thence early in the spring, he proceeded to *India*; where he was no sooner arrived, in 1529, than he resolved to make himself master of the town and fortrefs of *Diu*, situate in an island of the same name, near the entrance of the gulph of *Cambaya*; to which purpose, repairing thither with the fleet, upon his appearance off the place he received an embassador from *Badur* king of *Cambaya*, with offers of yielding the fortrefs into his hands; which being accordingly performed, it was committed to the custody of *Anthony Silveira*, to the great satisfaction of the *Portuguese*, who had long desired it<sup>P</sup>. Not long after, the king of *Cambaya*, at the instigation of the *Turks*, who were very desirous of getting *Diu* into their hands, made an attempt to dispossess the *Portuguese*, and recover the place; but was unfortunate in the undertaking; he with his *Turkish* auxiliaries being intirely routed, most of his fleet sunk, and himself mortally wounded in the engagement.

P. P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iii. p. 284. EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portugesas*, l. iv. c. 12.

very much at heart; but the manner in which he arrived at the dignity of general of the *Indies* had created him abundance of enemies, who, under various pretences, traversed his designs, and hindered him from acquiring that reputation which otherwise would have attended his indefatigable endeavours. He was more cautious of engaging in wars than most of his predecessors; but, when he found himself attacked, or under an absolute necessity of attacking, he did his duty with courage and spirit, and would have

pushed his success farther, if the officers who served under him had not, out of envy, restrained him. In reference to the civil government, which was more in his power, he did remarkable service to his nation, by regulating the functions of inferior officers in such a manner, as to prevent disputes; and, by employing such as were most capable, and had served longest in the *Indies* (35); and yet he was imprisoned by his successor, and suffered very much after he returned to *Portugal*.

(35) P. Lafitau *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iii. p. 207.

SOON after this, *Soleyman*, Bashaw of *Cairo*, came to besiege it with a fleet of sixty-two gallies, six galleons, and other smaller vessels, having on board four thousand janisaries, sixteen thousand other soldiers, besides gunners, seamen, and pilots; and, immediately on their arrival before the town, were joined by eighty sail of ships of *Cambaya*, and some land-troops belonging to the young king *Mohammed*. The *Turkish* bashaw, landing his forces, battered the fortress with sixty pieces of cannon; but the governor, with great bravery, sustained his attack till the arrival of *Garfias de Noronha*, the new viceroy, from *Goa*, to his assistance; who, by a stratagem, which was no more than putting out four large lanterns from every ship in his fleet, so terrified the *Turks*, that they raised the siege in the utmost confusion, leaving behind them their tents, ammunition, artillery, and above a thousand wounded men, besides the like number that were foraging, all which fell into the hands of the *Portuguese*. Afterwards *Mohammed* submitted to the crown of *Portugal*; and *John da Castro*, who succeeded *Alphonso de Sosa*, who followed *Stephen Gama*, the successor of *Noronha*, as viceroy, in whose time the *Cambayans* and *Turks* made another attempt on *Diu*, but with the like success, *Don John da Castro* routing them both by sea and land with a very great slaughter; after which, he added several works to the place, and raised a new citadel in a more advantageous situation, and composed of much better materials, than the former; which secured it for a considerable time. This worthy person did not, however, long survive; though he had the satisfaction, a little before his death, of receiving a very kind letter from the king his master, together with a commission which continued him in his office three years more, an augmentation of his salary, and a present of ten thousand pieces of gold (E).

A. D.  
1548.

UPON

¶ *MAFFÆI Hist. Indica*, P. ii. l. ii. c. 15, 16. ¶ *P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 31. *EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, l. iv. c. 12.

(E) It is a point of justice due to these viceroys and governors, to acknowledge, that, by their courage and vigilance, they defeated all the attempts of the *Turkish* emperors to establish a naval power in the *Indies*, notwithstanding the measures they took for that purpose were well contrived, the fleets they employed powerful, and the forces on board them numerous, it was by their conduct in this respect that not only the *Portuguese* were maintained in their empire, but that the power of the Christians was established.

UPON consulting the billets relative to the order of suc-<sup>The go-</sup>cession, the first name that appeared was that of Don Pedro <sup>vernment</sup> *de Mascarenhas*; but, he being already sailed for *Portugal*, <sup>devolves</sup> there was a necessity of opening the next billet, in which <sup>on Don</sup> was found the name of Don *Garcias de Sa*, an old officer of <sup>Garcias de</sup> the crown, universally esteemed and admired. He entered <sup>Sa, who</sup> upon his administration by completing whatever remained un- <sup>discharges</sup> finished of the wise and great plan formed by his predecessor; <sup>it with</sup> and, though he lived but a single year, he added fourteen <sup>honour.</sup> stout ships to the fleet of *Portugal*, and performed many other services that were very useful to succeeding governors. Don *George Capral* was next called to the command; and, soon after, found himself engaged in a war with the *Samorin*, whom he quickly reduced to the necessity of demanding peace; and had performed greater things, if Don *Alphonso Norognez* had not arrived with the title of general of the *Indies* from *Portugal*, which put an end to his commission\*. It was during the government of this general that the *Turks* attacked *Ormuz*, and were very near becoming masters of that fortress; but at length the siege was raised. Some other disasters happened during his administration, which lasted about four years; and, at the end of this space, he was succeeded by Don *Pedro de Mascarenhas*, who died in a year after he was settled in his new dignity. His place was supplied by Don *Pedro Barreto*, who found himself engaged in perpetual wars with the *Indians* and *Mohammedans*, against whom he acted with courage and success, till he was relieved by Don *Constantine de Braganza*, brother to the duke of the same name, the first viceroy of the *Indies*, appointed by the regency after the death of King *John*, and one of the wisest and worthiest men intrusted with that great office; and under his government every thing prospered in such a manner;

\* MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. xvi. c. 5.

established in these parts, for, would never have desisted till if the *Turks* had ever prevailed they had brought things into so far as to have made them- their former situation, or, it may selves masters of *Diu*, and a be, would have invaded *Europe* in their turns with that naval few fortresses on the coast of force which they had raised in *Malabar*, they must have carried all before them; for the *Indies* (36). But the wise *Moor*s would have every-where dispositions of Providence prevented this, by granting these zeal for religion concurring with repeated victories of the *Portuguese*. their temporal interests, they

(36) *Baldus's History of Malabar*, c. 12.



that the *Portuguese* persuaded themselves their empire would be as lasting in the *Indies* as it was glorious and extensive; but they were very quickly convinced of their mistake, and that there is nothing so fleeting and transitory as human prosperity.

## S E C T. V.

*A concise Representation of the Nature of the Portuguese Dominion in India, and a more particular Account of their great Governments of Mozambique and Ormuz.*

*The great empire raised by the Portuguese in the space of sixty years.*

**I**N the space of about threescore years they had raised such an empire in the east, as, to those who are competent judges, will appear truly wonderful; their power extended on one side as far as the utmost limits of the coast of *Persia*, and their influence over all the *Persian* gulph; some of the smaller princes in *Arabia* were their tributaries, some their allies, and all lived under the greatest awe and apprehension of them. On the other side of *Arabia* they had an intercourse with, and an influence over, the emperor of *Ethiopia*, or of the *Abyssines*; so that they might be truly said to command from sea to sea. Along the coast of *India* and the frontiers of *Persia* they were in possession of almost all the ports and islands that were of any consequence, such as *Diu*, *Daman*, *Chaul*, &c. They possessed the whole coast of *Malabar*, from *Cape Ramoz* to *Cape Commorin*: they were masters also of the coast of *Coromandel*, of the gulph of *Bengal*, of the city, fortress, and peninsula, of *Malacca*; the potent island of *Ceylon* was tributary to them, so were the islands of *Sonda*; the *Moluccas* also held intirely under their obedience; and, which were points of felicity in some measure peculiar to themselves, they obtained a settlement in the empire of *China*, and a free trade with the inhabitants of *Japan* <sup>u</sup> (F).

Wiz

<sup>u</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 393.

(F) It was this prodigious extent of their dominions, the absolute command they had over the natives, and the distribution they made of the different kinds of commerce thro' *India*, that enabled the *Portuguese* to accumulate such immense wealth, and to make such prodigious returns to *Portugal*. But in their extensive dominions, and in the dispositions for maintaining them, the seeds lay hidden of their dissolution: for, by acquiring estates in the *Indies* which descended to their posterity, the *Portuguese* grew effeminate, and, with none of the virtues, and very little of the courage, of their ancestors, behaved with a degree

We have shewn from what small beginnings this vast empire was raised; we have given a succinct account of those of the brave men, by whose conduct and courage such mighty things were achieved; and, though we have studied conciseness as much as possible, yet we have stated in a clear and chronological order the principal events that happened till the Portuguese empire in the Indies rose to its greatest height. Should we continue this method down to our own times, it would draw this history into a vast extent", without contributing much to that end which is the object of our labours; we will therefore vary a little from the plan hitherto pursued, and endeavour to represent to the reader, with as much brevity and perspicuity as is possible, the nature of the Portuguese dominion in the Indies while in its vigour, the consequences of it to the crown of Portugal within that period, the true causes of its gradual and almost total declension; add to which, that no part of this subject, which can be of real utility, may remain untouched, we will mention in their natural order the principal fortresses and colonies erected or established by that nation in these parts, and point out the time and means by which they have fallen into other hands; lastly, we will describe the city of Goa, and the district round it; and give the reader a competent view of the poor remains of that prodigious power, the rise and progress of which has been hitherto our subject.

We hope, by this manner of digesting the copious materials that are in our power, we shall effectually avoid all tedious and unnecessary repetitions; since, with respect to the Portuguese, what chiefly requires our notice, is, the real sources of their decay, and the precise times in which they were dispossessed of their settlements; for, as to the more interesting particulars of such transactions, they belong properly to the succeeding sections, in which we are to relate the progress of other nations in the East Indies; which being in a great measure at the expence of the Portuguese, it was a thing incumbent upon us to prevent relating the same facts

✓ P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iv. p. 386.

degree of arrogance unknown to better times. In Portugal, again, they measured the prosperity of the Indies by the profits they produced; and troubled not themselves what character any officer bore, but what fortune he brought home with him from thence (37).

(37) *Lafitau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iii. p. 212.

over and over. But, as impartiality is also a point of the highest consequence, we shall carefully consult the *Portuguese* historians in that part of our work likewise, that the reader may see things in a fair and true light, and not as they are commonly represented by those who have the honour of some particular nation at heart, and therefore study to give a fair colour to all their enterprises, as if the progress of power was the progress likewise of virtue and justice; whereas in reality it will be frequently found the very reverse, except in regard to the dispositions of Providence, that frequently makes use of the same vices and passions in one set of men, to punish those acts of violence and rapine that have been committed by others \*.

*The vast power in the supreme governor, usually styled viceroy of the Indies.*

THE supreme power, while the *Portuguese* remained masters of the *Indies*, was vested in a single person, assisted by a council; though, as we have already seen, that person was honoured with different titles, being sometimes styled general, sometimes governor, but usually viceroy, of the *Indies*; an honour seldom conferred but upon persons of the highest rank for birth and quality, as well as abilities; and to the honour of this nation it must be acknowledged, that braver, wiser, or better men, are seldom to be met with in history, than amongst those who have enjoyed this high station. The power of the viceroy was in a great measure unlimited; but, to balance this, the time of his administration was but short, rarely exceeding the term of three years. The military affairs were in his hands without restriction; and though there was frequently an admiral of the *Indies*, yet he acted altogether under the viceroy's orders. In civil concerns, the tribunal of the viceroy established at *Goa* judged in the last instance, and without appeal; but, in matters criminal, the viceroy could not put any gentleman of *Portugal* to death (and every person in the king's service is so esteemed) without the king's knowledge †.

*Prerogatives and privileges of other governors, and how the product of these countries passed into Portugal.*

FOR the support of his dignity, the viceroy had large appointments, which enabled him to live in the utmost magnificence and splendor; so much the more requisite, as he really commanded many kings, who, as vassals to the crown of *Portugal*, paid him a ready and strict obedience; it was in order to secure this, that in many of their capitals, and in other the most convenient places in their dominions, forts were erected, and garrisons maintained; by which, to speak

\* GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 395.  
 † Treatise of the *Portugal Indies*, containing the laws, customs, revenues, &c. by the Viceroy DON DUART DE MENEZES.

plainly

plainly, their power was so much limited, that they could do nothing prejudicial to the interests of the *Portuguese*, or to what they were pleased to consider and call their interest. In their ports the *Portuguese* had their factories, and the entire management of the trade, setting the price at their pleasure upon the goods and manufactures of the country, and claiming a right of pre-emption; by which not the *Mohammedans* only, but even the native *Indians*, were in a great measure excluded from commerce. By this means immense and inexpressible riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, rare woods, drugs, and all kind of piece goods, were carried in annual fleets from their establishments on the coasts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, in the gulph of *Bengal*, in the kingdoms of *Camboya*, *Decan*, *Malacca*, *Patana*, *Siam*, &c. the islands of *Ceylon*, *Sumatra*, *Java*, *Borneo*, the *Moluccas*, *China*, and *Japan*, into *Portugal*, whither all the nations of *Europe* resorted, to purchase them in such quantities, and upon such terms, as they were pleased to afford them. We need not therefore at all wonder how so small a kingdom should be able to furnish such prodigious navies, or send such numbers of people into these distant countries, since the desire of sharing in their wealth and prosperity drew continual accessions of people into their territories, both in *Europe* and in the *Indies* <sup>2</sup> (G).

It was a high point of policy to establish a universal liberty *Liberty of* of conscience at *Goa*, and this notwithstanding the inquisition *conscience*

<sup>2</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. i. p. 391. 393.

(G) The *Portuguese* did not imitate the *Venetians* in their management of this commerce, by transporting the produce of the *Indies* into different parts of *Europe*; but, on the contrary, sold them to such as resorted to the port of *Lisbon*, as the great market of *Indian* commodities. By this means many traders settled, in quality of agents or factors, amongst them; numbers of seamen entered in their outward-bound *India* fleets; ship carpenters, and other artificers, finding money more plenty there than in their own countries, settled, and followed their respective trades (38). The children of all these people became natural *Portuguese*; and, tempted by the advantages promised them in the *Indies*, flocked thither every year; and, finding it no difficult matter to meet with a wife and a settlement, most of them remained there; and by these means, while in a flourishing condition, their garrisons were maintained, and the squadrons they fitted out supplied with mariners and soldiers.

(38) Sir William Monson's *Naval Traits*, in the Third Volume of *Churchill's Voyages*.

*established in GOA, notwithstanding the bigotry of its inhabitants, and the inquisition.* was also established there, but without any power over those who had not entered into the bosom of the catholic church. This drew thither merchants and traders of all nations and religions, and kept up for many years a prodigious circulation from all parts; so that private persons became immensely rich, and consequently could afford to pay liberally for the protection they received from their governors. It was in those early days, when all the riches of the *Indies* were in a great measure at the disposal of this single nation, that the vast importance of this commerce appeared in its full light; and it is from the particulars set down by authors who lived within this period, and who delivered no more than what fell within the compass of their own observation, that we discern how such incredible fortunes were amassed in those times, when, beyond all question, there were much larger quantities of intrinsic riches brought into *Europe* than there have been at any time since<sup>a</sup>. For it is a point extremely worthy our consideration, that the trade between *Europe* and the *Indies*, while in the possession of the *Portuguese* was managed in quite another way than it now is; and though we cannot enter very distinctly into the nature of their exports, yet of this we are very sure, that they did not send thither large quantities of silver; but that the gold, jewels, and spices, they brought home, were in part the revenues arising from countries under their subjection, and in some measure the produce of the goods and manufactures they transported; but with this great circumstance of advantage, that they set the price upon the goods they sold, as well as upon the goods they bought; and we may be sure, that, in doing this, they considered their own profit sufficiently; so that whatever the balance might be between *Portugal* and other countries, we may rest satisfied, that at this time it was highly in favour of *Europe*, whatever it has been since<sup>b</sup>.

*The concerns of the Portuguese in the Indies decline from the death of John III.* THE minority which followed on the death of King John the Third of *Portugal* was very detrimental to the affairs of that kingdom in *Europe*, and still more so in the *East Indies*, where the viceroys were no longer obeyed with the usual cheerfulness and punctuality; but, on the contrary, every governor began in some measure to set up for himself, and to endeavour to raise a vast fortune within the short space of time allotted to his administration. This occasioned plots, insurrections, and wars, with many of the *Indian* princes; in con-

<sup>a</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, l. iv. c. 10. 12. <sup>b</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. iii. p. 35.

sequence of which, *Goa* and *Chaul* were besieged, one six months, and the other nine, by almost the whole force of the *Indies* \*. Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, being informed of this, was very desirous of going in person to the relief of those places, and was, with great difficulty, dissuaded. It might, perhaps, have been as well, if he had been suffered to take that step, since, to divert him from it, it was found necessary to engage him in that fatal expedition to *Africa*, which produced the destruction of himself, and of his subjects. The *Portuguese* in the *Indies* defended themselves, however, with so much bravery and resolution, that they preserved both those fortresses, and forced their enemies to rise from before them, with very great loss. But this was the last great effort of their strength, by which also it was exceedingly weakened, and from thence the declension of their power has been generally and very justly dated. But, as their empire rose by degrees; as the foundations of it had been laid very deep; as their establishments were numerous, and some of them very strong; and as a long course of prosperity had drawn multitudes of people into those parts of the world, and consequently into their service; so it may be well supposed, that such a structure could not fall at once, but must sink and crumble by degrees; and that as there were many fortunate circumstances which contributed to the happy progress of their power, so there must have been likewise a strong concurrence of different causes, to bring on a total declension of their affairs, the principal of which, we shall endeavour, by the assistance of the best authors, to discover, and describe †.

A. D.  
1572.

THE misfortune of *Portugal* being united to the kingdom of *Spain*, after the death of Cardinal *Henry*, uncle to King *Sebastian*, gave a terrible blow to their force in the *Indies*, by the introduction of those changes which naturally follow such a revolution in government, by the neglect which quickly ensued, of sending the usual supplies, and keeping up the royal fleet at *Goa*, and the several squadrons stationed upon the coasts of the different countries in their possession; and, above all, by that general relaxation of discipline, which quickly ensued (H) ‡. Another cause was, the general corruption

\* EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas*, lib. v. cap. 1. † Les États, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 329. ‡ GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. iii. p. 36, 37, 38, 39.

(H) This great change happened in the *Indies*, in 1581, where Don *Lewis d'Aleida* was viceroy, but worn out with age, infirmities,

ruption of manners, which immense wealth, absolute power, and excessive luxury, introduced amongst all ranks and degrees of people in the *Indies*; so that the sincere piety, the generous courage, and indefatigable spirit and diligence, which made the original conquerors appear more than men, evaporated intirely; infomuch, that their successors became indolent, debauched, and effeminate, to a degree which we should rather the reader would conceive, than expect us to describe. We may add to this, that their boundless thirst of dominion prompted them to make so many settlements, and some of these at so great a distance, that their force, though great in itself, if it could have been, as occasion required, collected together, was, by this ill management, so extenuated, as to become incapable of making a vigorous defence, more especially when attacked in several places at the same time <sup>f</sup>.

But more particularly by their oppressing the natives, and the invasion of the Dutch.

By the ill usage they gave the natives, by that restless impetuosity with which they laboured to find an entrance into every country, and by that obstinacy with which they persisted in driving out the *Moors*, *Arabs*, and *Negroes*, wherever they were able, they raised a general and implacable spirit of hatred against them, throughout the whole *Indies*; which causes taken together, without doubt would have been strong enough to have weakened and reduced them in time, if the last and more immediate source of their destruction had not broke out as it did. This was the coming of the *Dutch* into the *Indies*, after *Philip* the second had, by an

<sup>f</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA *Epitome de las Historias Portugesas*, lib. v. cap. 6.

infirmities, and care, breathed his last, before any step was taken for acknowledging a new prince, by which the government devolved upon Don *Ferdinand Telles de Meneses*, who, in hopes of making his court to his new master, caused *Philip* the second to be proclaimed, and acknowledged, through the whole extent of his government. As it was impossible for King *Philip* to foresee this, he had taken care to send Don *Francisco Mascarenhas* with the title

of viceroy, supposing that he would have found Don *Lewis d'Ataïda* alive, and in possession of the government, whom he created count of *Santaren*, that he might the more readily yield his place to the new viceroy. But Don *Francisco* finding the old man dead, and all things previously settled, as well as the king could desire, dispossessed the nobleman, who had taken all this pains, with the prospect of a reward, which he never received (39).

(39) *P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquistes des Portugais*, vol. iv. p. 383, 384.

edict 8, forbid their trading in the ports of *Portugal*; by which he flattered himself, that he should have reduced the *United Provinces*, and by which, on the contrary, he gave them the empire of the *Indies*. For being themselves hardy and necessitous, having all things to hope, and nothing to lose, and having to do with a people divided in their councils, depraved in their manners, and detested by their subjects and neighbours, they soon found the means of fixing themselves in some distant islands; from whence, by continual accession of new comers from the *Low Countries*, partly by force of arms, partly by their intrigues, but chiefly by taking advantage of the errors committed by the *Portuguese*, they supplanted them every-where, and effectually stripped them of their dominions, in far less time than they acquired them.

WE are now to speak more particularly of the places heretofore possessed by the *Portuguese*; when their empire was at its height in the *Indies*; in order to shew precisely the true extent of their power; the real value of their possessions; the nature of the commerce they carried on; the length of time they remained in possession; and the period in which, as well as the nation to whom, most of these places have been lost: in reading which account, if the reader will take to his assistance the map, and consider the nature of the places as he goes along, we may promise him, without fear of disappointing his expectations, a more distinct, clearer, and fuller view, of the *Portuguese Indies*, than is to be met with in any single treatise, notwithstanding that there have been many large volumes published upon this subject. It will, however, be requisite to inform him previously, that, during the flourishing state of the *Portuguese* dominion in *Asia*, the viceroy had five great governments in his disposition, which, in respect to their value and importance, were ranged in the following order (1). First, that of *Mozambique*, on the coast

1 Conquista de las Islas Malucas, par el Licenciado BARTOLOME LEON DE ARGENSOLA, lib. vii.

(1) This division is to be understood of the better part of the-time during which these great dominions were in the possession of the crown of *Portugal*, since they were sometimes thrown into another form, and the whole *Indies* divided into three provinces, with a little dependence upon each other. The crown being frequently apprehensive of the viceroy's having too great a power (40); which apprehensions never

(40) *Voyage des Indes Orientales, par M. Carre, vol. ii. p. 92, 93, 94.*  
ceased,



of *Africa*; next, that of *Malacca*, upon the peninsula of the same name; the third, was that of the citadel and island of *Ormuz*, in the *Persian* gulf; the town and fortress of *Muscat*, on the opposite coast of *Arabia*, was the fourth government; and that of the island of *Ceylon*, the fifth. Besides these, there were many others of less consequence, and yet very considerable, of which we shall speak, in their proper places<sup>b</sup>. It is true, that as *Mozambique* lies on the coast of *Africa*, we might dispense with it here, and refer the description to another part of this work; but, inasmuch as it was always reputed a part of the *Indies*, as the commerce of it was, and still is, of the highest consequence to the *Portuguese*, and as it remains yet in their possession, we think it necessary, for the sake of perspicuity, to begin therewith, and then to proceed to the *Persian* gulf, and the coast of *Arabia*; and from thence regularly, in the order in which places lie, we pass quite through to the *Moluccas*, the town and fortress of *Macao* in *China*, and the possessions which the *Portuguese* formerly had in *Japan*.

*Description of the island of Mozambique, and of its different inhabitants.*

THE island of *Mozambique*, in the latitude of fifteen degrees south, half a mile from the continent, contains about three quarters of a league in length, a quarter in breadth, the whole compass not exceeding a league and a half, with a white shore. It extends south and north, along the main land; between which, and this isle and fort, appears the bay, serving for a convenient haven, land-locked from all winds, being very large, and carrying eight or ten fathom water; within a stone's-throw of which, the ships ride at anchor. The fortress which the *Portuguese* erected here, is a regular square, well fortified with four strong bastions, and by much the most defensible place that was ever in their possession on the coast of *Africa*. It is very certain, that the whole island is well inhabited, but it is not easy to say how those habitations are disposed; for some writers speak of cities, as if there had been two; others reduce these to villages; but the best accounts say, that houses are very thick over the whole island, of which some are strong and well built, others mean and

<sup>b</sup> Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 234.

ceased, till experience taught them, that he had too little; and that the great *Albuquerque* formed a true notion of the proper government of the *Indies*, who advised, that every governor should be called to a strict

account, when his term expired, and be allowed to act as he thought proper, so long as his authority remained; since otherwise he could do but little, and ought not therefore to be accountable for much.

contemptible <sup>1</sup>. The inhabitants are of different nations and religions, some forty or fifty families of *Portuguese*, without the fort, a much larger number of *Mestizes*, some hundreds of *Arabian* families, that are *Mohammedans*, and a great many natives of the continent, of whose religion we have no distinct account, in all, to the number of between three and four thousand <sup>2</sup>. This island was reduced to the obedience of the crown of *Portugal*, at the entrance of the sixteenth century, and belongs to it still (K).

THE *Dutch* have made several attempts upon it, particularly two; the last time they attempted it, they besieged the fortress thirty-two days, and were at length forced to retire, but carried off a prodigious booty <sup>3</sup>. The climate is very hot and moist, consequently very unwholesome, except to the natives, or such as have been long settled there, The jurisdiction of the governor extends very far along the coasts, to *Sofala* on one side, and to *Melinda* on the other. The islands of *Quirimba* belong likewise to the *Portuguese*, in which the houses are built with stone, and so well secured, that they may pass for forts. There is also a *Portuguese* town upon the river, which falls into the port from the continent, at the distance of ten days rowing and sailing, though they come from thence in five; and to this town the *European* and *Indian* merchandize is carried, and from thence distributed through the countries that lie behind it, some at the distance

*Attempts  
by the  
Dutch un-  
successful.  
1604.  
1606.*

<sup>1</sup> DAPPER Description de l'Afrique, p. 398. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde. P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, tom. i. p. 110. <sup>2</sup> PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 278. <sup>3</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vi. P. 335.

(K) At the time the *Portuguese* came into the *Indies*, this was one of the principal posts in the possession of the *Moors*, who were likewise masters of *Quiloa*, and some other places, by which they flattered themselves, they should be able to secure the trade of the *Indies*; which was the true cause why they left no method untried to betray and destroy *Vasquez da Gama*, in his first voyage. On the other hand, experience having convinced the *Portuguese*, that it was impossible to depend upon these people; and that the possession of these places was of great consequence to them, they attempted, and accomplished, the reduction of them, and have kept them ever since (41).

(41) P. Lafitau Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, tom. i. p. 11.—155. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 297. Ramusio, vol. ii. f. 107.

1640.

of three or four months journey <sup>a</sup>. In former times, it was a common thing for the *Portuguese* governor to raise a fortune, in three years, of half a million of crowns. A very sensible and very ingenuous writer assures us, that, when he was last at *Goa*, the governor of *Mozambique*, who was just returned thither, brought with him to the value of two hundred thousand crowns in ambergris, besides many other rich and valuable commodities. The *Portuguese* fleet sails from *Mozambique* for *Goa* annually, in the month of *August*, and returns thither in *April* <sup>n</sup>.

Of the nature of the commerce of *Mozambique*, its amount, and importance.

THE commerce carried on here consists in gold, of two sorts, that dug out of the mines, and dust gathered out of the rivers; in silver, brought from the mines; in the finest ebony, of which they have whole forests; in ivory, which is excellent, and of which they have great quantities; in slaves, that are esteemed the best in the *East Indies*; in cattle, fowl, palm wine, fruits, and roots. The *European* and *Indian* commodities sent hither, are *Spanish* and *Canary* wines, oil, silks, linens, cottons, coral, shells, and toys; these, as we before observed, are transported up the river *Senna*, and from thence through the continent. The bulk of their riches comes from the mines of *Safala*, which are esteemed to hold more gold than any in the world, since, if the accounts of the *Negroes* may be depended upon, they have produced, for a long series of years past, to the value of a million and a half sterling annually, of which the *Portuguese* had formerly by far the greatest part, and in which they have still a very considerable share; so that, without the support of this commerce, that of *Goa* would have long ago come to nothing. We have therefore no reason to doubt, that, in times of their greatest prosperity, when the *Portuguese* were masters of *Quiloa*, *Mombaza*, and other places, and had a very great force upon all these coasts, they must have drawn from thence prodigious advantages; and even now, they are in possession of all the *European* trade driven hither, which cannot but be of very great value, though much inferior to what it was <sup>o</sup>.

The situation, produce, and high consequence, of the island of *Ormuz*.

THE island of *Ormuz*, together with the city and fortrefs erected thereon, had been long famous in the east, and not altogether unknown to the *Europeans*, before the *Portuguese* penetrated the *Indies*. This island lies in the mouth of the *Persian* gulf, at the distance of five miles, or thereabouts,

<sup>a</sup> DAPPER Description de l'Afrique, p. 401. <sup>n</sup> Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208. <sup>o</sup> Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 675, 676, 677.

from

from the opposite continent. It is of no great extent, those who have described it most accurately allowing it not more than seven miles in circumference. It is, strictly speaking, no better than a rock of salt, the very dust of the country within land being very white and pure, as well as very pungent to the taste. Springs there are none; and when some writers mention small lakes of fresh water therein, we are to understand no more than cavities filled with rain, which, however, falls but seldom in that climate, and when it does, in great quantities, accompanied also with violent tempests. This island was not only inhabited, but had also a good city, and a strong fortress, in which the sultans, or kings of *Ormuz*, resided, who had likewise some dominions, though not of any large extent, upon the continent of *Persia*. It was from its commodious situation, that it became the greatest mart in the east, to which shipping repaired, from all parts of the *Indies*, from the coasts of *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Arabia*, besides a regular trade carried on by caravans cross the country. This made the sultans of *Ormuz* rich and respected, if not great and potent monarchs; and, at proper seasons of the year, there was a prodigious resort of merchants, from all countries, besides factors, that resided constantly there; particularly the *Venetians*, who drove a great trade in jewels transported from thence to *Bassora*, and so by caravans to *Aleppo*, or to *Suez* by sea, then over land, by the *Nile*, to *Alexandria*, where they were delivered to the merchants to whom they were consigned <sup>P</sup> (L).

IT was the known wealth, and prodigious commerce, of Portugal this place, which excited the ambitious *Portuguese* to attempt <sup>guelfe establishment</sup> *there*.

<sup>P</sup> HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, p. 215. *Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde*, p. 209.

(L) We have a chronicle of the same time, much envied. However, if they had been monarchs of great abilities, or had been well served, they might certainly have maintained themselves in a state of independency; but luxury, civil dissensions, and breach of faith, brought them so low, that, at the very same time they paid tribute to the king of *Persia*, they were subjects and vassals to the crown of *Portugal* (42).

(42) *Voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, premiere partie, cap. 23.*

A. D.  
1506.

the conquest of it, which, how they achieved, we have already shewn. As it was not for their interest, they did not deprive the sultan either of his title or of his dominions, but were content he should retain the one, and pay a tribute for the other. They were, however, the absolute masters of the town and citadel. The former stood upon the sea-coast, and consisted of about three thousand houses. The settled inhabitants were, for the most part, *Arabians*, *Mohammedans*, and subjects to the sultan; a few *Indians*, who were pagans; and about one hundred families of *Jews*; so that, in all, they were computed at forty thousand souls<sup>9</sup>. The *Portuguese* residing there built very stately houses, gilding all the bars of their doors and windows, and often boasting, that, instead of lead and iron, they would substitute silver and gold. The materials with which they built were no other than the solid salt, which makes, if the expression may be allowed, the soil of the island very durable in that climate, and not unpleasant to the eye. The streets were strait and narrow, and the houses lofty, the better to shade them from the sun. On the roofs they had slight apartments of wood, where they lay in the summer time, and a kind of ventilaters, built of pumice-stone, for the sake of lightness, by the help of which, they admitted fresh air into all the apartments below. Their best rooms were beneath the surface of the street, in which they had baths and fresh water, for themselves, their wives and children, to lie in, during the summer heats, more excessive here than in any other part of the known world, the opposite continent only excepted. The *Portuguese* built also a most stately church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, which served not only for devotion, but for their recreation likewise, of which walking in the cool and shady cloisters was the chief<sup>r</sup>.

The great  
strength of  
the island,  
and the ci-  
tadel com-  
manding  
it.

THE fortress, or citadel, built on a point of land extending towards the *Persian* coast, was regular, beautiful, and very strong, furnished, by degrees, with no less than three hundred pieces of cannon. The sultan had his palace in a fine plain, with some pavilions and pleasure-houses near it, and among them a small tuft of palm-trees. The island has two harbours, one on the east, the other on the west side, but neither of them very commodious; so that all ships of a larger burden than six hundred ton were obliged to lie in the bay, at the distance of half a mile from the shore. Between

<sup>9</sup> HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. i. p. 47. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c. <sup>r</sup> Travels of FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO, cap. 4. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c.

the harbours, and, as it were, in the center of the island, there rises a mountain, and, on the summit of that, another smaller and steeper; the lower is composed of salt and sulphur, the upper of salt alone, so pure, that, at a distance, it looks like a great hill covered with snow. Upon this mountain there are still discernable the ruins of certain towers, in one of which, the sultans of *Ormuz* kept their brethren, after they had deprived them of their sight, where they were well attended, and sumptuously entertained<sup>1</sup>. The *Portuguese* had likewise a fortress upon the opposite coast, for the sake of protecting their barks, and other small vessels, the sea being so shallow between the continent and island, as not to admit of ships. The shore all round is covered with a black shining sand, very heavy, and of a surprising lustre. The natives, in the summer-time more especially, in the mornings and evenings, run into the sea, up to their necks; but this the *Europeans* could not do, because it made their skin peel, which obliged them to have recourse to the baths in their vaults, which have been before-mentioned<sup>2</sup>.

It has been very justly observed, that the wealth, the splendour, and concourse of people, not only rendered *Ormuz* the wonder of the world, while in its flourishing condition, but afforded a perpetual memorial of the almost omnipotent power of commerce, in respect to sublunary things; for here, at the trading seasons, which lasted from *January* to *March*, and during the months of *September* and *October*, there was not barely an intercourse between multitudes of busy people, some of whom came, as it were, from the very ends of the earth, to reap the benefit of these conferences, but mirth and pleasure also entertained their votaries here. The salt dust of the streets was concealed, and kept down by neat mats and rich carpets; the beams of the noon-day sun were excluded, by canvas awnings raised over the tops of the houses. The rooms next the streets were adorned with *Indian* cabinets, and piles of the finest porcelain, intermixed with odoriferous dwarf-trees and shrubs, set in gilded vases, elegantly adorned with figures. Camels laden with water were at the corners of every street; the richest wines of *Persia*, the most costly perfumes, and the greatest delicacies of the east, were here poured forth with profusion. And so long as it lasted, which was sometimes for six weeks, it looked

<sup>1</sup> RAMUSIO, tom. i. fol. 187. 292. 338. 388. TAVERNIER, THEVENOT, &c.

<sup>2</sup> PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 414. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, cap. 23.

like a magic scene, diversified with the most opposite appearances; cunning and gravity having the dominion in the exchange; an air of officious politeness appearing every-where in the shops; a kind of haughty and supercilious decorum amongst the *Portuguese* officers, civil and military; an air of wonder and delight amongst the common spectators, and that of transport and joy in the public places; where rope-dancers, mountebanks; jugglers, dancers, and fortune-tellers, displayed their several talents for delusion and deceit. Such, in spite of the frowns of nature, could human industry, directed by art, and supported by trade, render this despicable rock of salt, which remains now as desert and uninviting, as it was then captivating in the eyes of those multitudes who came in the train of avarice, luxury, and curiosity<sup>u</sup>.

*What prodigious sums were raised by the governors of this place, in their short period of power.*

IT is easy to conceive, from this description, that the post of governor of *Ormuz* must have been exceedingly lucrative, more especially in later times, when the governors laid it down as a capital maxim, that the principal business they had to do there, was to enrich themselves. To answer this purpose, they took large sums out of the customs paid by all the shipping that entered the port or road of *Ormuz*; they imposed likewise high duties upon the pearl-fishery at the island of *Baharen*; the barks from the coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, though freighted only with necessaries, paid mighty sums every year, from the great consumption of all things made, as well by strangers as inhabitants. The governor claimed a privilege of sending his own vessels to *Goa*, *Chaul*, *Bengala*, and *Muscat*; and, that his profit upon their cargoes might be the more considerable, the market was not opened to private merchants, till the governor had purchased a lading for his ships<sup>x</sup>. It is said, there was no such article, as this in the governor's instructions; but it was one of those precedents which, being once boldly set, was ever after faithfully copied. Add to all this, the exclusive power of selling horses throughout the bounds of his jurisdiction, which must have come to a great sum, since they were generally valued at four or five thousand crowns a-piece. The caravans from *Aleppo* set out twice a year, in the months of *April* and *September*, for *Bassora*; with a vast number of camels, escorted by janissaries, and from thence themselves and their merchandize were easily transported by sea to *Ormuz*. These caravans consisted of

<sup>u</sup> RAMUSIO, tom. i. fol. 388. Essai sur le Marine, et sur le Commerce, p. 184, 185, 186. <sup>x</sup> HAKLUYF's Voyages, p. 215. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

from two or three to five or six thousand persons, and the wealth they brought was prodigious. On the other hand, the regular trade from *Malacca*, private ships from all parts of the *Indies*, and the caravans that passed through the provinces of *Persia*, brought likewise the richest and most valuable commodities, in vast quantities; neither could any of these be bought or sold, but the governor of *Ormuz*, and his dependents, would be gainers by them, more or less, as well as their owners. One would have thought, that the value of this place being so thoroughly understood, and the security of it being so well provided for, there should have been but little fear of its being lost; more especially, at a time when their own power was so very great, and that of their enemies, reckoned singly, very inconsiderable (M).

BUT the influence of prosperity made all the precautions taken in those times; when prudence and public spirit prevailed, altogether fruitless. The famous *Persian* monarch, *Shah Abbas*, had long meditated the conquest of this important place; but, for want of a naval force, found it altogether impracticable. The *Portuguese*, now under the dominion of *Spain*, supplied him with a fleet, by their indiscretion, which all the power of his monarchy could not have raised, or his policy obtained. In short, they quarrelled with, and insulted, the *English*, who were become lately considerable in the *Indies*. They entered into a treaty with

*The Persians, in conjunction with the English, attack the island by sea and land.*

V Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, cap. 23. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez, du Monde, p. 207, 208.

(M) The last king of *Ormuz*, whose name was *Mabmut*, wrote a letter, which is still extant, to the king of *Spain*, not long before the destruction of the island, in which he gave him a very full and fair account of those errors in government, which were like to bring upon his subjects, as well as those of the king of *Spain*, total destruction. In that epistle, he observes, that the pride of his officers increased, in proportion as they lost their power: that, in former times, a governor was very well content, if he carried away thirty thousand crusadoes at the conclusion of his term; whereas two hundred thousand would scarce satisfy them at that time; and, to obtain this money, they made use of the king's ships and men to carry on their commerce as merchants, by which the island was left without defence (43). This letter, when *Ormuz* was taken by the *Persians*, fell into the hands of the *English*, and plainly shews, that this unfortunate prince deserved a better fate.

(43) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1802.



the *Persian*, from certain motives, and upon certain terms, of which an account will be given in a subsequent section, furnished a squadron of nine sail, with which they blocked up, and battered, the city and castle, and landed an army of three thousand *Persians* on the island. The besieged had a great strength, and a good fleet, but all was very ill managed. The city surrendered soon, some writers suggest, through treachery, but it seems to have been rather through indiscretion and folly. The fleet was, for the most part, burnt and destroyed. After all, the citadel made a good defence, and might have been preserved, if the governor had not been obstinate, in refusing to let the sea through the peninsula, which joined the point of land upon which the fortrefs stood, to the island, because it was an expedient that did not occur first to himself. In fine, after about two months dispute, the garrison of that important place capitulated with the *English*. And thus, after remaining in their hands almost one hundred and twenty years, *Ormuz* was lost by the *Portuguese* <sup>z</sup> (N).

A. D.  
1622.  
*What immense riches were acquired by the plunder of this celebrated emporium.*

It was computed, that, exclusive of jewels, and rich merchandize, the plunder, and ready money, amounted to above two millions. The articles of the capitulation were but ill observed, the *Persian* executing his treaty as indifferently; so that the *English* were far from having their full share of the booty; and what they had did them very little good, most, if not all of it, perishing at sea. The *Portuguese* made an attempt for the recovery of *Ormuz*, in which

<sup>z</sup> PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1787. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, premiere partie, cap. 23.

(N) It appears, from their own relations, that it was partly fear, and partly a desire of sharing in the plunder, that induced the *English* to engage themselves in this business; and though the *Persians* could have done nothing without them, yet they were but very indifferently treated, while they did every thing for them; and were, at last no great gainers, by an enterprize that changed the whole face of affairs in, those parts,

and put the *Persian* monarchs in possession of all they could desire, at the same time that it gave such a blow to the power of the *Portuguese*, as they could never recover, distressing them as much on this side, as they were distressed on the other by the *Dutch*; with this difference, that the latter kept what they got, whereas the former gave all to the *Persians*, and remained themselves at their mercy (44).

(44) See Mr. Monoxe's large Account of the Taking of *Ormuz*, in the second volume of Purchas's Pilgrims.

they

they might have been successful, if the viceroy at Goa had not, through want of capacity, indolence, or a pique, to the officer who commanded in that expedition, failed as much in his duty as the governor of Ormuz had done. After it once fell into the hands of the *Persians*, the place was quickly ruined, and the trade transferred to *Bander Abbassi*, or *Gambron*. In process of time, the *Dutch* coming into these seas, carried off the materials of the city, under pretence of taking in ballast, which turned to very good account, till, at length, it was forbid by the *Persians*, when it was too late. A garrison was kept in the citadel for some time; but, by degrees, that is likewise fallen into ruin, the island utterly deserted, and scarce the smallest remains are now left, to vindicate the records of history, or to prove, that this was once a place of such mighty consequence, and the capital magazine of the whole east<sup>a</sup>.

## S E C T. VI.

*The same Subject continued, with an Account of their Settlements at Muscat, Diu, Daman, Chaoul, Onor, Cananor, Calicut, Cranganor, and Choulán; their Disappointment at the Maldives; their lucrative Fishery at Tutocorin; with their Establishments at Negapatan, Meliapour, and Malacca.*

THE next government in the *Portuguese Indies*, was that *An account of Mascat*, as some write it, but as we generally spell of the *Portuguese*, *Muskat*, a very famous town in *Arabia the Happy*. It is situated between the capes of *Raz al Gate* and *Moccandon*, in twenty-three degrees thirty minutes north latitude, exactly under the tropic of *Cancer*, about three miles in its circumference, built at the bottom of a small bay, encompassed with high rocky mountains, and guarded with a strong wall. Besides, it is fortified with five or six castles and batteries, and lies very convenient for trade, on account of its excellent harbour. Before the *Portuguese* arrived in the *Indies*, there was a great resort of merchants hither; and the town, though not so large and well built, was one of the most considerable upon the coast, and was subject, or at least tributary, to the kings of *Ormuz*, who had a custom-house and proper officers there, who had the charge of receiving the

<sup>a</sup> Travels of PETER DELLA VALLE into the East Indies, p. 5. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1793. Voyages de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, première partie, cap. 23.

duties arising from the pearl-fishery on the coast of the island of *Baharan*, which were estimated at half a million of ducats. The great *Albuquerque* summoned, and obliged this place to submit, in the year 1507; but a body of two thousand *Arabs* getting into the town, immediately raised an insurrection, in spite of all the care the governor could take to keep them quiet; upon which a bloody and obstinate action ensued, ending in a complete victory gained by the *Portuguese*<sup>b</sup>. The governor lost his life in this dispute; but *Albuquerque* did all imaginable justice to his innocence, and protected his family in their possessions. The grandeur of *Ormuz* caused some decay in the trade of this place; for which ample amends was made, after the destruction of that city, when the port of *Muskat* became the prime mart of this part of the world, and thereby produced very great advantages to the crown of *Portugal*, exclusive of the prodigious private fortunes made by the governors<sup>c</sup>, and other officers, while they remained in possession (O).

*Improvements made by them; and how they were dispossessed by the natives.*

It is very certain, that, during that space, the city of *Muskat* was very much improved; for, besides regular fortifications, they erected a stately church, a noble college, and many other public structures, as well as very fine stone houses, in which the principal merchants resided, and those who, by the management of public affairs, had acquired wherewithal to live at their ease. In process of time, however, they began to treat the natives so ill, and to put their commerce under so many difficulties, that at length, despairing of redress any other way, they had recourse to arms; and though it is on all hands allowed, that the subjects of *Portugal* defended themselves very gallantly, yet, in the end, they were reduced

<sup>b</sup> *MARÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. iii. cap. 8.*    <sup>c</sup> *Les États, Empires, et Principautés, du Monde, p. 252.*

(O) As the disinterestedness and public spirit of the first *Portuguese* conquerors, had raised their empire to a surprising height, in a short space of time; so, when once their governors came to have no regard for the public, but to be intirely influenced by their private views, every thing fell into confusion; and those who were before terrified at the thoughts of

offending them, began to contrive and accomplish their ruin with equal facility; and as their governors rarely thought it incumbent upon them to hazard any thing in support of each other, their places fell by degrees, till at last they became despicable, even in the eyes of those nations to whom they had been once so terrible (45).

(45) *Guyon Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 39.*

to such extremities, as to be glad to embark themselves and their best effects on board their ships in the port, with which they retired to their other settlements. This was about the year 1648 : but the war did not end here ; they made frequent attempts to recover a place of such importance, sometimes by force, sometimes by negotiation, but without effect. It is true, that for many years they disturbed the trade of this place ; but that too became disadvantageous in the end : for by degrees it made the *Arabians* expert seamen, excellent in the use of fire-arms, and raised them a considerable maritime force. The sovereign of this country is at present master of all the coast from *Raz-al-Gate* to *Al-katiff*, which is an extent of five hundred miles. His capital is *Nazura*, and *Muskat* is intrusted to the care of a governor, who has very extensive powers<sup>a</sup>.

As this is at present by much the most considerable port for trade in this part of the world, it may not be amiss to dwell upon some farther particulars. The climate is excessively hot in summer ; which was formerly held not a little strange, on account of its lying at the extremity of the torrid zone ; but modern philosophers are no longer at a loss for the true causes of this excessive heat, or under any difficulty in conceiving that it may, and indeed must, be hotter under the tropics than under the line itself. The mountains that lie at the back of the city are bare and barren ; but the valleys are fresh and fruitful, notwithstanding that it does not rain above twice or thrice in as many years ; but the dew which falls in the night supplies the herbs with moisture, and the fruits with the richest juices. They have oranges, lemons, grapes, apricots, and peaches, in abundance ; but what they value much more than any of these, and therefore cultivate vast orchards of them, are dates, exquisite in taste, and of which they have such plenty, that they export many cargoes every year. Roots they have and herbs in great quantities, and in the highest perfection ; neither do they want cattle, fowl, or fish. In a word, it is a fine and fertile country, considered distinctly ; but, in comparison of the rest of *Arabia*, it is a perfect paradise ; and, if we were to give intire credit to modern travellers, we should go near to add, that it is inhabited by angels<sup>c</sup>.

THE people indeed have embraced the religion of *Moham-* *Authors of*  
*med* ; but have not only cancelled whatever seems to favour *all coun-*

<sup>a</sup> OVINGTON'S Voyage to Surat, p. 420.      <sup>c</sup> HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 7. OVINGTON'S Voyage to Surat. p. 420.

*trier have highly com- mended the inhabitants of the city of Mafcat.* of sensuality in the Khoran, but have also refined upon the morality contained therein to such a degree, that Christian writers, and those too of different nations, describe them as the most uncorrupt, and at the same time the most polite, people in the east. They not only refrain from wine and spirits, but from coffee and tea, as liquors drank to delight the palate rather than to answer the necessities of nature, for which plain water or sherbet is in their opinions sufficient. The same temperance is observed in eating, and in every thing else; and, with respect to lewdness and debauchery, they are not punished, because they are not known. Robberies are never heard of; and their policy is so exact, that never any necessity is felt capable of exciting men to steal. Their heads are always so cool, that strangers deal with them without trouble: they do strict justice without severity; and, where men's misfortunes make charity a virtue, it has no other measure than that of their need. These are qualities that attract reverence and affection, and at the same time establish a confidence which is the very soul of trade. All mercantile transactions are carried on in the day-time: no bargain can be made, no boat can go on shore, after sun-set. These circumstances may appear incredible; but they are supported by good authorities, neither have they been contradicted<sup>f</sup>.

*A description of the island and fortress of Diu, with some account of the great importance of that post.*

THE island of *Diu* lies at the entrance of the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the latitude of twenty-two degrees twenty minutes, and at the distance of two hundred leagues from *Cape Comorin*. We shall in this place give only a short description of the country, the city, and the fortress; for, as it is still in the hands of the *Portuguese*, it will be more particularly insisted upon at the close of the chapter. The island, or rather peninsula, upon which the city stands, is about a league in length, and about a quarter of a league in breadth<sup>g</sup>. The city is but small, yet well built, and thoroughly fortified, exclusive of the three forts raised for its defence, two of which are very strong, and the third is held impregnable. When the *Portuguese* empire was in its prosperity; and before *Cambaya* and *Surat* were grown into reputation, it was a place of very great trade, and the port always full of ships; and, notwithstanding it has been long in a state of gradual decay, it still holds up its head; and though the merchants that reside there are fewer in number, and do not make quite so great a figure as they did, yet they are still in a tolerable

<sup>f</sup> Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 705. HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 7. OVERTON's Voyage to Surat, p. 420.

<sup>g</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 7.

condition; and, knowing how much their security depends upon the strength of the garrison, and the good condition of the works, they very chearfully contribute to the pay of the one, and to the support of the other. The narrow district that lies without supplies them tolerably with provisions, which they are so wise as to sell very cheap to the crews of such ships as put in here for refreshments; and have by that means preserved several branches of commerce that would have been otherwise lost. They have for the most part likewise a good correspondence with the people of *Guzurat*; who, finding their magazines and shops well supplied with *European* goods, and lying as it were just at their doors, commonly prefer this to more distant markets<sup>b</sup>. For these, and for some other reasons which will appear in their proper place, *Diu* is looked upon as one of the most important fortresses, yet remaining to the crown of *Portugal*, in the *Indies*, at the entrance of which it lies, and of which there are some writers who style it the key. This is very certain, that some very good judges of the commerce in this part of the world have considered the place we are now describing as the fittest for a general mart, and capable, if in the hands of an enterprising power, of being raised to as high a degree of riches and magnificence as *Ormuz* was in times past<sup>i</sup> (P).

<sup>b</sup> HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 140, 141.

<sup>i</sup> Dictionaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 778.

(P) It appears from hence of how great consequence a very few fortresses, well situated, in a good condition, and thoroughly supplied, might be towards carrying on the commerce of the *Indies*, without the trouble, expence, or danger, of extensive conquests. The great *Albuquerque* judged this to be the most effectual method of preserving the *Indies*, believing that six or seven strong places besides *Goa*, which he meant should be their capital settlement, would have maintained their power in the east, without exhausting *Portugal* of people, or rendering their dominions so extensive, as to make a strict and regular government a thing impracticable.

Amongst other events that have rendered this place famous, may be reckoned the surprisal of it by the *Muskat Arabs* in 1670, who entered it in the night, thro' the carelessness of the *Portuguese*, and plundered it without mercy; the governor of the citadel keeping close within his fortress, receiving all who fled thither, but gave the enemy no disturbance. This rendered them secure and negligent; which the governor expected, and thereupon proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who would fall upon them, by which they were driven out of the town, with the loss of upwards of a thousand men (46).

(46) Hamilton's Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 140.

1559.  
The fort-  
ress of Da-  
man de-  
scribed,  
which still  
remains to  
the Portu-  
guese.

THE first place on the continent of the *Indies* called the peninsula without the *Ganges*, belonging to the *Portuguese*, is *Daman*, situated on a peninsula at the mouth of the gulph of *Cambaya*, in the latitude of twenty-one degrees, at an equal distance between *Surat* and *Bassaim*. The *Portuguese* became masters of it early; and fortified it regularly<sup>k</sup>. The city is large, and was formerly very populous: the port is but indifferent; but the citadel is reputed one of the best fortresses in the *Indies*. There is still some trade carried on here, more especially in corn and rice. Some old families are rich; and, the place having remained so long in the hands of the *Portuguese*, they have never wanted a sufficient force to defend it when attacked, which is the reason that it remains in their hands at this time<sup>l</sup>. When the famous emperor of the *Indies*, *Aurengzebe*, came before it with an army of forty thousand men: he flattered himself with the hopes of driving the *Europeans* out of his dominions; but this siege made him intirely alter his notions. It was defended by an old officer, who had under him three of his sons, and a garrison of eight hundred men. The *Mogul*, having made some progress with his artillery, determined to make a general assault on a *Sunday* morning, about break of day. The governor had intelligence of this, and resolved to save him the labour. About half an hour after midnight he made a sally, with six hundred men, upon the strongest post in the *Indian* army, where all the elephants were kept: he began with throwing in a vast quantity of different kinds of fire-works, and immediately after ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound. The elephants, frightened with the noise and the light, broke loose, and turned upon their own army. The confusion this began was increased by the *Portuguese*, of whom two hundred were horse, and did great execution. In short, the *Mogul*, having lost half his men, and all his artillery, retired with much precipitation; and made it thenceforward one of his maxims not to attack *Europeans* any more<sup>m</sup>. Not far from hence lay *Bombay*, one of the best ports they had; which being given to the *English*, as part of the marriage-portion of the Infanta *Catherine*, there is no necessity of our dwelling upon it longer here.

As ac-  
count of the

THE city of *Chaoul* stands in the latitude of eighteen degrees thirty minutes: it is very well situated, and has a very

<sup>k</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portuguais*, vol. iv. p. 200.

<sup>l</sup> Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, by BALDÆUS, c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 239.

spacious port or bay, the entrance of which, however, is a *fortress of* little difficult. The *Portuguese* took it in 1507, and im-Chaoul, proved it prodigiously. About it lies a *Moorish* town, the *and its im-* inhabitants of which are dependent on the *Portuguese* govern-*portance to* ment<sup>a</sup>. There are more rich merchants left here than in *the crown* any place that yet owns obedience to the crown of *Portugal*. *of Portu-*

A great many, and those very excellent, silk manufactures, are made here, and a considerable trade carried on in spices; some ships annually resort hither from *China*; and that spirit of diligence and industry, for which the *Portuguese* were formerly remarkable, still subsists here. There are several villages under its jurisdiction; and, the adjacent country being extremely fruitful, their farms and plantations turn to a very good account, as they supply all the neighbouring settlements, and part of the *Mogul's* dominions, with horses, black cattle, grain, and fruits<sup>o</sup>. We shall speak of *Goa* at the very close of this chapter, when we come to represent the present state of the affairs of the *Portuguese* in this part of the world.

*ONOR*, in the latitude of thirteen degrees thirty minutes, *The king-* was the capital of a kingdom when the *Portuguese* came *dom and* into these parts, who first owned the prince of it for their *fortress of* ally, and afterwards made him their subject. They built a *Onor re-* good fort there to maintain their power, and to secure the *duced, lost,* pepper-trade, what is found there being reputed the best in *yet still in-* the *Indies*<sup>p</sup>. This fortress being very strong, made the *Portuguese* more careless about it than they ought to have *the Portu-* been, which induced the natives of the country, at the persuasion, and with the assistance, of the *Dutch*, to attack and make themselves masters of it, by which they were enabled to shake off the yoke, and have been free ever since. There are, however, a great number of *Portuguese* inhabitants, who still live there in peace and safety; and, if they are not extremely rich, they are at least quiet and content<sup>q</sup>.

*CANANOR*, of which so much has been already said, is *Strength,* at this day a large and populous city, inhabited chiefly by *trade, and* *Mohammedans*, who carry on a very considerable trade. We *import-* have shewn how the *Portuguese* came to erect a very strong *ance, of the* fortress here, by which they became intire masters of the *city of Ca-* commerce; and, if it had been as well fortified towards the *nanor, and* land as it was towards the sea, it had still remained in all pro-*present* *state of* *that place.*

<sup>a</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 191. 300. <sup>o</sup> GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, tom. ii.

p. 67. Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde, p. 212.

<sup>p</sup> MAFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 6.

<sup>q</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 16.



bability in their power ; but the *Dutch*, with the assistance of the natives, attacked it, and, after the garrison had made a good defence, granted them an honourable capitulation<sup>r</sup>. The rice of this country is in great esteem ; and, besides this, they have sugar, pepper, ginger, and other rich commodities ; so that it is computed not less than two hundred sail of ships arrive annually in the port, which is now open to all the *European* nations that have settlements in the *Indies*.

Calicut  
abandoned  
by the Por-  
tuguese, a  
great  
trade, and  
still in the  
hands of  
the Samo-  
rin.

*CALICUT* was the capital of the *Samorin*, or emperor of *Malabar*, and, as we have shewn, the first port visited by the *Portuguese*, when, by doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, they opened a direct passage by sea to the *Indies*. Here, after long wars, in which many thousands of people were consumed, they erected a strong fort<sup>s</sup>, and were absolute masters of the trade till about the beginning of the last century, when the *Dutch* began to interfere with them, and made a league with the *Samorin*, whom they assisted in his wars against the *Portuguese*, and enabled him more than once to distress them exceedingly ; notwithstanding which, they defended themselves so gallantly, that their enemies were not able to reduce them by force ; but what violence could not effect, was quickly brought about by dissensions amongst themselves ; which threw their affairs into such confusion, that at length they blew up their fort, and abandoned the place to the natives. It still remains a place of great trade, the *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Danes*, having factories there ; and the *bazar*, or market-place, is esteemed the finest in that part of the world<sup>t</sup>. Pepper, fine linens, salt-petre, sweet-scented woods, and rice, are the chief commodities. The sand of the river, which falls into the port, is mixed with grains of very fine gold ; and the poorer inhabitants obtain a subsistence by washing them out, which is very hard labour<sup>u</sup>. If we give credit to the Christian writers of all nations, the *Samorins* are a race of as deceitful and perfidious princes as ever the world produced ; and it is possible that their historians do not give a better character of the Christians with whom they have had any concerns.

The past  
and present  
condition

*CRANGANOR*, the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, was a place where the *Portuguese* had a very strong fort, which obliged the natives to remove their town to

<sup>r</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 85.

<sup>s</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquistes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 223.

<sup>t</sup> BALDÆUS *Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, c. 17.

<sup>u</sup> HAMILTON's *Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 309.

some distance. That belonging to the *Portuguese* was one of the fairest and finest places in the *Indies*, and the chief fortresses residence of the Christians of *St. Thomas*. The *Portuguese* and dis-  
settled here very early; and continued in absolute possession, <sup>tribes of</sup> Cranganor and  
and taken by the *Dutch*, who granted the garrison a good  
capitulation, and transported them to *Portugal*. The king-  
dom of *Cochin* was in the like condition, that is, had two  
capitals, one belonging to the *Portuguese*, and the other to  
the natives. The former, we have shewn, was the first  
place they had in the *Indies*; and the people, whether better  
used, or longer acquainted with the *Portuguese*, remained  
always faithful to them. This place, after a good defence,  
was taken by the *Dutch*, who found it a large well-built  
city, and many public structures in it, some of which are  
now wholly ruined \* (Q).

1504.

1667.

*CHOULAN* is the capital of the last and the least king-  
dom on the coast of *Malabar*, its whole extent being fifteen  
leagues. It was divided into the upper and lower town, the  
former belonging to the natives, and the latter to the *Portu-  
guese*; and a very fine place it was, in which they had several  
monasteries, seven handsome churches, a noble exchange, and  
a stately castle all built of free stone, in which the *Portuguese*  
governor resided. The port was spacious, and safe for small  
vessels, which drew very great trade to the place, rendering  
it very populous, and many of its inhabitants rich. The  
*Dutch* made themselves once masters of it, and could not keep  
it; for the people surprised their garrison, cut their throats,  
and restored it to the *Portuguese*, from whom it was again

*Account of  
the fortress  
and coun-  
try of  
Choulan,  
the last of  
any conse-  
quence on  
the coast of  
Malabar.*

1661.

\* GUYON *Histoire des Indes*, tom. ii. p. 93. \* BALDÆUS  
*Description*, &c. c. 80. † HAMILTON's *Account of the  
East Indies*, vol. i. p. 333.

(Q) At *Cranganor* there was  
antiently a republic of *Jews*,  
who, from records in their own  
possession, engraven upon cop-  
per-plates, pretended to prove  
they were part of the tribe of  
*Manasseh*. They were once po-  
pulous, powerful, and masters  
of the country; but the last ac-  
counts of them represent them  
as few, weak, and necessitous;  
however, they have a synagogue,  
and adhere very strictly to the  
law of *Moses*. The *Portuguese*  
city of *Cochin* was built on the  
side of the river, three leagues  
distant from the sea, but at pre-  
sent it is not above one hundred  
yards from it. So pleasant and  
so plentiful a place it was in the  
time of their prosperity, that it  
was a common proverb, *China*  
is the best place to get, and *Co-  
chin* to spend, money in (48).

(48) *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 323, 324

taken,

taken, after a long and bloody siege; since which it is much decayed, and many marks of its former magnificence reduced to ruins<sup>a</sup>. This is the last place of any great consequence between the river *Indus* and *Cape Commorin*, which is the point that terminates the peninsula that was formerly in the hands of the *Portuguese*, of whom it may be truly said, that if they had built fewer and larger fortresses, and had been as studious to repress luxury as they were to reduce the natives, they might have retained much longer that empire, the acquisition of which does so much honour both to their courage and conduct.

*The Portuguese, received, build a fort by permission; but, growing insolent, are expelled the Maldives.*

THE *Maldives* are so situated, that it was impossible the *Portuguese* should be for any time settled in the *Indies* without being acquainted with them, since the most northern of these islands lie but fifty leagues from *Cape Comorin*. They extend from eight degrees of north latitude to four degrees of south in length, consequently near two hundred leagues; but they are not above thirty or thirty-five leagues in breadth, in any part of the *Archipelago*<sup>a</sup>. Within this space are contained a prodigious number of islands; so that even in the time of *Ptolemy*, that is, in the second century, there were accounted upwards of thirteen hundred; but the inhabitants maintain, that a small part of them only were then known; for their sovereign takes the title of sultan of the *Maldives*, king of thirteen provinces and twelve thousand isles<sup>b</sup>. There is in this, without doubt, a mixture of that pomp and ostentation which are so common in the east; but there are unquestionably many more than the antients knew under this monarch's dominion. Admiral *Suarez* discovered them in 1507; and he made an alliance with their king, which was confirmed by *Sequeria*, who demanded leave to build a fort upon the isle of *Male*, the largest of them, and the chief city of the same name is the capital of their monarchy, which is antient, rich, and powerful<sup>c</sup>. *John Gomez*, who was sent thither for this purpose, met with a favourable reception, and, by dint of presents, prevailed upon the king to agree to his demand. He built this fort of wood, there not being either stone or lime in the island. It was extremely well situated, and commanded the port, so that it might have been of great service to the *Portuguese* if he had behaved as became him; but no sooner was the fort finished, than, presuming on

<sup>a</sup> BALDÆUS Description, &c. c. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Voyage aux Indes, par MANDELSLO, p. 284. PTOLOMÆI Geogr. lib. viii.

<sup>c</sup> GUYON Histoire des Indes, vol. ii. p. 187.

<sup>d</sup> P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 297.

the terror of the *Portuguese* name, he began to lord it over all the strangers that traded thither, though his garrison consisted but of seventeen men; which occasioned a conspiracy of the *Mohammedans* against him, who attacked him when he expected it least, and cut off him and all his people to a man, levelling the fort with the ground. The *Portuguese* were never afterwards able to obtain any establishment in the *Maldives*, which is the reason that several of their authors treat them as pitiful places, and their inhabitants as a base and barbarous people, contrary however to truth and experience<sup>d</sup> (R).

BEFORE we can speak with propriety of the noble island of *Ceylon*, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the advantages drawn by the *Portuguese* from their being lords of the sea between that island and the coast of the continent; but we must desire the reader to observe, that, in what we deliver upon this subject, we confine ourselves intirely to that period in which it belonged to this nation, things being very much altered since the property, or, as they are pleased to style it, the protection, of these seas, fell into the hands of the *Dutch*. At the time the *Portuguese* were masters in these parts, the taking of oysters in this streight (having the coasts

*An account of the celestated pearl-fishery at Tutocorin, opposite to Ceylon.*

<sup>d</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vii. cap. 7.

(R) It will be proper to acquaint the reader with two things relative to these islands, which are singular in their kind: the first is, that the *Dutch*, who now carry on in a great measure the commerce of these islands, find it extremely profitable, as purchasing at a very low price, and almost in what quantities they please, the finest cowries in the world, which pass for ready money in some nations, particularly on the coast of *Guinea* (49). The other is, that the cocos of the *Maldives*, of which so many useful manufactures are made, and of which such high commendations are to be met with in several authors (50), as if it grew no-where in such perfec-

tion as in these islands, is in reality a different species of that fruit, which does not grow but in the *Maldives*; yet the nuts are not eatable, as is commonly reported, but medicinal, and in that respect highly esteemed; more especially in the cure of fevers and of poisons. A modern writer describes it thus from his own knowledge: "Of that tree (says he) they build vessels of twenty or thirty tons; their hulls, masts, sails, rigging, anchors, cables, provisions, and firing, are all from this useful tree. It also affords them oil for their kitchen and lamps, sugar, and candied sweetmeats, and a pretty strong cloth" (51).

(49) *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. F49.

*M. S. Memoir of Mr. Garein.*

vol. i. p. 349.

(50) From a

(51) *Hamilton's Account of the East Indies*,

of the kingdom of *Madura* on the north, and the islands lying between *Ceylon* and the main on the south) was styled, by way of excellence, **THE FISHERY**, and very deservedly; for, though some prefer the pearls taken near the island of *Baharan* in the *Persian* gulph, and those likewise found on the coast of *China* at *Hainan*, yet it might be very easily proved, from the comparison of the annual amount of those fisheries within this period, that they were very seldom superior to this of which we are speaking\*. It was one of the wisest points in the *Portuguese* policy, that, tho' they were really in full possession of this beneficial commerce, yet they chose to dissemble it, and took all imaginable precautions in order to make the natives believe that they were perfectly free, and that their interposition was not so much the effects of authority as of good-will; it was for this reason that they never pretended to erect any fort either at *Futucorin* or at *Calipatnam*, two towns upon the continent, from whence most of the fishers and their barks came, and that they suffered the antient customs to take place†.

THE season of the fishery was the latter end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, sometimes sooner, sometimes later, according to the weather. The direction of it was left intirely to the sovereign of the country, called the *Naik*; and the *Portuguese*, in quality of the protectors of the sea, sent two frigates to defend the fishing-vessels from the *Malabar* and *Maldivé* pirates. The time which this pearl-fishing lasted was about a fortnight, of the beginning of which the *Naik* gave public notice; and, the day being come, there repaired to the place assigned several thousands of people of all sexes and ages, and an indefinite number of fishing-vessels, and divers from five or six hundred to a thousand or more. Upon a signal given, the boats put to sea; and, having chose their proper stations, the divers plunged, and brought up the oysters in little baskets upon their heads; with which the boats being sufficiently laden, they were carried on shore, where the people who remained there for that purpose buried them in the sand, till, by the heat of the sun, the fish was corrupted and consumed, and the pearls easily taken out. The whole product of the first day's fishery belonged to the *Naik*; and, after that, what was caught every day was separated, and particularly distinguished, but went to the common profit. The whole number of people employed at sea and on shore amounted frequently to fifty or sixty thousand souls; and the

\* *Histoire natur. des Indes* de JOSEPH ACOSTA, l. iv. c. 15.

† *Voyage* de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 362.

pavilions and tents set up for their accommodation made a fine appearance at a distance. When the pearls were extracted, cleaned, and dried, they passed them through a kind of sieves, by which their sizes were distinguished. When all was over, the *Naik* appointed a time and place for the public market; in consequence of which there was a kind of fair, that lasted commonly from the close of *June* till the beginning of *September*. The smallest, which are what we call seed-pearl, was sold by weight; and all the rest according to their respective sizes and beauty, from a few shillings up to ten or twenty pounds, and sometimes more, apiece; but there were few buyers, except the *Portuguese* merchants, who, bringing ready money, had good bargains, and thus all parties were pleased<sup>s</sup>. The *Portuguese* assumed the protection of this fishery very soon after they settled in the *Indies*, and held it till the year 1658, when, in consequence of their losses in *Ceylon*, and elsewhere, it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who have remained in possession of it ever since<sup>h</sup> (S).

<sup>s</sup> Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 787.

<sup>h</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 22.

(S) The *Dutch* have changed this method, as we are informed by a person very well acquainted with their affairs; the course into which they have put it is, in few words, this: The camp is sometimes held on the coast of *Madura*, upon the continent; sometimes on the island of *Manar*, which is in the hands of the *Dutch*, who, notwithstanding, follow the example of the *Portuguese*, and lay claim to no higher title than that of protectors of the fishery, in which quality their commissary is ever in the camp, as well as the *Naik*, or sovereign of the country, who is also the *Rajah* of *Tanjour*. The oysters caught every day are put up in tuns or barrels, of which when a certain number are full, they put them up to sale by way of auction; and the merchants bid according as they have an opinion of the year, that is, of the state of the oysters for the season; but the middle price is between thirty or forty shillings sterling per cask. When a merchant has bought such a lot as this, he carries it to his quarters; and, after a certain number of days, he proceeds to opening the oysters, but always in the air, for the stench is so great as to be almost insupportable. They open them over tubs, into which they pour what comes out of the oyster, as also that muddy water that remains in the cask; next they draw it out into cullenders of several sizes, and at length perhaps they find four or five shillings worth of pearls, sometimes to the value of ten or twelve pounds; so that it is a perfect lottery, by which some few becoming rich, it betrays numbers into beggary (52).

(52) From a M. S. Memoir of Mr. Garcia.

Of the  
names, ex-  
tent, condi-  
tion, pro-  
duct, and  
govern-  
ment, of  
Ceylon,  
when dis-  
covered by  
Suarez.

WE come next to that beautiful island which lies beyond the *Maldives*, and to the south of *Cape Commorin*, the name of which, differently written by modern writers, is *Ceylon*, *Ceylan*, or *Ceilon*, called by the inhabitants *Lamca*, which in their language signifies the terrestrial paradise, or holy land, a name given by its first king *Vijia Rajah*, who is supposed to have flourished five hundred years before Christ<sup>1</sup>. It was afterwards called *Ilanara*, or *Tranate*, which is as much as to say the insular kingdom; it was also called *Hibenaro*, or the fertile island; and *Tenarism*, or the country of delight. The *Arabians* call it *Serendib*, or rather *Serendive*<sup>2</sup>. It is by many held to be the largest, and is beyond controversy one of the richest and finest islands, in the world. The *Portuguese* settled here in 1506, under the conduct of *Lawrence Almeyda*, who erected a column with an inscription, testifying that he took possession of that country on behalf of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, because it had no master; though at the very same time he treated with the emperor of *Ceylon*, and promised him the protection of his monarch, in consideration of two thousand five hundred quintals of fine cinnamon, as an annual tribute<sup>1</sup>. In 1520 they built a fort here, and began to settle; and afterwards assumed an absolute power over a great part of the island, under colour of the emperor's will, who made the *Portuguese* heirs of his dominions. The trade they carried on was very considerable; and the commodities they drew from hence were long pepper, fine cotton, ivory, silk, tobacco, ebony, musk, chrystal, salt-petre, sulphur, lead, iron, steel, copper, besides the three capital articles of cinnamon, all kinds of precious stones, except diamonds, and elephants. As soon as the *Dutch* came into the *Indies*, they formed designs of making themselves masters of so valuable a place<sup>m</sup>. They made their first descent in the year 1602, and carried on sometimes open wars, sometimes secret contrivances, against the *Portuguese*, till, in the space of about fifty-five years, they absolutely drove or wormed them out of *Ceylon*, making themselves masters of *Colombo* and *Negombo*, which were the principal places in the island, and of the strong fortress of *Punto Gallo*, which commands the best haven

<sup>1</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 193, 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Anciennes Relations Arabes*, traduites par l'Abbé *RENAUDOT*.

<sup>1</sup> *MAFFEI*, P. i. l. vii. c. 5. P. *LAFITAU* *Histoire des Conquetes Portugais*, tom. ii. p. 307. *BALDÆUS* *Description of the island of Ceylon*, c. 2.

<sup>m</sup> *Recueil des Voyages* qui ont servi à l'Établissement de la Compagnie des *Indes Orientales*, tom. iv. p. 90, 91.

in *Ceylon*. The *Portuguese* held their establishments here for about a hundred and fifty years, under sixteen captain generals, from Don *Pedro Lopez de Sousa*, who was the first, down to Don *Antonio d' Amaral y Menezes*, who was the last<sup>n</sup>. Those best acquainted with the history of the *Indies* in general, and of this island in particular, agree that it was lost, after so long a possession, through the covetousness and pride of the governors, and the luxury, laziness, and cowardice, of the soldiers; which they charge on the inactive administration in *Europe*, that took no care to look into the management of so considerable a settlement, and which brought in so large a revenue to the crown of *Portugal*, till it was too late<sup>o</sup>; a circumstance, surely, that ought to be remembered and considered by every maritime power, and such more particularly as have important colonies, and those at a great distance.

THE first place of note that occurs on the coast of *Coromandel*, that relates to our subject, is *Negapatam*, that is, in the language of the natives, the *City of Serpents*, so called not only because the country behind it is very full of serpents, but likewise on account of a kind of religious respect that is paid them by the natives, who look upon it as a sort of impiety to kill them<sup>p</sup>. At the time of the *Portuguese* coming into the *Indies*, this was very little better than a straggling village, or at most but an open town; but they, quickly perceiving the uses that might be made of it, and more especially how conducive it would be to the security of their trade in the gulph of *Bengal*, not only erected walls, but improved it in other respects to such a degree, that it became a fair and beautiful city, adorned with several fine churches, and a fine college belonging to the *Jesuits*<sup>q</sup>. They held it till they lost the island of *Ceylon*; and it became then a place of such consequence to the *Dutch*, that they practised upon the king, or prince of *Tanjour*, to abandon his old allies the *Portuguese*, and by his assistance became masters of it<sup>r</sup>. The *Portuguese* knew the value of it too well to part with it easily, or to forget the loss of it soon; and therefore they made a great effort to recover it; in which they succeeded; but did not keep it long, for the *Dutch* were now grown so strong in the *Indies*, and had dispossessed the *Portuguese* of

*The state of  
Negapata-  
tan at the  
time it was  
possessed by  
the Portu-  
guese, and  
ever since.*

1658

<sup>n</sup> See this matter treated at large in the next chapter. <sup>o</sup> *Histoire de l'Isle de Ceylon*, par Jean Ribeyro, p. 351, 352. <sup>p</sup> *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. vi. p. 300.

<sup>q</sup> *BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, cap. 22. <sup>r</sup> *GUYON Histoire des Indes*, tom. ii. p. 100.



1662.

Melia-  
pour, or  
St. Tho-  
mas, is  
commonly  
looked on as  
the same  
city, how  
adorned  
and how  
decayed.

so many places, that it was impossible for them to relieve it when besieged; which was the reason that the *Dutch* became masters of it again, and have continued so ever since\*. It is at this time a place of very great trade, though the port is not extraordinary; and almost all the different nations in the *Indies*, *Moors*, *Indians*, *Armenians*, &c. are settled and trade under the protection of the fort (T).

*MELIAPOUR*, which lies ten miles to the north of the *English* settlement at *Fort St. George*; was of old the capital of the kingdom of *Coromandel*; and partly on its ruins, partly in its neighbourhood, the *Portuguese* erected the stately city of *St. Thomas*, or, as it is commonly called, *St. Thome*, which is the reason that, notwithstanding some travellers distinguish between the *Indian* and the *Christian* city, yet most writers consider them as the same place; which, if it be an error, is however not very inexcusable†. It was, and indeed still is, inhabited by weavers and dyers, and noted for making the best coloured stuffs in *India*, which they transport to *Malacca*, *Java*, the *Molucca Islands*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, &c. The excellency and durableness of the dye is attributed to the peculiar quality of the water which arises out of springs in white sandy ground, without any clay. Some think *Meliapour* to be *Ptolemy's Mapoura*‡. It was desolate at the coming of the *Portuguese*, who rebuilt it in 1545; after which it increased to that degree in buildings and inhabitants, that in a few years it was one of the finest cities in the *Indies*. It

\* HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. c. 28.

† GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 119.

‡ Lettres

edifiantes, tom. xii. p. 131.

(T) This town belonged originally, at least so high as we are able to trace it, to the *Naik*, who has been mentioned before; but it may not be amiss to observe, that this is the title of his office, because it lets us into a very curious circumstance, that one could hardly expect to meet with in the *Indies*, as agreeing precisely with the constitution of the *German* empire. All the countries adjacent belonged in times past to a powerful prince,

who was styled the emperor of *Bijnagar*, who distributed the provinces amongst the principal persons of his household. Of these the *Naik*, or cup-bearer, was one; and, in right of that office, was governor of *Tanjour*, where he set up for himself, and became an independent prince, as well as the king of *Golconda*, and others, who, like him, were originally domestics of this emperor (53).

(53) Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier, tom. iii. l. i. c. 10. Lettres édifiantes, tom. xv. p. 135.

is fortified with a stone wall and several bastions, and has above three hundred towns and villages under its jurisdiction. When it was in the hands of the *Portuguese*, it was first subject to the see of *Cochin*, and afterwards made a bishoprick under the archbishop of *Goa*. They had several churches, where the *Mabometans* and pagans were instructed and baptized, besides others, with two monasteries and a college of Jesuits here, where the *Portuguese* and *Malabar* children were instructed. Next to the college was a very large parish, inhabited by none but converts <sup>w</sup>. There is also the famous church of *St. Thomas the Apostle*, who, the *Portuguese* say, was buried here, and pretend to shew his sepulchre on the top of a neighbouring mountain, over which they have built a small chapel, that is seen off at sea. Near the college, upon a pretty high hill, there is another chapel, which they pretend was the apostle's dormitory; and they have adorned that part, where he used to say his prayers, with gilt iron steps. They likewise shew a stone cross, which they pretend fell from heaven in that apostle's time, and have covered it with an arch. The wood of this chapel is looked on as a precious relic; so that pilgrims frequently carry away little bits of it, and set them in gold <sup>x</sup>. The city had seven gates, and was very strong from its situation, being covered by the sea on one side, and by a chain of mountains on the other; yet the *Moors* took it, after a long siege, and are still in possession; the road is very safe from *April* to *September*, when the south and south-west winds blow; but not in the other season, when ships of any considerable burthen are obliged to retire into some of the adjacent ports <sup>y</sup> (U).

1661.

It appears from their own histories, that even in the time *By what* of their highest prosperity the *Portuguese* contented themselves *imprudence*

<sup>w</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 23.

<sup>x</sup> Lettres edifiantes, tom. xv. p. 27.

<sup>y</sup> Atlas Geograph. vol. iii. p. 596.

(U) We shall have occasion to mention this place more than once. It was by the assistance of the *Dutch* reduced by the king of *Golconda*, from whom it was taken by the *French*, who kept it for some time; and then the same *Indian* prince, by the assistance of his allies, recovered it, and remained in possession till he lost his dominions to the *Mogul*, under whom it now remains. The reason of its decay is the vicinity of *Madras*, or *Fort St. George*, which some writers affirm was built, at least in part, out of its ruins (54).

(54) *Guyon Histoire des Indes*, vol. ii. p. 121.

*the Portu-* with these settlements on the coast of *Coromandel*, tho' their  
*guese lost* trade in those parts was of very great importance; but then  
*their influ-* they took great care to keep these places in a good state of  
*ence in the* defence, and maintained in each of them a very numerous  
*kingdom of* garrison for their preservation, restraining the rest of the  
*Pegu.* coast by their squadrons continually cruising in the bay of

*Bengal*. On the opposite side of that gulph the *Portuguese* had once very great power in the kingdom of *Pegu*, in consequence of their assisting the king against his neighbour of *Siam*, who had invaded his territories; and would very probably have made him his tributary, if a small body of *Portuguese* had not come to his assistance, by whom he was enabled not only to defend himself against his enemy, but even to carry the war into his own country. It is easy to discern what advantages might have accrued to the *Portuguese* from this favourable turn, if they had known how to improve it; but we learn from a late author, that what might have turned so much to their benefit, proved, by their own ill management, the cause of their ruin, and that in a short space of time<sup>2</sup>. The king of *Pegu*, it seems, was so sensible of the service they had done him in driving the king of *Siam* out of his country, that in pure gratitude he made one Signior *Thomas Pereyra*, who commanded the *Portuguese* in the war, generalissimo of all his forces; which preferment made the *Portuguese* so insolent, that in a few years they became detestable and intolerable to all ranks and degrees of persons in *Pegu*. Both kings grew tired of war, but were too proud to make advances towards peace; so that for many years they had skirmishes, though not set battles; and where-ever the *Portuguese* went, they had victory to attend them. The king of *Pegu*, to have his forces nearer the borders of *Siam*, settled his court at *Martavan*; and kept the *Portuguese* near him, to be ready upon all occasions either to repel or assault, as opportunity served; and *Thomas Pereyra* was the great favourite at court, having his elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen to attend him. One day coming from court in state on an elephant, he happened to hear music in a burgher's house, whose daughter, a beautiful virgin, had been married that morning to a young man in the neighbourhood. The general went to the house, wished them joy, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the general's visit for a great honour done them, and brought their daughter to his elephant's side. He, smitten with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and carry her to his

<sup>2</sup> HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 36.

home. His orders were too readily obeyed; and the poor bridegroom, not able to bear his loss, cut his throat. The disconsolate parents rent their clothes, and went weeping thro' the streets to the king's palace, imploring their countrymen's assistance to avenge them on the insolent *Portuguese*. Crouds of people came to hear and see the tragedy, till their numbers grew so great, and their noise so loud, that it reached the king's ears, who sent to know the cause of the tumult. The messenger, returning, acquainted the king with what had been transacted; and he sent them word, that he would punish the criminal, and accordingly sent for his general: but he made an excuse, that he was so much out of order, that he could not wait on his majesty; which answer so provoked the king, that he ordered the whole nation to take up arms, and to make a general massacre of the *Portuguese* in city and country. The king's orders were put in execution so speedily, that in a few hours all the *Portuguese* were destroyed; and the guilty criminal, being taken alive, and made fast by the heels to an elephant's feet, was dragged through the streets till there was not either skin or flesh left to cover his bones; which spectacle appeased the enraged populace. Three *Portuguese* only were saved, who, being accidentally in the suburbs next the river, hid themselves till night favoured their escape in a small boat; in which they coasted along the shore, feeding on what the woods and rocks afforded them; and at length arrived at *Malacca* with the dismal account of this melancholy transaction. This event, however memorable, would scarce have deserved a place in this history, if it did not afford us such a picture of the disposition of this nation, as sufficiently accounts for the loss of that power which they had acquired with so much industry and labour.

THE empire of *Siam* lies next to *Pegu*, and is a country of vast extent, the monarch of which was too powerful for the *Portuguese* to think of making any conquests in his dominions; and therefore they chose to live with him upon good terms, for the sake of the brisk trade carried on thro' his territories, which for that purpose are extremely well situated, having on one side the kingdoms of *Laos*, *Camboyda*, and *Cochin-China*, and on the other the countries bordering on the gulph of *Bengal*. Besides, there annually resorted thither a fleet of merchant-ships from *China*, laden with all the rich goods of that empire. The *Portuguese* continued to hold a fair correspondence with this monarch and his subjects, as long as their power subsisted in the *Indies*; but by degrees

*The great commerce carried on in the kingdom of Siam by the Portuguese, in their prosperity.*

\* Voyage aux Indes, par MANDÉSLO, p. 304. 331.

the *Dutch* have long since in a great measure excluded them from their influence here; and have wrought themselves so effectually into the confidence of these kings, that they have granted them an exclusive privilege of purchasing all the tin in their dominions, which is a branch of commerce of prodigious importance<sup>b</sup>; yet the *Portuguese* are not wholly ejected, though their trade is little or nothing now, in comparison of what it was. In the other principalities of this peninsula they had also great influence, as well as a general correspondence with the people, as appears from the mixture of *Portuguese* words in their respective languages<sup>c</sup>; and the remains of such as are descended from them, which are yet visible in these parts, though not at all revered or esteemed, but, on the contrary, treated with manifest scorn and contempt (X).

**Malacca**  
exceeding-  
ly improv-  
ed, as well  
as strongly  
fortified,  
by the same  
nation.

At the time the *Portuguese* first came into the *Indian* seas, the great peninsula of *Malacca* was subject to the king of *Johore*; and by what means the viceroys of the crown of *Portugal* were led to attack and make themselves masters of that city, has been already shewn. After it came into their hands, it changed its condition; and, though it was then a place of no small account, in a very short time became much more famous all over *India* and *Europe*, lying almost in the centre of trade, brought thither by shipping from the rich kingdoms of *Japan*, *China*, *Formosa*, *Lucania*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin*.

<sup>b</sup> TAVERNIER, tom. iv. l. viii. c. 18.  
Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. c. 38.

<sup>c</sup> HAMILTON'S

(X) The present condition of the *Portuguese*, in almost all the different countries of the *Indies*, is truly deplorable, since they live in a very mean and wretched condition, tho', generally speaking, protected both by the *Indian* and *Mohammedan* princes, in whose territories they are settled; which, whether it arises from their having been so long resident in the *Indies*, or whether the conformity of their manners recommends them more than other *Europeans*, we pretend not to decide. This, however, is very apparent, that they shew

nothing of the spirit of their ancestors, are not at all solicitous about settlements, forts, or factories; but content themselves with what they can get either by working at some manufacture, carrying on a peddling kind of trade, or serving in some inferior station, or as common soldiers in the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French* fortresses, or in the court of some *Indian* prince. But then, in these, the blood is much debased and corrupted, and there is nothing left of the *Portuguese* but the name (55).

(55) *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 781.

*China*,

*China, Cambodia, and Siam*; besides what *Johore* produced, and *Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Macassar, Banda, Amboyna, and Ternate*, islands that abound in the most valuable commodities<sup>d</sup>. After *Goa* and *Ormuz*, this was by very far the richest city in the *Indies*, and a great market for all the different commodities that these countries produced. It was the seat of a bishop; and the cathedral church, dedicated to *St. Paul*, was extremely fine. They had, besides, five other parish-churches, and a noble college for the Jesuits, together with a seminary, in which all new converts to the faith were instructed. The whole was encompassed with a strong stone wall, regularly fortified with bastions, the place extremely well peopled, and the garrison numerous and well supplied, because the *Portuguese* considered it as the eastern frontier of their dominions (Y), which therefore could not be kept too secure<sup>e</sup>.

IN

<sup>d</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquestes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 117, 130. <sup>e</sup> MAFFÆI, P. ii. l. xiv. c. 1.

(Y) It was, as the reader has been informed, reduced by the great *Albuquerque* in 1510, who, before he returned to the seat of his government, as general of the *Indies*, found himself obliged to put to death the *Raja Utemutis*, to whose assistance he was in a great measure indebted for this important conquest. His affairs likewise made it requisite for him to raise *Ninachetu*, a man ennobled by his virtues, tho' not by birth, to the post of *Bandura*, or chief of the *Indians*, which he had well deserved; but it being represented to *Albuquerque*, that the *Indian* princes could not brook being obliged to submit to one they esteemed so much their inferior, he very unadvisedly, at least very unjustly, engaged to take an opportunity of removing him; in which he kept his word, when

he sent *George Albuquerque* thither to succeed *Ruy de Britto* in 1514, the new governor raising the king of *Campar* to the dignity of *Bandura* in his room. *Ninachetu* caused a pile of precious and sweet-scented woods to be erected in one of the most spacious places of the city; and, having ascended it, made a moving speech to the people, in which he repeated the services that had acquired him his employment, the fidelity with which he had executed it, and the baseness of that ingratitude from which he lost it; and then causing fire to be set to that pile of wood, died with all that magnanimity for which the *Indians* are so famous (56). His successor for the king of *Campar* was a man of no less virtue and honour; but, being falsely accused to *George Albuquerque*, he, with-

(56) *Maffæi Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. v. c. 5, 6.

Became  
early the  
object of  
the Dutch  
ambition,  
who at  
length re-  
duced it.

In 1605 the *Dutch* attacked and destroyed a fleet of *Portuguese* here, consisting of thirty-four sail, on board of which were three thousand men; but they, notwithstanding this, were not able to take the place. The next year the king of *Johore* invested it with an army of sixty thousand men, in revenge of what the *Portuguese* had done against him three years before, when they took and destroyed his capital. However, he also was obliged to raise the siege with great loss<sup>f</sup>. But the *Dutch*, well knowing the importance of the place, and the vast advantages accruing to the *Portuguese* from its situation and commerce, the former affording them an opportunity of levying ten *per cent.* upon all vessels passing thro' the streights of *Malacca*, and the latter producing annually a large revenue, they attacked it in the year 1640 so vigorously, that they became masters of it, after a siege of six months<sup>g</sup>. The walls and fortifications they preserved, as also the church of *St. Paul*; but most of the other churches they have destroyed, and the great hospital they have turned into a warehouse. The language spoken here is esteemed the most copious and polite in the *Indies*, and therefore serves as a kind of general tongue thro' all the islands and provinces lying farther to the east<sup>h</sup>. In the kingdom of *Cambodia*, or *Camboya*, the *Portuguese* have still a considerable trade, and they are likewise well received in *Tonquin*; but what little commerce they now carry on serves rather to keep them from starving in the *Indies* than to enrich, or to enable them to make any returns to *Europe*, with which they have in truth little or no connection, and about which, consequently, they cannot have much concern<sup>i</sup>. ●

<sup>f</sup> NIEUHOFF's *Voyages and Travels to the East Indies*, in the second volume of Churchill's *Voyages*, p. 213. <sup>g</sup> GUYON

*Histoire des Indes*, vol. ii. p. 159. <sup>h</sup> *Voyages aux Indes*, par MANDÉLSLO, p. 344. <sup>i</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. iii. p. 40.

out due examination, caused him to be publicly put to death upon a scaffold as a traitor. These acts of injustice and inhumanity excited such a spirit of resentment and aversion to the *Portuguese* in all the neighbouring nations, that *Malacca* stood more

exposed as well to secret conspiracies as open hostilities than any other part of the *Portuguese* territories in the *Indies*, of which we shall have occasion to say something more hereafter (57).

(57) P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. ii. p. 233.

## S E C T. VII.

*Methodical Detail of their Concerns in respect to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes or Macassar, Moluccas, and New Guiney, with a Detection of the false Policy and tyrannical Usage of the Natives, by which they rendered themselves odious, and opened a Way for the Dutch to subvert their Power, and raise a new, tho' not a milder, Government on their Ruins.*

THE island of *Sumatra*, which extends itself north-west *The Port-* and south-east, fronting the peninsula of *Malacca*, is *tuguese,* divided by the equinoctial into nearly two equal parts, ex- *by making* tending to six degrees of latitude north and south. It is *a few set-* about two hundred and fifty leagues in length, sixty in breadth, *tlements on* and five hundred in circumference. The *Portuguese* came *the coast,* thither first under the command of Don Diego Lopez de Se- *secured the* guira<sup>k</sup>. They found the country very rich and fruitful, *commerce* and under the dominion of several petty princes, who were *of Suma-* continually at war with each other. One would have ima- *tra.* gined that this must have afforded them an opportunity of subjecting it intirely, as they had done other parts of the *Indies*; but it happened otherwise; for the people, by their continual disputes among themselves, were become so well acquainted with the art of war, that they could make no great impressions; but contented themselves with a few settlements on the coast, by which they were enabled to carry on a very lucrative trade with the inhabitants not only in sulphur, rice, ginger, pepper, camphire, cassia, sandal, and other rich woods and drugs, but also in fine tin, iron, copper, silver, gold, and diamonds. The crown of *Portugal* had frequent disputes with the princes in possession of dominions within the compass of this island, and sometimes gained considerable advantages over them; but were never able to subdue them, or reduce any of their principalities under their power, which however they attempted more than once. They would likewise have been very well pleased to have erected here, as well as in other places, some convenient citadel or fortrefs, which by degrees would have given them an opportunity of controuling the natives. But this they could never obtain; nor had they any kind of fort or strong place there, as appears from a state of the revenues of the *Portuguese* settlements in the *Indies*, compiled and published by Don Edward de Menezes,

<sup>k</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 4. CASTENEDA. who



who was viceroy there in the year 1584<sup>1</sup>. The Dutch infested this island from the close of the sixteenth century; and soon after, as their power increased, began, as usual, to exclude all other nations; but the inhabitants soon shook off their yoke, and are still in a great measure free (Z). It is for this reason, probably, that almost all our European nations concur in treating these people as the most cruel, barbarous, and perfidious, in the Indies, without ever considering that these very epithets may be justly retorted upon such as endeavour to deprive them of their liberties and their possessions, without the least colour of right. But to wave reflections, as improper in this place, let us proceed to the other great islands, and say somewhat of their state and condition during the dominion of the Portuguese in these parts.

The Portuguese engaged in frequent wars with the seven-

THE noble island of Java was known and visited by the Portuguese about the beginning of the sixteenth century, chiefly on account of the trouble given them by the pirates fitted out from Bantam, or, as they call it, Bintam, and other places in the same island; which induced Don. Pedro Mascarenhas to attack Bantam, which he took and plundered, tho'

<sup>1</sup> PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. ii. p. 1532.

(Z) One of the best Portuguese historians, in describing the island of Sumatra, tells us, that it abounds in tin, iron, glass, sulphur, as well as gold, and with a certain gum, which, he assures us, has received the name of camphire from persons who were ignorant in the Arabic tongue (58). It is however more than probable that he was misinformed by those who helped him to this criticism; for the camphire of Sumatra is looked upon as the very finest in the Indies, and, as the ingenious and accurate Mr. Lockyer assures us from his own knowledge, is worth half a crown an ounce upon the spot. He acquaints us likewise with another particular both singular and curious, that the camphire of Sumatra

bears a great price in China, where they make use of it as a kind of leaven, mixing it with their own, which is a coarser kind, to which they think it gives odour and spirit. The worst of it is, that there is but a very small quantity of this camphire, which would be otherwise a mighty valuable commodity (59). The same Portuguese author has another observation, which deserves both notice and credit: he thinks that the island of Sumatra, and not the peninsula of Malacca, was the country known to the ancients by the name of the Golden Chersonese; which is so much the more probable, as this island abounds with gold, whereas there is none in the country about Malacca (60).

(58) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. l. i. c. 4.  
in India, p. 41.

(59) *Account of the Trade*  
(60) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. i. lib. iv. cap. 4.

*George Albuquerque* had attempted it in vain <sup>m</sup>. *Java Major* reigns of lies south-east from the peninsula of *Malacca*, having *Sumatra Bantam*, lying before it, from whence it is separated by a narrow pass- in the age, now so famous in the world by the name of the streights island of *Sonda*. Authors vary as to its dimensions, but the most *Java*. moderate allow it nine hundred miles in circuit. The air is generally esteemed more wholesome than in any of the isles before-mentioned, the country exceeding fruitful, and the coast abounding with good ports. The *Javaneſe* pretend, that they are descended from the pure and unmixed race of the old inhabitants of *China*, who retired thither when their country was over-run by the *Tartars*; and on this they very much value themselves: but, before the *Portuguese* came, they had not only mixed with other neighbouring nations, but were also become *Mohammedans* <sup>n</sup>. The island at that time was cantoned out among a number of little princes, some more, some less powerful, but most of them masters of some force by sea. The *Portuguese* generals saw plainly enough that they had not strength sufficient to keep this large island; and therefore contented themselves with making a new king of *Bantam* when they had taken it, and accepted from him an annual tribute <sup>o</sup>.

*PANARUCAN*, a small city, the capital of a little prin- *Before the* cipality of the same name, and withal a commodious port, *Europe-* owed much to their protection; and was raised to be one of *ans came* the principal marts of the whole country, where they not *into the* only dealt in rice, pepper, and other commodities of the *Indies, the* island, but also in gold, precious stones, and spices, brought *inhabit-* from other places, and more especially from the adjacent *ants of* islands. But since the *Dutch* became masters of *Batavia*, and *these* the emperor of *Materan* and the king of *Bantam*, have di- *islands* vided the island between them, this place is become a fishing- *more com-* village, and all its trade is intirely lost. It may be with truth *fiderable* affirmed, whatever some travellers may insinuate to the con- *than ſince* trary, that the inhabitants of these islands in general, and of this in particular, are fallen much below the state in which the *Europeans* found them. No *Javaneſe* monarch can now, as they did then, equip a fleet of thirty sail of large ships; the admiral so strongly, tho' so clumsily built, as to be absolutely cannon proof. All the princes together are not now able to expel the *Dutch*; whereas a petty king, or even a queen, in those days, could furnish a force sufficient to besiege *Malacca*, when the best fortress in the *Indies* both by land and sea; and

<sup>m</sup> *MAFFREI*, P. ii. l. ix. c. 2.  
to the East Indies, p. 301.

<sup>n</sup> *NIEUHOFF's Voyages*  
<sup>o</sup> *MAFFREI*, P. ii. l. ix. c. 2.

How the Portuguese came to correspond with the inhabitants of the island of Borneo.

not to besiege it only, but to reduce it to great extremities <sup>P</sup> (A). We shall have occasion to treat this matter more at large when we come to speak of the present masters of this island, who have thought fit to fix here the magnificent capital of their extensive and potent empire.

It was above thirty years after the *Portuguese* arrived in the *Indies* before they were acquainted with any thing more than the name of the island of *Borneo*, and its situation, by reason of their frequently passing by its coasts. About that time captain *Edward Conil* had orders to examine it more narrowly; and, being once acquainted with the worth of the country, they made frequent voyages thither. This island, which is almost of a circular figure, lies, at least part of it,

P. P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 11.

(A) In the year 1547, as the *Portuguese* historians themselves relate, the king of *Acheen*, in the *Island of Sumatra*, sent a fleet of seventy ships of war to attack *Malacca*, with a great body of land-forces on board; which fleet was so suddenly and so secretly brought together, that they entered the port, and began to debark their men, about two in the morning, on the 18th of *October*, before the inhabitants had the least intelligence; and, though they were repulsed, yet they burnt all the ships in the haven, which were but eight, and, of these, five were very richly laden. The *Portuguese* were so much struck with their good fortune upon this occasion, that they ascribe it to a miracle wrought by the prayers of *St. Francis Xavier*, who was then in the city (61). The same monarch in 1570 entered into a league with the *Grand Signior*, the *Shah of Persia*, and other *Mohammedan* princes, in order to drive the *Portuguese* out of the

*Indies*; and was the most active in the whole confederacy, equipping, notwithstanding his repeated losses, four numerous fleets; with the last of which he came before *Malacca* in person in 1575, when he had infallibly taken the place, which he blocked up by sea, and besieged by land, if he had not taken the silence of their guns (owing to the want of powder, and the great confusion in their streets, which proceeded purely from consternation and despair) for the marks of some secret design, and the tokens of those great stratagems in war for which this nation had been formerly famous; on which he suddenly retired; when the place would have submitted almost upon any terms. It is very certain, that all the princes of the *Archipelago* together are not in a condition to wrest this fortress out of the hands of the *Dutch*; and it is their sense of this that makes them quiet (62).

(61) P. Lafitau *Histoire des Conquêtes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 19, 20, 21.  
(62) *Ibid.* p. 295-337, 357, 367.

under the equator, being about five hundred leagues in circumference, and abounding with the richest commodities; the hills sprinkled with gold, and the finest diamonds in *India* found in its rivers, washed down probably from the hills by the torrents that pour from their lofty summits. They found the coasts inhabited by *Malayan Moors*, who certainly had established themselves there by conquest; but the original inhabitants still remain in the mountains, and are styled *Beajus*, which in the *Malayan* tongue signifies a wild man; and the *Moors* use the very same word for the larger sort of apes, that are common enough also in this country; as if they meant to signify that the one had as little of humanity about them as the other; which, however, is far from being true. The *Moors* are governed by several kings, the chief of which are those of *Banjar Masseu*; of *Succaden*, in one of whose rivers there are found excellent diamonds; of *Bornea*, and others<sup>1</sup>.

THE *Beajus* have no kings, but many little chiefs. Those *Some ac-* that are subjects to the king of *Manjar*, or border upon *count of* him, pay a tribute; but such as live farther up the country, *the Beajus,* and in places inaccessible to the *Moors*, are absolutely independent, and live according to their own customs. The *Beajus* are generally very superstitious, and much addicted to augury. They do not adore idols; but their sacrifices of *or reputed savages,* sweet wood and perfumes are offered to one God, who they *who dwell in that island;* believe rewards the just in heaven, and punishes the wicked in hell. They marry but one wife; and look upon any breach of conjugal faith, either in the man or in the woman, as so heinous an offence, that every one contrives the death of the person transgressing, either by themselves or their friends; and therefore the women are very modest and reserved, especially the maidens, who are not seen by their husbands till the wedding-day. These people are naturally honest, industrious, and have a brotherly affection for each other. They have a notion of property, which yet does not render them covetous. They sow, and cultivate their lands; but, in the time of harvest, each reaps so much as will serve his family, and the rest belongs to the whole tribe in common, by which method they provide against necessity and disputes (B). The coasts

<sup>1</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 227.

(B) What is said in the text was ever given of these peoples is thought the best, and there The *French* author above cited is reason to believe that it is the transcribed it from one whom only authentic, account that he blames for not mentioning his

1530.

coasts of the island were and are chiefly inhabited by *Moors*, with whom the *Portuguese* traded to great advantage, when they found it not so easy to conquer them; and entered into an alliance with the king of *Borneo*, which was very advantageous to both parties<sup>r</sup>.

*What intercourse there was between the Portuguese and the people of Celebes or Macassar.*

ABOUT the same time that they came to have a correspondence with the people of the last-mentioned island, they became acquainted likewise with *Celebes* and its inhabitants, some say by accident, others by the shipwreck of some of their vessels; but it is generally agreed that their knowledge was but superficial, till one of their governors of the *Moluccas*, *Antonio Galvano*, sent two of the natives, whom he had converted to Christianity, back to their own country, where they brought numbers to embrace the gospel, and established a good understanding between the people in general and the *Portuguese*<sup>s</sup>. The great island of *Celebes* is divided from *Borneo* by the straits of *Macassar*. *Argensola*, and other authors, tell us the natives are of a white complexion, and that they were formerly much given to piracy: they give us too a remarkable plan of the antient form of government in this country; which seems to confirm, that there had been great revolutions in these parts, before they were discovered by the *Europeans*. What they say on this subject, reduced into a narrow compass, amounts to this: that there were originally seven kingdoms or principalities in this island, the princes of which met together, and chose a monarch, who had a limited power in its nature, but, so far as it went, extended over the whole island; and whom, in case of tyranny, or exceeding that regulated power, they who elected him deposed<sup>t</sup> (C). The discovery

<sup>r</sup> P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iii. p. 221. <sup>s</sup> He gives us this account himself, in his book intituled *Discoveries*. <sup>t</sup> GERVAISE *Histoire de Macassar*, p. 31.

his authority. We thought it requisite, therefore, to insert this note, to remove that difficulty. This account was originally extracted from the papers of an *Italian* missionary, one Father *Antonio Ventimiglia*, who was sent to *Borneo* on board a *Portuguese* ship from *Macao*, converted numbers of these people to Christianity, and died there

about the year 1691. The *Portuguese*, from the city before-mentioned, had for some years a considerable trade with the *Moors* on the coasts of that island, and at their request settled a factory there, which in the end the *Moors* surprised, plundered, and put most of the people to the sword (63).

(C) It would be no difficult

(63) *Tour de Monde*, par Gemelli, *Careri*, l. iii. c. 9.

thing,

discovery of so considerable a country was looked upon by the *Portuguese* as a matter of great consequence; and measures were taken to secure the affections of the inhabitants, whom it was not found easy to conquer; but, on the other hand, capable of being obliged, or rendered useful as their allies<sup>u</sup>.

THESE people were much braver, and had much better heads, than most of the *Indians*; and therefore, after a little conversation with the *Europeans*, they began to discern that there was no sense or meaning in their own religion, which in substance was this<sup>v</sup>. Their priests told them, that the heavens were eternal; and the sun and moon a god and goddess, from whose influence all things proceeded: that they had once a quarrel, and, the sun striking the moon, she thereupon miscarried of this world; with abundance of stories of the like nature. They taught them likewise the transmigration of souls; and that it was unlawful to kill any living creature to eat, except swine and birds, because the former were too nasty, and the latter too little for any human soul to dwell in. But they advised them to sacrifice their cattle to the sun and moon; and, if they had none of these, they sometimes made free with their children. No wonder, therefore, that they were glad to get rid of such a religion, and of such practices, which with much unanimity they did, and became deists at once. But, not satisfied with this, they determined to send at the same time to *Malacca* and to *Achin*, to desire from the one Christian priests, and from the other doctors of the *Mo-*

<sup>u</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. ii. l. x. c. ii.    <sup>v</sup> GALVANO'S Discourses.

thing, if this were a proper place, to prove, that, notwithstanding what is said of the barbarity of these people, that there is scarce any form of government with which we are acquainted, that did not subsist in the *Indies* when the *Portuguese* came thither; and yet whoever is well acquainted with this history cannot but be sensible that things were then declining amongst the natives, tho' they are much more declined since. We may see from the foregoing

note, that there is no trusting absolutely to the accounts given of nations that are separated, and as it were hidden, from the rest of the world. The *Moors* describe the *Bejjus*'s as little better than beasts upon two legs; whereas the *Italian* missionary who lived and died with them, and had no interest in either concealing or dissembling the truth, affirms them to have been both better and wiser men than the *Moors* themselves.

*hammedan*

How un-  
accounta-  
bly the  
Portu-  
guese miss-  
ed so fair  
an occasion  
of esta-  
blishing  
the Chris-  
tian faith.

*hammedan* law, resolving to embrace that religion, the teachers of which came first among them<sup>x</sup>.

THE *Portuguese* have hitherto been esteemed zealous enough for their religion; but it seems that Don *Ruy Perera*, who was then governor of *Malacca*, was a little deficient in his concern for the faith, since he made a great and very unnecessary delay in sending the priests that were desired. On the other hand, the queen of *Achuu*, being a furious *Mohammedan*, no sooner received an account of this disposition in the people of the island of *Celebes*, than she dispatched a vessel full of doctors of the law, who established their religion effectually among the inhabitants. Some time after came the Christian priests, and inveighed bitterly against the law of *Mohammed*, but to no purpose; the people of *Celebes* had made their choice, and there was no bringing them to alter it<sup>y</sup>. One of the kings of this island, indeed, who had before embraced Christianity, persisted in the faith, and most of his subjects were converted to it; but still the bulk of the people of *Celebes* continued *Mohammedans*, and are so to this day, and the warmest zealots for their religion of any in the *Indies*. But this difference in religion did not hinder them from living on very good terms with the *Portuguese*, who established a better trade there than in any other part of the *Indies*; for, finding few rich commodities, and but little opportunity of encroaching on the liberties of the nation, they were glad to treat them as a free people; and the situation of the country being extremely happy for that purpose, made it very soon, in respect to the adjacent islands, the centre of commerce<sup>z</sup>.

The happy  
situation of  
this coun-  
try in re-  
spect to  
commerce,  
and why  
encouraged  
by the Por-  
tuguese.

THE great island of *Borneo*, abounding in gold, diamonds, pepper, and other rich commodities, lying but one day's sail from thence; *Amboyna*, and the *Spice Islands*, not above three or four: the kingdoms of *Siam*, *Camboyda*, *Cochin-China*, and *Tonquin*, the empire of *China*, and the *Philippine Islands*, none of them above three hundred leagues; we need not wonder, therefore, that the port of *Jampodan*, the best and most capacious in all that part of the world, should be constantly full of ships; and the great towns on the coast become places of prodigious trade, when it was so much the interest of the *Portuguese* to promote it. The people themselves were in every respect capable of managing it, being very industrious, and at least as well skilled in navigation as any of their neighbours; and though they had not, as has been observed,

<sup>x</sup> Le P. ALEX. DE RHODES *Voiages aux Indes*, p. 293.

<sup>y</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, tom. ii. p. 230.

<sup>z</sup> GERVAISE *Histoire de Macassar*, p. 233.

very rich commodities, except gold, and that in no great quantities; yet they had wherewithal to purchase of the greatest value, since their rice is esteemed the best in the *Indies*, as their cotton is allowed to be the finest; with those they traded to the *Moluccas*, and from thence brought such vast quantities of spices, that they drove a very considerable trade in them with their neighbours and the *Europeans*<sup>a</sup> (D).

THIS island is sometimes called *Celebes*, and at others *Macassar*; and the reason is, because the former, which lies in the north-west part of the island, and the latter, which takes up all the south, were the principal kingdoms of the island; and especially the last, the monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently masters of the best part of the island. Their subjects, the boldest and bravest of all *Indians*, are likewise remarkable for having a consummate knowledge in poisons, which are some of them of so deadly a nature, that the very touch or smell of them is instantly and infallibly mortal. The men make use of them to tinge the head of their arrows, or rather darts, which they blow thro' hollow trunks, and that with such force and dexterity, that they will hit a small mark at the distance of fourscore yards<sup>b</sup>. They dip also the points of their daggers in the same poisonous drugs, and the very scratch of either dart or dagger kills without remedy. The women likewise make use of these poisons to gratify their revenge; for, as they are allowed to be extremely constant in their affection themselves, so they have very quick resentments in cases of infidelity, especially in regard to *Europeans*, who frequently cohabit with them, and sometimes marry them<sup>c</sup>. As they were the allies, not the subjects, of the *Portuguese*, so they were much more

<sup>a</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. v. p. 223. <sup>b</sup> NIEUHOFF's Voyages to the East Indies, p. 316. <sup>c</sup> GERVAISE Histoire de Macassar.

(D) It has been before observed, that the *Moors* were come into these parts but a very little time before the *Portuguese* reached them; and there seems good ground to believe, that at this time the island of *Celebes* was the centre of commerce for all the nations of the *Indies* that traded in spices, on account of the convenience of its ports, the mercantile genius of the people, and the great abundance of necessaries there, which were wanting in the *Spice Islands* themselves, and consequently rendered them less fit for the reception of strangers (64).

(64) Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ix. p. 165.



attached to that nation than any other *Indians*, and gave a very hospitable reception to such as, on the ruin of their colonies, fled thither for protection; and this was one great reason that the *Dutch* made such a point of reducing the king of *Macassar*; which they did, after a long war, in 1667, and prescribed to him very hard terms, particularly these; that he should deliver up to them the harbour of *Jompadan*; next to turn all the *Portuguese* out of his dominions; and, lastly, to renounce all commerce with the *Spice Islands*, without which his conquerors could not have monopolized them, and kept him in servile subjection<sup>d</sup>.

When they first visited the Moluccas, and what gave rise to Magellan's discontent.

THE *Moluccas* or *Spice Islands* were not discovered by the *Portuguese* till the year 1511, and then as it were by chance. *Francis Serrano*, *Diego d'Abreu*, and *Ferdinand Magellan*, being sent to make discoveries, were separated by a storm; the first penetrated as far as *Ternate*; the two latter discovered only the island of *Amboyna*, and afterwards that of *Banda*. They spent about eight years in these discoveries, which cost *Serrano* his life in his return. *Antonio de Brito* succeeded *Serrano* in the government; and built a fort at *Ternate*, under colour of protecting the king of that island, who was an infant, but in reality with an intention to establish the power of the *Portuguese* over the king, and his subjects likewise<sup>e</sup>. In the mean time *Ferdinand Magellan*, having had very exact intelligence, from his friend *Francis Serrano*, of the situation of these rich islands, and knowing also what an immense fortune he had got within the space of a few years, while he resided at *Ternate*, resolved to return to *Portugal*, in order to obtain, if possible, the reward which he thought due to his services; and, if that was refused him, to withdraw into *Spain*, and suggest to the emperor *Charles V.* that he had a better right to the *Moluccas* than the crown of *Portugal*, according to the pope's bull for settling that point (E). His suit was rejected at *Lisbon*, with circumstances that gave

<sup>d</sup> See a more full account of this matter in the History of the Dutch Settlements in the Indies. <sup>e</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

(E) We shall give the reader, in the next chapter, a large account of this gentleman's expedition in the service of the crown of *Spain*; but it will be proper to observe here, that such as represent his merit in the service of the crown of *Portugal* as either very small or very dubious, do him much wrong. He was in great esteem with *Don Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, and in 1510 saved the crews of two *Portuguese* vessels that were wrecked near

gave a man of *Magellan's* spirit great distaste; he therefore applied himself with diligence to the execution of the latter part of his project, and succeeded in it, even against the will of the emperor, whose council went warmly into the proposal; in consequence of which, *Ferdinand Magellan* sailed with a squadron, for the discovery of a new route to the *Moluccas*, September the twenty-first, 1519, from the port of *St. Lucar* in *Spain*. In that expedition, of which we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter, he did indeed discover by that streight, which has ever since borne his name, a new passage to the *Moluccas*, through the *South Seas*, and came very near, though he was treacherously killed before he could reach, them. The court of *Portugal* was very well apprised of his intention; and had sent proper intelligence of it to the *Indies*, with instructions to the viceroy how to conduct himself upon that occasion. But let us now return to the *Spice Islands*, and to that strange turn of affairs which happened there.

*HENRY Garcias*, who succeeded *Antonio Brito*, was at that time governor of the *Moluccas*; and he, finding all things extremely embarrassed by the war which his predecessor had made against the king of *Tydor* with very little advantage, thought fit, on his first coming to his government, to make peace with *Almanzor*, who was then king of that island, on condition that he should restore the artillery and prisoners he had taken from the *Portuguese*, which in the space of six months he undertook to do: but, the face of affairs in those parts altering soon after, *Garcias* repented his having made the peace, and resolved to renew the war; believing, that if he could reduce this island, it would very much extend the *Portuguese* power, and raise his reputation<sup>f</sup>. To furnish

*A specimen of that kind of behaviour by which the Portuguese lost the Indies.*

<sup>f</sup> *MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. ii. lib. ix. cap. 4.*

near *Angedive* (65). He was soon after very instrumental in saving the *Portuguese* army at the siege of *Goa*; and it was owing to him that *Diego de Sequiera*, and part of his squadron, escaped, when that treacherous attempt was made upon them at *Malacca*. He served again under general *Albuquerque* at the taking of that city, from whence

he sailed, with that general's commission, to discover the *Spice Islands*. He might therefore with good reason expect that the court of *Portugal* should have granted his request, which was only a small augmentation of his pay, and that not from any motive of avarice, but, as it was in those days esteemed, a singular mark of honour (66).

(65) *Maffæi Hist. Indica, P. i. l. iv. c. 6.*  
*Conquêtes des Portugais, vol. ii. p. 37.*

(66) *P. Leftau Histoire des*

himself, therefore, with some pretence for breaking with the king of *Tydor*, he, before the time limited in the treaty was expired, sent to demand the cannon and prisoners. To which *Almanzor* modestly replied, that he would have delivered them up when the peace was made, if it had been in his power; but that, having lent the cannon to a prince who was his neighbour, it required some time to get them back. He had so little suspicion, however, of the governor's bad design, that, being at this time very much indisposed, he requested *Garfias* to send him a physician, whose advice he might use for his recovery. The governor accordingly sent him one, under whose direction the king having put himself without the least reserve, was by him most basely poisoned. Immediately after that monarch's death, *Garfias* sent again to demand the cannon and prisoners; and because the people desired a delay till the king's funeral was performed, he, who foresaw that, having all things ready, made a descent upon the island, attacked the capital, took and plundered it, and treated the people with the utmost inhumanity.

The Spaniards by this means obtain an easy entrance into those important islands;

THE viceroy of *Goa*, being informed of this, sent him a successor. As this villainous action was done without the least provocation, in a time of full peace, and when there was not the least intention on the side of the natives to renew the war against the *Portuguese*, it caused among the people of that island, and of the rest of the *Moluccas*, an implacable hatred against them; soon after which, the squadron of *Charles V.* arriving there, was welcomed by the people of *Tydor* with all the marks of kindness, on account of the *Spaniards* bearing an equal enmity with them to the *Portuguese*; and, being received into their port, they raised works for the defence of it, in case of an attack from the enemy. The *Spaniards*, who, after *Magellan's* death, were under the command of *Igniguesza*, alledged, that the *Moluccas* belonged of right to them, as being first discovered by *Magellan*, with a commission from the king of *Spain*; and that the dispute, having been submitted to arbitration, was determined in their favour. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* under the command of *Henriquez Garfias* said, that the unjust sentence of the *Castilian* arbitration had been reversed by the judges in *Portugal*; and that those islands were discovered ten years before the voyage of *Magellan*, in the *Spanish* service, by *Anthony Abreu*, who was sent out to make discoveries by *Alphonso Albuquerque*, in

\* ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

whose

whose company was *Magellan* himself before he had deserted the service of his country <sup>h</sup>.

THUS they disputed with words for a while, but soon after <sup>but his</sup> came to blows, the people of *Ternate* taking part with the <sup>Catholic</sup> *Portuguese*, and those of *Tydo* and *Gilolo* with the *Spaniards*. <sup>Majesty</sup> The latter struck the first stroke by besieging the *Portuguese* <sup>was pre-</sup> fortresses in *Ternate*, where at the first attack they took one of <sup>ailed on</sup> the enemy's ships; and now the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* <sup>to part</sup> had gone near to have atoned for the mischiefs they had done <sup>with his</sup> to the *Indians*, by the destruction of each other, but that <sup>pretensions</sup> for a sum the emperor, being engaged in very expensive wars in *Eu-* <sup>of money.</sup> rope, neglected so remote an acquisition, and, for a certain sum of money, yielded up his right in the *Moluccas* to the king of *Portugal*<sup>1</sup>. This was looked upon at that time as very indifferent policy, and as the effects of his not being properly informed, as to the advantages that might have been derived to him in *Europe*, by the prudent management of his affairs in *Asia*, and this because his thoughts were intirely bent on the vain hopes of raising an universal monarchy by force of arms; whereas the *Portuguese* contented themselves with pushing their conquests in the *Indies*, and employed the riches they derived from thence to secure themselves against their ambitious neighbours in *Europe* <sup>k</sup> (F).

AN attempt to prosecute the history of these islands, while <sup>The history</sup> under the dominion, or rather tyranny, of the *Portuguese*, <sup>of these</sup> would oblige us to enter into a long detail of robberies, murders, and treasons, on one hand, and of insurrections, leagues, <sup>conquests</sup> and obstinate wars, on the other; for, as their own writers <sup>unneces-</sup> acknowledge, the *Portuguese* behaved towards these people in the most barbarous and perfidious manner, robbed them with- <sup>sary.</sup>

<sup>h</sup> J. DE BARROS, MAFFÆUS, ARGENSOLA.  
Histor. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. ii.

<sup>1</sup> HERRERA  
<sup>k</sup> See this matter farther explained in the next chapter.

(F) The *Spaniards* speak very highly and that with great justice, of the wisdom and policy of this monarch; which makes it so much the more astonishing that he could never be brought to have any tolerable notion of the advantages arising from colonies, and the vast benefits accruing to *Spain* from the discovery and conquest of the new

world; yet this was a matter of fact, as appears plainly not only from his mortgaging his right to the *Moluccas* (67), but from his cold treatment of the famous *Ferdinand Cortes*, his granting away a whole province in *America* to the inhabitants of the city of *Augsburgh*, and many other instances.

(67) *Herrera Histor. de las Indias Occidental. Decad. lib. l. iv. c. 5.*

out remorse, murdered them without mercy, swore alliances they never meant to keep, poisoned some kings, assassinated others, deluded and betrayed all. There is already a history, in which these shocking facts are set forth to public view; and many histories, in which various arts are practised to hide and disguise them (G). Let us, then, be as short as we can; and endeavour, by a succinct description of these isles, to shew their importance<sup>1</sup>.

*A succinct  
view of  
the Mo-  
lucças  
strictly  
considered,  
and parti-  
cularly of  
Ternate.*

THESE valuable islands consist, strictly speaking, of no more than five; from whence it is said they received their name, in the original language of the inhabitants. They are not out of sight of each other, and lie all of them within the compass of twenty-five leagues. They are famous for producing several sorts of valuable spices, but especially nutmegs and cloves, and are under the dominion of three kings. Their coasts are rendered very dangerous by sands and shelves. They were formerly subject to the *Chinese*, fell next under the *Javanese*, were in process of time subdued by the *Malayans*; and the *Mohammedans* had begun to settle in them, and convert the inhabitants to their religion, but a very little while before they were discovered by the *Portuguese*<sup>m</sup>. *Ternate* is eight leagues in compass; the land high; and they have good water, little provisions, and few cattle except goats. Their chief riches

<sup>1</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. vii. p. 245. <sup>m</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

(G) The history referred to in the text is that of a very ingenious *Spanish* clergyman, *Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola*, who was employed by the president and council of the *Indies*, to write the history of the conquest of these islands, in the reign of *Philip* the third, of which the reader will find a succinct detail in the succeeding chapter. His work is very curious and entertaining, and at the same time very authentic and impartial: he wrote from excellent memoirs; and was under no temptation to conceal the truth, the desire of doing which,

as a very able *French* historian (68) has observed, had put the *Portuguese* authors under the necessity of writing confusedly, and of contradicting each other, upon this subject. It is necessary to observe, that the *French* translation of this work, printed in three volumes, in *Holland*, contains not only the original work, but a supplement, in which is comprehended the history of the *Dutch* conquest of these islands; and it is for this reason that we cite only that volume, because it is in reality an original, and in every respect a very curious piece (69).

(68) P. Leftau *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 90. (69) *Anst ordam*, 1766. 12mo.

consist

consist in cloves; they have extraordinary parrots, which exceed in beauty those of the *West Indies*; and many birds of paradise<sup>a</sup>. They have also almonds, and coarse tobacco. During their wars with the *Portuguese* they burnt all their clove-trees, retired to the mountains and deserts, and forbade selling any thing to that nation on pain of death; which reduced them to great extremity. Though they burnt the cloves out of despair, and to extirpate them, their ashes so enriched the soil, that it produced cloves in greater abundance than ever in a few years. The king of this island was the most powerful of all, and boasted of a divine extraction, which the silly people firmly believed. He was sovereign over twenty-two islands that lay in the great *Archipelago*, between *Mindanao* on the north, those of *Bima* and *Corea* on the south, and the *terra firma* of *Papao*s, or *New Guiney*, on the east; and had his tribute in gold, amber, and birds of paradise, from those countries. He styled himself emperor of the *Archipelago*, in which were many colonies of Christians; but most were destroyed, or apostatized, by the persecution above-mentioned<sup>o</sup>. According to a particular account of the forces which every island could raise, the whole amounted to upwards of one hundred thousand, besides multitudes of slaves. Many of these islands had their particular kings; but all subject to him of *Ternate*, and served under him, to revenge the death of King *Aerio*, who was treacherously murdered by the *Portuguese* (H). This great king's name was *Cachil Babu*, *Aerio*'s  
third

<sup>a</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iv. p. 245. ° P. LAFITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, vol. iv. p. 9.

(H) This Sultan *Aerio* was one of the best friends the *Portuguese* ever had, for which they rewarded him strangely. *Lopez de Mezquita*, who was appointed governor of the *Moluccas* in 1570, seized and sent him prisoner to *Goa*, on pretence of his having connived at his son's ordering several *Portuguese* to be put to death for ravishing the daughter of one of his subjects, though in fact this order did not take effect: and the king would nevertheless have punished his son, if the *Portuguese* had not hindered him (70). When this innocent but unfortunate prince arrived at *Malacca*, he met with letters from the viceroy, desiring him to return to his kingdom, assuring him, that he was very well satisfied with his conduct; that he would take an opportunity of punishing the governor, but in the mean time desired he would be reconciled to him (71). The king accordingly went

(70) *Maffei Hist. Indica*, P. ii. l. xii. c. 5.

(71) *Argensola Con-*

*quista de las Islas Molucas*, l. ii.

third son. He allowed the *Dutch* to trade here; in 1599 entered into a strict friendship with them, and they assisted him to shake off the yoke of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* <sup>p</sup>.

*A short description of Tydor.* TYDOR is larger than *Ternate*; is also a particular kingdom, and produces the same fruits: it lies a little south-east of *Tydor*, from *Ternate*, near the line. The *Spaniards* assisted the inhabitants against those of *Ternate* at first; but engaged in a war with them at last, and treated them barbarously, till expelled by the league above-mentioned. The *Dutch* attacked the *Spaniards* here in 1607, and afterwards without success; but at last became masters of their fort, by the assistance of the king of *Ternate*, after an obstinate defence, and were kindly received by the king of this island, who allowed them to settle factories here. The capital is of the same name, and has an harbour dry at low-water, and defended by a chain of narrow rocks, over which the tide rises from three to six feet. The town is very strong by nature, and capable of being made impregnable <sup>q</sup>.

*A view of the smaller islands.* MOTIR, *Motil*, or *Timor*, lies between *Tydor* and *Machian*. It was laid waste during their intestine wars; but the *Dutch* built a fort at the north end of it, which encouraged the inhabitants to return from *Gilolo*; and, continuing firm to the *Dutch*, the *Spaniards* durst not attack it <sup>r</sup>. *Machian* lies directly under the line, south from *Motir*. The *Dutch* took it from the *Spaniards* in 1609, and built three forts here. It is seven leagues in compass, and has several little towns; the inhabitants were then esteemed about nine thousand: it was antiently reckoned the fruitfulest of the *Moluccas*, and produced the best cloves; the inhabitants were

<sup>p</sup> ARGENSOLA *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. iv. <sup>q</sup> *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. vii. p. 339. <sup>r</sup> *Memoire d'APOLLONIUS SCHOT de Middlebourg touchant les Isles Moluques*.

back; *Lopez de Mexquita* pretended to make the utmost submissions to him; the king, on his side, forgave him very sincerely. Five days after, under pretence of being sick, he invited him to a conference in the fort; where, after a gallant and glorious defence, he was most basely and barbarously murder-

ed (72). It was upon this that his son Sultan *Babu* formed a general confederacy with the princes of the neighbouring islands, for expelling or exterminating the *Portuguese*; which produced a war so bloody and destructive, that both parties were in a manner ruined by it.

(72) *P. Laff: au Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 86, 87, 88.

also esteemed more industrious than their neighbours. *Bachian*, the last of the proper *Moluccas*, lies south from *Machian*, and was a distinct kingdom. The country is in a great measure wild and desert; where cultivated, it abounds with sagu, fruits, and many other sorts of provisions. It was formerly very potent, and had the best cloves in the *Moluccas*; but was ruined by the idleness of the inhabitants. They had an alliance with the *Portuguese* and *Spaniards*, who established garrisons there; but were dispossessed by the *Dutch* in 1610, who built other forts, and obtained a liberty to trade without paying customs. The isle of *Labova* lies so near it, that they frequently go by the same name, tho' each had their particular king. The latter is very pleasant, and abounds in cloves\*.

WE must be obliged to speak of these islands again in the next chapter, and still particularly more when we enter into the history of the *Dutch* proceedings in the *Indies*. At present our design is, to represent the condition they were in at the time the *Portuguese* lost their dominion, which lasted very near a century; during which period they, by oppressions and wars, depopulated these countries so much, and drove the inhabitants to so many and such strange acts of despair, that they left them the very reverse of what they found them; and the remains of the people so strongly prejudiced against the Christian faith, that they bound the *Dutch* by treaty, on their first coming among them, not to disturb them in their religion. In times of peace, and when the *Portuguese* were in full possession of all these islands, they produced an annual profit of nutmegs and cloves, of near half a million sterling, which one would have thought might have gratified even the most boundless avarice. It is true, that, after their possession was interrupted by the *Spaniards*, this commerce began to decline; but it was almost always in their power to have revived and restored it, if they could have been content to have treated the poor people with any degree of mildness and indulgence† (1).

Wz

\* See a farther account of this island in the history of the *Dutch* settlements. † P. LAFITAU *Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iv. p. 9. *Voyage de la Compagnie*, tom. ix. p. 253.

(1) The monopolizing the spice-trade was one great object of the *Portuguese* councils, and which by degrees they had in a good measure effected; so that if they would have been contented to have treated the monarchs of these small islands with a rea-



Of the  
islands ad-  
jacent to  
the Mo-  
luccas,  
and of the  
continent of  
New Gui-  
ney.

WE have before observed, that, in the neighbourhood of these islands, there are many others, some larger, some smaller, but all of them bigger than the *Moluccas*, which owe their renown not to their size, or to their fertility in other respects, but to their being the countries to which nature had made a kind of exclusive grant of the richest spices, which whether more favourable or fatal to them it appears from their conduct, the natives themselves knew not how to determine. The island of *Bouro* was formerly subject to the king of *Ternate*: it is not very considerable; but, while in the hands of the *Portuguese*, more so than at present; yet the island they chiefly depended upon was that of *Great Timor*, so called because it is much larger than the other of the same name; and was extremely fruitful, so that from thence they supplied most of the *Moluccas* with provisions". West from thence

■ Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques, tom. iii. p. 333.

a reasonable degree of respect; had made true converts of their subjects to the Christian religion, by living like good Christians themselves, as well in point of morals as of ceremonies; and had taken care to furnish them with provisions upon moderate terms; they might have secured their nutmegs, mace, and cloves, without the inhabitants conceiving themselves in the least injured; and, with part of these, they might have driven such a trade in *China* and the *Indies*, as would have enabled them to have sent twice or thrice the value of the spices to *Europe* (73): whereas by harassing, abusing, and oppressing, the common people, encouraging feuds and quarrels among the nobility, and insulting, imprisoning, exiling, deposing, and murdering, princes at their pleasure, they drove whole nations into downright madness,

depopulated great countries, and found themselves under many difficulties to maintain forts and garrisons, where their own ill management rendered them necessary, and in process of time extinguished that profit, for the gaining of which they had been erected (74). Yet so strong a sense the *Portuguese* always retained of the importance of the spice trade, that when they became subjects of the crown of *Spain*, and the preservation of those islands depended wholly upon succours from the *Philippines*, the commerce in spices was reserved to them (75), because, as they represented to the court of *Madrid*, it was impossible for them to carry on their trade in the *Indies* without it, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, was such a burden upon the *Spaniards* as they were scarcely able to bear (76).

(73) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Molucas*, l. i.  
*Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, tom. iv. p. 90.  
upon this subject cited in the next chapter.

(74) *P. Leston*  
(75) See the memoirs  
(76) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Molucas*, l. ii.

lies the island of *Solon*, in which was a strong fortress, wherein the *Portuguese* garrison held out a siege of two months against the *Dutch* fleet and army; and, when they surrendered, marched out near one thousand men\*. There are besides these many other islands, which commonly, since the *Dutch* conquests, are styled the *Moluccas*, because they lie near them, and are considered only as they serve to maintain the garrisons which are destined to protect them. Yet it has been reported, that, notwithstanding the vast importance of these islands, there were countries at no great distance from them, which deserved some degree of notice, as abounding in gold and precious stones, and not altogether deficient in spices. It is the more requisite to speak of these countries in this place, because, tho' they were but half discovered by the *Portuguese*; yet, for all the world knows to the contrary, that discovery has not been so much as prosecuted, much less perfected, by the *Dutch*. On the contrary, we have been given to understand, that some mistake has happened in this business; that these countries are poor, barren, miserable places, and those who inhabit them a race of brutal, stupid, and starving people. This possibly may be so; however, as it has been otherwise reported, and as these countries lie upon the very line that divides the known from the unknown parts of the world, and may be as easily reached by the *South Seas* as by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*, a few particulars from the histories of the *Portuguese* may not be either unpleasant or unuseful, more especially if the spirit of discovery should at any time hereafter animate the bosoms of our countrymen (K).

WHILE

\* *Memoire touchant les Isles Solor & Timor, par APOLLONIUS SCHOTT.*

(K) The country of *New Guinea*, which some writers tell us is a country having an extent of two, others of three (77), and some of four, hundred leagues of coast (78), with the islands that lie near it, has been known to the *Europeans* above two hundred years, but were never thoroughly discovered or described (79). It is affirmed, that the first who saw them was *Alvaro de Saavedra*, in the month of *May* 1529, as he was endeavouring to return to *New Spain* from the *Moluccas* (80). The natives of those islands call the inhabitants of this country *Papuas*, that is, *Blacks*; the *Spaniards*, conforming rather to the sound than the sense, called them *los Papuos*, but knew very little about them. In 1545 they were visited by some *Spaniards*

(77) *Galvano's Discoveries.*  
*ad 25 Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 1689.*

(78) *Gomar Hist. gen. l. ii. c. 72.*  
(80) *Galvano's Discoveries.*

who

By what means the Portuguese procured an intercourse with the people of New Guiney.

WHILE Antonio Galvano commanded at *Ternate*, there was a famous pirate who, with a Squadron of parao's, did a great deal of mischief on the coast of the land of *Papoa*, which is that country since called *New Guinea*, and, at last, began to threaten the subjects of *Portugal* in the *Moluccas*. To repress the violences committed by this rover, the governor fitted out some barks sent him by the king of *Tybor*, and having manned them with a few *Portuguese*, and the auxiliaries from the neighbouring islands, he sent them, under the direction of *Ferdinand Vinagrez*, a priest, in quest of this pirate, with whom they came up, and, after a smart engagement, in which he and his brother were both killed, destroyed some, and dispersed the rest, of his Squadron. After obtain-

who had been at the *Phillippines*, who were inclined to think themselves the first discoverers, as knowing nothing of the expedition of *Saavedra* (81). But, as we have remarked in the text, they were long before that time known, and some of them became subjects to the king of *Ternate*. According to the accounts given by the *Indians*, those who inhabited the continent had gold, spices, and other valuable commodities, but the inhabitants of the islands were poor and miserable (82). *Schouten* and *Le Maire* coasted this country in 1616, where they found all things agreeing with the description given by *Saavedra*; but they saw no great signs of wealth, only, in some of the islands, they found *China* ware, which they concluded was either brought thither by the *Chinese*, or by some *European* nation trading to *China* (83). Captain *Dampier*, in 1699, coming hither, purely to make discoveries, gave the name of *New Britain* to a large island

which he discovered. He met with abundance of ill-favoured weak-fighted blacks, who, in his judgment, live mostly upon raw fish, and were poor and wretched, in an extreme degree (84). Commodore *Roggeveen* examined many of the islands, and passed along the coast of the continent, in 1722. The best, indeed the only, account we have of this voyage, says, that the islands were pleasant, fruitful, and populous; and that the continent had the appearance of being a fertile and well-wooded country; adding, that the free-burgesses, or *Dutch* inhabitants of the *Moluccas*, were reported to carry on a valuable trade there, by exchanging small pieces of iron for large nutmegs (85). Thus the reader sees, in a narrow compass, what a slender knowledge has been hitherto attained of the southern *terra incognita*, which posterity, perhaps, may find to be as valuable as *America* or the *Indies*.

(81) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. ii. p. 1693.

(82) *Argensola Conquista de las Ilas Malucas*, lib. ii.

(83) *Voyage de la Compagnie*, tom. viii. p. 199, 200, 201.

(84) *Dampier's Voyages*, as in *Harris's Collection*.

(85) *Histoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux*, tom i. p. 222, 223.

ing this victory, he was sent to the country of *Papuas*, where he was kindly received by several princes, and converted them and their subjects to the Christian faith; which was so great a satisfaction to the worthy governor, that he instituted a kind of seminary, in which he bred abundance of young men brought from all these countries, instructing them himself in the Christian religion, and in those sorts of literature that were at that time studied in *Portugal*, in all which Don *Antonio* was extremely well versed. By his wife and gentle government, his reputation spread, and attracted multitudes of Christians expelled by *Mohammedan* princes, throughout the whole extent of the *Indies*, to him in the *Moluccas*, where he was so intirely beloved by all the princes of those islands, that they joined in a representation to the king of *Portugal*, that *Antonio Galvano* might be continued in his government for life; but, before this representation was well framed, the governor of the *Indies* sent *George Castro* to succeed him; which, in the space of a few years, produced such a change in affairs on this side, that their historians have declined giving us an account of them \*.

It was the removal of this worthy man which hindered all *The* the southern continent from being thoroughly known; for, *strange alteration* by his wife government, he established a new face in that part of the world, of which the *Portuguese* never had any *of this country,* idea; and if he had remained there but a few years, would *according to the latest accounts.* have done more towards the conversion of those nations than ever could be effected by an army of missionaries. But what he was not permitted to atchieve by his actions, he has sketched forth in his writings; so that from them we learn this great southern continent was, in his time, well inhabited; and though these inhabitants might, in some parts of it, be absolute barbarians, yet in others they were as much civilized as their neighbours, and had not only the use of vessels, but some kind of naval force, of which, according to later relations, there is not now the least remains †. We are assured, that a great part of the people at least inhabiting these countries, were *Caffres*, or *Negroes*, which is also the meaning of the word *Papuas*, or *Papoes*, that is, people of a jet shining black, with thick curled woolly hair; but it is admitted there were other nations very different from these, as well in their manners as in their complexions, some, particularly, that were very fair, with large weak blue eyes, which hindered them from seeing well by day-light, but in the night they

\* GALVANO'S Discoveries. † See the Voyages of LE MAIRE, DAMPIER, and ROGGEWEIN.

were very brisk and active, resembling those to whom the name of moon-eyed *Indians* hath been given in *America*. How either of these people came there, or whether they were the antient inhabitants, is a point we want both leisure and abilities to discuss, and therefore we shall content ourselves with saying, that the *Chinese* vessels often visited these coasts, more especially before the coming of the *Portuguese*; and that the produce of these islands, in general, were equally acceptable in all parts of the *Indies*, more especially at the two great marts of *Malacca* and *Ormuz*, and in the ports of *China*, that were then open to strangers; which leads us to speak next of the intercourse of the *Portuguese* with the inhabitants of that famous empire, to which, of all the *European* nations, they were the first that found a direct passage by sea, from whence, as from their other discoveries, they derived very solid advantages, as well as very high reputation <sup>2</sup>.

## S E C T. VIII.

*A Trade well settled in China, very unluckily, and almost irreparably, lost. Their Intercourses, and happy Establishment, in Japan; and a very concise Account of the Causes and Manner of their Expulsion. Fruitless and fatal Attempts to revive their Correspondence with the Inhabitants of those Islands.*

*The correspondence with China opened by Don Lopez Suarez, with indifferent success.*

THE viceroy *Lopez Suarez*, successor to the famous Don *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, was the first who thought of establishing any commerce with *China*, and, in the year 1517, sent, under *Ferdinand Andrada*, a squadron of eight ships, laden with merchandize, and *Thomas Perera*, who had the character of ambassador from *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*. On their arrival at the mouth of the river *Canton*, the *Portuguese* ships were stopped, and only two suffered to proceed up the river, on board one of which was the ambassador, and the *Portuguese* commodore *Andrada*, who was a man of strict honour; so that he soon gained on the *Chinese*, notwithstanding their natural aversion to strangers. By his civility and polite behaviour, he drew them to trade, and then, by his exactness and probity, brought them to have a great confidence in him; but what had the greatest effect, and might have established the commerce of the *Portuguese*, to the exclusion of all other nations, was his giving notice, a little be-

<sup>2</sup> WAFER'S Voyages.

fore his departure, that at such a time he meant to fail, and that if any had demands either upon him or any who belonged to him, they might apply, and receive satisfaction. This was a thing new to the *Chinefe*, but so agreeable, that they made him high professions of friendship, and assured him, that they would willingly trade with his nation, in hopes of meeting always with the like usage. But so fair a prospect did not long continue, and, for all this, the first had also very near proved the last voyage of the *Portuguese* thither <sup>a</sup>. The captains of the ships that were left at the mouth of the river were the occasion of this; for they landed, and fell into trade with the natives; but, presuming on their power in the *Indies*, treated the *Chinefe* in the same manner they had done other people; that is to say, brought on shore several pieces of cannon, and then took what goods they pleased, at what rates they thought fit, committing many other insolencies, ravishing women, and trading with pirates for such as they had taken prisoners, of whom they made slaves. The viceroy of the province quickly assembled a great naval force, with which he surrounded the *Portuguese* squadron; and had infallibly taken every ship, if a storm had not risen, which scattered the *Chinefe* fleet, and gave the *Portuguese* an opportunity of returning to *Malacca*, with more profit than honour <sup>b</sup>. As for the ambassador *Thomas Perera*, he, tho' perfectly innocent, proved the victim of this bad behaviour; for the *Chinefe* court, being acquainted with what had passed, not only refused him audience, but sent him back to *Canton* in chains, where he was put into the common prison, with the vilest criminals, and there lived in misery for several years, till, worn out with hardships, he expired, in such wretched circumstances, that he did not leave wherewith to bury him <sup>c</sup> (L).

Ir

<sup>a</sup> MAFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. cap. 5.

<sup>b</sup> P. LA-PITAU Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 310.

<sup>c</sup> MAFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. cap. 5.

(L) It is very remarkable, that the officers who conducted these expeditions, after a manner so very different, and with success answerable to that difference, were brothers. *Ferdinand Andrada*, who carried the ambassador up to *Canton*, from whence he went by land to *Pe-*

*king*, remained in *China* near a year, and, in that time, his own behaviour was so correct, his discipline so exact, and the submission paid to his orders so ready, and so great, that the *Chinefe* concluded the *Portuguese* to be beyond comparison the wisest and most potent nation with

*When this commerce was refused, the Portuguese first sent annual fleets, and at length obtained a settlement at Macao, which they still possess.* IT was many years before the *Chinese* would admit the *Portuguese* to any trade with them; but, at last, consented they should send some ships to the island of *Sanchan*, where they were allowed to erect tents on shore, for a very small space of time, in which they disposed of their merchandize. At length, towards the close of the sixteenth century, a favourable opportunity offered, not only for restoring their commerce, but of procuring an establishment in *China*; which is what no other nation ever had to boast. A certain pirate, whose name was *Tchang-fi-lao*, committed prodigious ravages upon the coasts, and, having at last acquired a great force, made himself master of the little island of *Macao*, and from thence not only blocked up the port of *Canton*, but also besieged the city. The mandarins, in this distress, had recourse to the *Portuguese*, whose ships were then at the island of *Sanchan*. They readily offered them their assistance, and not only forced *Tchang-fi-lao* to raise the siege, but pursued him to *Macao*, and there killed him. The viceroy having made a faithful report to the emperor of this extraordinary service, that prince, out of pure gratitude, published an edict<sup>d</sup>, by which he granted the *Portuguese* this island, with the power

<sup>d</sup> DU HALDE Description de l'Empire de Chine, tom. i. p. 241.

with whom they had ever any correspondence (86). Yet *Ferdinand Andrada* did his own and his nation's business very well; that is, he carried home a valuable cargo, and made his own and his officers fortunes; which recommended him to King *Emanuel*, who was then living, and who was never weary of hearing the stories he told him of *Cbina* (87). *Simon Andrada*, who was to have brought back the ambassador, effaced all the impressions that his brother's right behaviour had made, prejudiced the *Chinese* against the people of *Portugal*, to the last degree, whom they esteemed to

be no better than pirates and free-booters; so that he returned to *Malacca* with great loss of men, an inconsiderable cargo, and a perfect bankrupt in point of reputation (88). There is some doubt as to the name of the ambassador; for though the author we have cited calls him *Pereyra*, yet most other authors tell us his name was *Thomas Perez*. It is possible the error might arise from hence, that there was also one *Pereyra*, who remained long a prisoner in *Cbina*, and who wrote a large account of that empire, extant in our own as well as in other languages (89).

(86) P. Laftau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais, tom. ii. p. 313.

(87) Histoire generale de Portugal, par Monsieur de la Cleyde, tom. iv. p. 288.

(88) Maffei Hist. Indica, P. i. lib. vi. cap. 5.

(89) Purchas's Pilgrims,

vol. iii. p. 199.

of making a settlement there; which they joyfully accepted, though but a small inconvenient place, and built a good town, fortified after the *European* manner, and furnished in time with near two hundred pieces of cannon. One would imagine, that this must excite the jealousy of the *Chinese*, justly esteemed the most suspicious people in the world; but they provided so effectually for their own security, that all the force of the *Portuguese* is intirely at their devotion; because they have not a day's provision, but what they receive from the *Chinese*, and are so surrounded by their forces, that it is impossible for them to undertake any thing to the prejudice of their empire\*. The possession of this place has been, notwithstanding, extremely beneficial to that nation; for from thence they carried on, for many years, a most beneficial commerce with *Japan*, by which *Macao* became one of the richest and most considerable places in the *Indies*; and many of the nobility of *Portugal*, who had enjoyed very high offices, chose to settle there, where they lived in great splendor, and, at the same time, acquired vast estates by trade; so that the permission of living at *Macao* was a reward for past services, and the contriving many such rewards, without any expence to the crown, was the great policy of the *Portuguese* viceroys† (M).

WE

\* Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, liv. iv. ch. i.  
† LE COMPTE's Letters concerning China.

(M) It is very difficult to discover either the manner or the time in which the *Portuguese* were reconciled to the people of *China*; the best account we have been able to meet with, is that of a *Dominican* friar, dedicated to *Sebastian* king of *Portugal*; in which he says, that, upon the quarrel mentioned in the former note, the *Chinese* called these people, to shew their hatred of them, *men of the devil*. But, however, they began to trade with them again by stealth at *Liampo*; and at length, near forty years afterwards, through the good conduct of *Lionel Sousa*, they were received again at *Canton*, and a better name bestowed upon them, which was that of *people from another coast* (90). It is not very certain either when or how they came to have the island of *Macao* bestowed upon them; the most probable account is, that, about the year 1585, it was assigned them as a place to winter in, in case they could expel the pirates that were in possession of it; and upon this that account is grounded, which, from modern historians, we have given in the text; for, if the thing had been

(90) *Gasper du Cruz Hist. Sinesf. lib. v.*



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ports the  
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their set-  
tlements at  
Limpoa;

WE have an account, from a modern author, of an early settlement that the *Portuguese* had in *China*, at a place which he calls the *Limpoa*, which perhaps ought to be wrote *Liampo*; but of this there are no traces to be found in the *Portuguese* writers. As he received his intelligence from the *Chinese*, it may not be improper to take notice of that history, which has very probably some foundation. This settlement, he says, grew to be of very great consequence, and the *Portuguese* who inhabited there became immensely rich, and, in consequence of this, outrageously insolent, as well as excessively debauched. Amongst other excesses of which they were guilty, that which provoked the *Chinese* most, was their carrying off girls, when they were extremely young, by force, and when they had kept them as long as they thought fit, and were grown tired of them, they sent them back to their parents. All applications for redress having failed, the people at length determined to have recourse to a vigorous resistance, against such shocking acts of violence; and taking advantage of one of these troops of virgin-hunters, they surrounded, and cut them off to a man. The *Portuguese*, upon this, complained in their turn; which brought the affair before a higher tribunal, where the *Chinese* having fully justified themselves, from the necessity they were under to repel force by force, in their own defence, the matter came at last to the knowledge of the emperor, who immediately ordered a strict inquisition to be made into the conduct of these strangers; which brought such a horrid scene of iniquity and violence to light, as produced a decree, that they should immediately quit his dominions; with which they were obliged to comply, but were allowed to carry off their effects. And thus, says our author, ended the most opulent colony at that time in the world <sup>2</sup>.

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As he ascribes the wealth of this settlement, in a great measure, to their trade with *Japan*, it is not easy to reconcile this fact to the relations of the *Portuguese*, who unanimously fix the center of that commerce at *Macao*, and with great reason, as we shall shew hereafter. We shall also have occasion, at the close of this chapter, to give a description of

<sup>2</sup> HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 282, 283.

of such public notoriety, the place is called *Amaoa*, that is, date of that grant would have been with more certainty recorded. In the old *Chinese* maps this the harbour of *Ama*, from an idol of that name, to which a temple was erected near the port (91).

(91) *That Chinese Map was published by Purchas, in vol. iii. p. 401.*

the

the present state of this city, which still belongs to the crown of *Portugal*; and, though very inconsiderable now in comparison of what it was, is yet, on many accounts, a place of importance. But it is now high time to proceed to the utmost limits of the *Portuguese* discoveries in the east, and to speak of the manner in which they found an entrance to *Japan*, of which, though they were not the first *Europeans* that had any knowledge, for, as we have shewn, those islands had been visited, and in some measure described, by the famous *Venetian* traveller *Marco Polo*, long before, yet they were certainly the first that had any establishment in the country, or commerce with the inhabitants; which turned to prodigious advantage for them, and in possession of which they might have still continued, but for their insolence and indifferetion, and the great address of the *Dutch*, by whom they were absolutely supplanted <sup>1</sup>.

THERE is not any passage relating to the subject of this chapter more curious, or more extraordinary, than what relates to the islands of *Japan*, which, about the same time, were visited by two different companies of adventurers. And though, in the account we have received of both discoveries, very little notice is taken of dates, yet, from the comparison of facts, it is pretty evident, that those of whom we shall first speak arrived in that country some time in the month of May, A. D. 1542<sup>1</sup>. *Ferdinand Mendez Pinto* tell us himself, that being in company with two of his countrymen, *Diego Zimoto* and *Christopher Borello*, at *Macao*, they endeavoured to get a passage by sea into some other parts of the *Indies*, and found it very difficult. At last a *Chinese* pirate offered his service, promising to carry them to the islands of *Lequios*, of which, it seems, the *Portuguese* had already some knowledge. They pass under different names, for some writers call them the islands of *Liqueios*, others the islands of *Rinku*. They lie between twenty-six and thirty degrees of north latitude; having the island of *Formosa* on the south-west; the continent of *China* on the west; the islands of *Japan* on the north; and the ocean on the east; on which side, they seem to have no land nearer to them than *America*. The *Japanese* report, that they are the most fertile countries in the world; and that the inhabitants are the easiest, happiest, and best-conditioned, of the human race. They are subject to the prince of *Saxuma*, who is one of the principal lords of the

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de Japon*, par LE CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 411, 412.

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages and Adventures of FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO*, chap. 43.

empire of *Japan*. The *Chinese* were formerly masters of them; and even, at present, there is still some commerce between them and the *Phillippines*. But our adventurers being at sea, the weather proved so bad, and the ship so leaky, that there was an absolute necessity of putting into some port to refit. The captain bore away, therefore, for a certain harbour in the island of *Japan*, which was that of *Niaygima*, in the island of *Tanuximaa*, where they safely arrived. This, undoubtedly, is what other authors call *Tacuxima*, belonging to the kingdom of *Firando*.

*Their situation according to him.* IT lies in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north, at a very small distance from the great island of *Ximo*, which is the second in size of those three islands, known in *Europe* under the common name of *Japan*; which, as we have shewn, is not the name of a particular country, but of a large archipelago of islands, the most considerable of which is *Nippon*. Before they entered the port, two barks came from the shore, to know who they were, and what they wanted? The captain answered, that they were come from *China*: that his intention was to trade, if they might obtain permission. To which the principal person answered, that the lord of the island was called *Nautaquim*; and that, if they paid the port-duties, they might have leave to trade. The *Chinese* captain complied; and the patron of the barks, with great civility, conducted him immediately into the harbour<sup>k</sup>.

*A succinct account of his adventures in those islands, and his manner of leaving them.* ABOUT two hours after, the lord of the island came, accompanied by several persons of distinction, and some merchants. At the sight of the three *Portuguese*, he was astonished, and demanded who those strangers were, and of what nation? The captain answered, that they came from a great city, called *Malacca*; and that they were of a certain kingdom in *Europe*, called *Portugal*. At these words, *Nautaquim* appeared still more surpris'd; and, at last, turning to those who were about him, he said, "Let me die if I don't believe these are the *Chinchigogis*, of whom we read, in our old books, that they fly upon the waters, and make themselves masters of every rich country of which they hear. We shall think ourselves very happy, if they are content to be our allies." He then made no difficulty of going aboard the *Chinese* vessel, with some of the people about him, and asked the *Portuguese* abundance of questions, whom he invited to visit him on shore, promising to entertain them kindly. They went, and carried him a present, which was graciously re-

<sup>k</sup> Histoire de Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, vol. i. p. 179.

ceived;

ceived; and *Nautaquim* entered into a long conversation about their country; and, particularly, insisted on these three points, which, he said, he had been told by the *Chinese* and *Lequians* in his country: first, that *Portugal* was bigger than *China*, and richer: that the king of *Portugal* had conquered the best part of the world: and, that he had better than two thousand houses full of gold and silver. *Pinto* owns, that he did not stick exactly to truth in his answers, but contrived such as were likely to keep up the high opinion that *Nautaquim* had conceived of their monarch. All the time they staid, they were treated with the utmost civility, being permitted to see every thing they desired, and go where they would. This great lord was the nephew and the son-in-law of the king of *Bango*, one of the greatest monarchs in *Japan*, who, upon having an account of the arrival of these strangers, was very desirous of seeing them; and, at his request, accordingly *Nautaquim* sent *Pinto* to him; and some adventures which happened at his court, recommended the *Portuguese* so strongly to the king's favour, that he made him several considerable presents, besides a sum of ready money to the amount of about a thousand pounds; and not without difficulty permitted him to embark again on board the same ship which brought him, in which he went back to *China*, and from thence returned to the *Indies*<sup>1</sup> (N).

WE

<sup>1</sup> Voyages and Adventures of FERDINAND MENDEZ PINTO, c. 44, 45, 46.

(N) The character of this writer has suffered not a little, in the general opinion of the world, from that humour, common to his nation, of embellishing all he relates in such a manner as to create astonishment, by which he has incurred the just punishment of disbelief. Yet some very able judges, upon a strict perusal, and close examination, of his work, have found, that there are in it not only many curious and useful things, but that also, in reference to the transactions in which he was himself concerned, he is a very exact and candid writer. For instance; with respect to this expedition, he tells us very honestly, that there were eight of them, all natives of *Portugal*, that, after suffering infinite hardships, travelled cross the empire of *China*, to the island of *Sanchian*, and from thence to another port, which is held to be *Macao*, where they found several vessels, on board of which they might have embarked for the *Indies* (92). "But whereas, says he, it is the quality of us *Portuguese* to abound in our own sense of

(92) Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, c. 43, 45, 46.

How they  
were dis-  
covered  
also by  
other Por-  
tuguese  
voyagers,  
and how  
the famous  
Xavier  
came to be  
esteemed  
the apostle  
of this nu-  
merous and  
potent na-  
tion.

WE come now to the other adventurers, and their story will lie in a very narrow compass. In this year 1542 there came three other subjects of the crown of *Portugal* into this country; their names were *Antonio Mota*, *Francisco Zeimote*, and *Antonio Pexota*, who, in a voyage from the island of *Maceffar* to *China*, were thrown upon these islands, and exceedingly well received. Amongst others, they entered into a close acquaintance with one *Angero*, a man of a good family, and a considerable fortune, but exceedingly troubled in mind on account of some irregularities committed in his youth; who heard them with pleasure discourse of the truths of the Christian religion. About two years after *Alvarez Vaz*, a *Portuguese* merchant, came into the same country, and became intimate with the same person, whom he persuaded to go to the *Portuguese* settlements, in order to be consoled by the holy discourses of the famous *Francis Xavier*. To which at length he yielded; and, having received baptism at *Goa* in the year 1548, he the next year accompanied Father *Xavier*, and two other Jesuits, in their voyage to *Japon*, where they immediately entered upon their mission; by the progress of which this country was made so thoroughly known to the *Portuguese*, that, if *Mendez Pinto* had not recorded his own voyage thither, it is very possible we had never heard any thing at all of it; but that he afterwards visited *Japon*, in company with Father *Xavier*, and, after the decease of that industrious Jesuit, whom the papists esteem the apostle of the *Indies*, he went thither again as ambassador from the viceroy of the *Indies* to the king of *Bungo* in 1556; so that there seems to be no just grounds for calling in question any thing that he has written. The conversion of multitudes to the Christian faith, through the whole extent of this great empire,

\* *Histoire de Japon*, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, vol. i. p. 186.

" things, and to be exceeding  
" obstinate, there arose amongst  
" us eight such a contrariety of  
" sentiments about a matter, in  
" which nothing concerned us  
" so much as to act harmoni-  
" ously, that we not only quar-  
" relled, but were on the point  
" of cutting one another's  
" throats; so that the officer,  
" who had conducted us thither,  
" retired with great dis-  
" pleasure, refusing to charge

" himself with our letters, de-  
" claring, he had rather the  
" king should cut off his head,  
" than that he should provoke  
" God, by receiving into his  
" custody any thing that came  
" from such wicked people."  
After this, he proceeds to relate  
the facts briefly mentioned in  
the text, and for which it was  
necessary to cite his testimony,  
and, as far as justice will allow,  
to vindicate his sincerity.

contributed

contributed not a little to support the *Portuguese* trade, which was managed with much facility, and to a vast profit: for the *Portuguese*, being established in *China*, carried from thence vast quantities of silk into *Japan*, where, as all ranks of people affect to be clothed in it, there followed a prodigious consumption, which enriched the *Portuguese* merchants very soon to a high degree; though it is scarcely credible, that, as some *Dutch* writers report, they have sometimes carried home in one small ship an hundred tons of gold<sup>a</sup>. But this prodigious success proved the cause of their being at last deprived of this lucrative commerce.

It is not consistent with our design to enter here into a long *By what* and particular relation of the several facts which drew upon *means the* them, from the government of *Japan*, that fatal prohibition; *Portu-* we shall only report in general terms, and in as few words *gue* as possible, the principal causes of this exclusion. The vast *came first* wealth they had acquired, corrupting the manners of the *to lose their* *Portuguese*, made them less cautious than they ought to have *credit, and* been in their behaviour towards the *Japonesse*; insomuch that, *at length* instead of the moderation, sobriety, and exact conduct, which *are expell-* they at first pursued, they grew proud, insolent, and dissolute. *ed those* This prompted them to change the places where they were *islands.* wont to trade, and to prefer such ports as were in the dominions of infidel princes to such as were in the territories of those *Japonesse* lords that had embraced the Christian religion, that they might live as they thought fit, and without being under the controul of the missionaries, who took all the pains they could to oblige their countrymen to advance the credit of the Christian religion by the regularity of their lives<sup>a</sup>. These errors had two very bad consequences; for, first, they disgusted such *princes* as had embraced the faith; and, secondly, they hardened the infidels in their aversion to it. But it was not only the corruption of the *Portuguese* merchants, officers, and seamen, that gave offence to the people of this empire; the intrigues of the missionaries themselves contributed to it as much, or more, by exciting the jealousy of the emperor: for, where-ever they had converted any of the princes of *Japan*, they were continually at court, and, instead of minding what was the proper business of the church, engaged perpetually in affairs of state, making the direction of consciences much less their care than the direction of councils; by which

<sup>a</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. x. p. 102. ° MANLEY's Account of the Island of Japan, and of the Exclusion of the Portuguese.

they became the authors of many troubles, and afforded a handle to their enemies of charging them with many more; so that the emperor of *Japan* began at last to surmise that there was more of hypocrisy than sanctity in their hearts; and that they were endeavouring, under colour of saving mens souls, to establish a new government in that country<sup>p</sup>, at the expence of his.

*Careless,  
or unac-  
countably  
blind to  
several  
pregnant  
instances of  
the designs  
of the Ja-  
ponese.*

THESE jealousies, which certainly were not altogether without foundation, were extremely increased by two circumstances: the first was, the haughtiness and ill conduct of such as were sent ambassadors thither, especially after the union of the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; for those ministers were wont to boast of the vast power of the catholic king, and of the mighty extent of his dominions, of which they affected to convince the *Japonese* by shewing the maps of the *East* and *West Indies*; and the imprudence of one of these ambassadors is said to have carried him so far, as, being asked, "How his master had acquired such vast territories at so great a distance from his hereditary dominions?" he answered, "By sending missionaries first to convert a part of the inhabitants to Christianity, and then sending troops to assist the new converts in shaking off the yoke of infidel princes." The other circumstance was, the coming of *Dutch* ships upon the coast of *Japan*; for these people, applying themselves intirely to commerce, and submitting, for the sake thereof, to whatever terms were prescribed by the *Japonese*, gained such a degree of confidence with their princes, that it procured implicit credit for their representations, as to the ambitious designs of the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*. These remarks will give the reader an easy key to the political contrivances for first restraining the *Portuguese* trade to a particular port, and then shutting them up as it were in a prison during their stay in that empire. But, notwithstanding these and many other previous signs which the *Portuguese* had of the approaching rupture with the *Japonese*, yet were they so far from taking such steps as in common prudence they ought to have done for avoiding so great a mischief, that, on the contrary, they became daily worse and worse, till the storm came upon them with such a force as was not to be resisted q (O).

THIS

<sup>p</sup> HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 299.  
<sup>q</sup> VARENIUS, KÆMPFER, CARON, &c.

(O) There are very different *Portuguese* from *Japan*, which it accounts of the expulsion of the would be improper in this work  
for

THIS irremissible edict was given in 1639 ; and not long *Attempt* after, two large ships, richly laden, from *Macao*, came to an *made by* anchor in the road of *Nagazaqui* ; on which it was instantly *the Portu-* notified to the commodore, that the emperor of *Japon* had *guese at* totally prohibited all commerce with the *Portuguese* for these *Macao to* reasons : first, because, notwithstanding several cautions given *renew* them, they had continued to bring over missionaries into his *their cor-* country ; secondly, that they had supplied those that were *respondence* already there with provisions, and other necessaries ; and, *with these* thirdly, that there were just reasons to suspect they had some *islands.* knowledge of, and concern in, the late rebellion of the Christians in *Arima*. They had also a copy of the emperor's edict, which they were directed to make public at *Macao* ; and to inform the inhabitants of that city, that these were the last ships that should ever be permitted to anchor in any port of *Japon* ; and that, if ever they came thither again, they should be treated as enemies, and put to death without mercy. On their return, the whole place was struck with consternation, being convinced that the loss of this trade would prove the ruin of their city ; to prevent which, they resolved to employ a solemn embassy to justify their conduct, and, if possible, to engage the emperor to recall this edict, or at least to qualify it, that they might on certain terms have leave to send some ships thither. The difficulty was, to find any who

for us to state and examine. What is said in the text appears to us, from a comparison of the best relations, to be as near the truth as possible. Certain it is that the *Dutch* were in no small danger of suffering for being Christians, as well as the *Portuguese* ; nor is there any doubt that the government of *Japon* knew them to be so ; and even told them plainly, that what they represented as important and distinguishing differences between their religion and that of the *Portuguese*, seemed to be of little consequence to the ministry of *Japon*, and therefore they insisted upon their demolishing immediately those edifices upon which they had inscribed the

year of the Lord, and to forbear all the public exercises of their religion, that the subjects of the emperor might not have daily before their eyes what might revive their notions of Christianity (93) ; which is a convincing proof, that the *Japaneſe* government was persuaded, that in respect to their own people, they could not be good subjects and good Christians at the same time ; which certainly could never have entered their minds, if the *Japaneſe* converts had acted in a manner suitable to the principles of the gospel, than which none were ever so fitly calculated for promoting the interests of civil society.

(93) *Recueil de Voyages aux Nord, tom. iii. p. 246.*

would



would charge themselves with so dangerous a commission; but at last the following persons offered to run the hazard, viz. Don Lewis Paex Pacheco, who had served with honour as commander of the armies in the *Indies*, and who was now seventy-eight years of age, Don Roderic Sanchez de Paredes, Don Gonzalez Montayro de Carvailbo, and Don Simon Vaz de Pauia, all men of distinction, and moved by nothing but the desire of justifying their countrymen, and rendering service to their country<sup>1</sup>.

The treatment of that embassy by the Japanese etc.

ON the ninth of July 1640 the ship that carried them arrived in the road of *Nagazaqui*: they sent an account to the Japanese governors of the nature of their commission. The ship was immediately seized; and the ambassadors, and all who belonged to them, except eight negro seamen, were imprisoned in the island of *Kisima*, till the emperor's pleasure should be known. On the return of the courier, they were sent for before the magistrates, who treated them as criminals, demanding what it was that could induce them, after so fair warning as was given them, to return in direct breach of the emperor's edict? They pleaded, that they were not at all within the meaning of that law, because the emperor forbade thereby any attempt to trade, which was not their business, having no commodities of any sort on board their ship, but coming thither with the characters of ambassadors, which had been always, and by all nations, esteemed sacred. They were told, that this would not serve their turns; that they had incurred the penalty of the edict; upon which they were instantly bound, and conducted back to prison.

Miserable issue of that unfortunate negotiation, by which a period was put to their hopes, so long as they continued subjects to the crown of Spain.

THE next day the ambassadors, and all their attendants, to the number of seventy-four Portuguese, Spaniards, Chinese, Canarins, and Indians, were carried before the magistrates, who then told them his imperial majesty had commanded they should all suffer death except thirteen; which sentence was executed the same evening. The next morning, before it was light, the governor sent for the thirteen that were spared; and, having asked them whether they had seen their ship burnt, inquired of them, whether they would faithfully report at *Macao* what they were commanded by the emperor to say on his behalf? Being answered in the affirmative, they proceeded thus: "You are, then, to inform your fellow-citizens, that henceforth the subjects of *Japan* will not receive either money, merchandize, or presents, from them any more: you see we have burnt the very cloaths of those who were executed yesterday. Let your people use any of

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 413.

"ours, that fall into your hands, in the same manner; we consent to it; and desire that you would think of us no more than if there were not such a nation as the *Japoneſe* in the world. This is what we have to ſay to you." The poor wretches, having liſtened to this ſad tale, promiſed to deliver this meſſage. They then conducted them to the place where the heads were fixed upon poles in three rows, the four embaſſadors firſt, the *Europeans* next, and the ſtrangers laſt. They likewiſe ſhewed them a great iron cheſt, in which were the bodies of the perſons executed; and a long inſcription, ending with theſe words: "All this is ſet forth as a memorial of what is paſt, and as an advertiſement for the time to come. Henceforward, ſo long as the ſun ſhall ſhine upon the earth, let not any Chriſtian be ſo hardy as to ſet his foot in *Japon*; and be it known to all the world, that if King *Philip* in perſon, the god of the Chriſtians, or the great *Xaca*, one of the firſt deities of *Japon*, ſhall preſume to break this ordinance, he ſhall pay for it with his head." They then gave theſe poor people an old veſſel to return in to *Macao*; which they choſe, rather than to be put on board any of the five *Dutch* ſhips that were then on the coaſt, and offered to carry them to that port<sup>†</sup> (P).

WHEN Don *Juan Duke of Bragança* mounted the throne of *Portugal*, and assumed the title of *John* the fourth, he, in the year 1646, thought fit to make another attempt in favour of the city of *Macao*, and ſent Don *Gonzalo Segueyra* as his embaſſador to the moſt powerful emperor of *Japon*, to inform him, that *Portugal* no longer continued ſubject to the crown of *Spain*; which as it was the principal occaſion of the nation's being prohibited all commerce with the *Japoneſe*, he hoped that a good intelligence might now be reſtored between the citizens of *Macao* and the ſubjects of his imperial majeſty. The em-

*Upon the acceſſion of the duke of Bragança to the crown of Portugal, new enter- priſes undertaken.*

<sup>†</sup> Taken from the relation at large, preſerved by the author laſt cited. <sup>†</sup> Recueil des Voyages au Nord, tom. iii. p. 220.

(P) As a farther precaution, theſe unfortunate people judged it requiſite to deſire a paſſport from the *Japoneſe* government, in order to protect them from *Dutch* privateers; which was readily granted; and by the help of which they returned ſafely to *Macao*; where, when the inhabitants had fully conſidered their report, they with a courage and ſpirit becoming their nation, celebrated with joy the conſtancy of thoſe Chriſtian martyrs who had thus perished for their religion and their country (94).

bassador was very civilly received, and an express sent to court with the news of his arrival. About a month afterwards came back a courier with the emperor's answer, which was : That his request could not be granted ; but that he, and all who belonged to him, had free liberty to depart \*.

*Another  
promising  
opportunity  
engages  
them to  
make a  
new at-  
tempt  
without  
success.*

IN 1685 another favourable opportunity offered, which the *Portuguese* did not fail to embrace. A *Japonese* vessel, driven by a storm from their own coasts, was forced to take shelter in the port of *Macao*, where those who were on board it met with a very kind reception ; and, having been entertained at the publick expence till they were recovered from the hardships they endured at sea, were then put on board one of the best vessels belonging to the port of *Macao*, and sent back to their own country. On their coming to an anchor in the road of *Nangazaqui*, and sending the *Japonese* on shore, they received a message from the magistrates, that they were obliged to them for this kind and generous behaviour ; but that, for the future, they would advise them not to give themselves the trouble of sending home any more of their people, since it would not answer their ends \*. We may from hence collect of how great consequence this commerce was, and how very sensible the *Portuguese* were of the sad effects that must inevitably attend the loss of it ; and indeed their foresight has been justified by the event, since their trade, their force, and their reputation in the *Indies*, have all been gradually declining ever since †.

\* Histoire du Japon, par le P. CHARLEVOIX, tom. ii. p. 441.

† Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, l. iv. cap. 2.

‡ GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 336.

## S E C T. IX.

*Present low and distressed State of the small Remains of the Portuguese Territories in the Indies; Remarks on the Causes of a Declension no less strange, than the sudden Rise, and vast Extent, of their Empire; Reasons why their Situation, sunk as it is, ought not to be considered as irretrievable.*

WE have now conducted the history of the rise and progress of the Portuguese power in the Indies to its close; and there remains nothing more than to give the reader a just and distinct idea of the possessions which the crown of Portugal still retains in these parts. In order to this, it is necessary that we should begin with the island and city of Goa, which yet continues, as it always was, the capital of their dominions (Q). We have shewn before how it came into their hands through the courage and conduct of the famous *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, in 1508, from whom it was again recovered by the natives, and with much difficulty reconquered about two years afterwards, when, from the consideration of its convenient situation, the great excellence of its port, and

*A short description of the city of GOA, the capital of the Portuguese empire in Asia.*

(Q) The reader will not perhaps be displeased to learn the state of this place before the Portuguese came into the Indies, which will also render this description more perspicuous. In the language of the country, the word *Ticuarin* signifies thirty, and alluded to the number of villages that were upon the island. They were mostly inhabited by *Moors*, who became proprietors of these islands by a very singular accident: The great king or emperor of *Bisnagar*, being engaged in a war with the monarch of *Decan*, was so excessively enraged that the *Moors* should furnish the people of *Decan* with horses, that he ordered the king of *Onor*, then his tributary, to destroy all the

*Moors* in his dominions. This he actually attempted, and cut off great numbers, the rest retired into the island of *Ticuarin*, and built the town of *Goa*, which is to be understood not of the old, but of the new town, that was improved and fortified afterwards by the Portuguese. This event happened *Anno Domini* 1479; and these refugees made choice of *Hoffein* for their king, whom the Portuguese styled *Melikebocem*. When he died, his son *Idaltan* succeeded, who was dispossessed of it by *Albuquerque*, and who maintained a long war, in hopes of recovering it, but was at length forced to content himself with the territories that he still preserved upon the continent (95).

(95) *John de Barros, Decad. i. l. viii. Decad. ii. l. v. c. 1.*

the fertility of the adjacent islands, it was very wisely resolved to make it the seat of government<sup>1</sup>. The island of *Goa*, as it is now called, or, as it was styled antiently, *Ticuarin*, is situated in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty minutes north, and is about twenty-seven miles in compass. The river *Mandova*, which is almost as much respected by the *Indians* as the *Ganges*, divides it from the continent, and at the distance of about six miles falls into the sea. The rainy season continues here from *June* till *September* or *October*; and the land-floods bring down such quantities of mud and sand as stop up the haven, and impede the navigation. During this time the weather is very hot after sun-rise, when the rains cease: yet before the rains begin, that is, in the months of *April* and *May*, the weather is still more sultry, but from *October* to *March* it is very moderate<sup>2</sup>.

The convenience, strength, and other advantages, of the haven and quays, &c.

In the best descriptions we have of these countries, the port of *Goa* is represented as one of the fairest in the *Indies*, and for this it stands in some measure obliged to nature; but, to do them justice, the *Portuguese* have spared no pains to heighten and improve those advantages, as well as to fortify it with many castles and towers, furnished with abundance of very good cannon; for, at the entrance, on the left, upon the point of the island of *Bardes*, is a strong fort called *Aguada*, with large outworks, and guns level with the water; on the top of the hill, near the chanel, is a long wall planted with cannon; and opposite to it the castle called *Nossa Senhora del Cabo*, or *Our Lady of the Cape*, built in the island of *Goa*. Two miles within the chanel, above the island of *Bardes*, is another castle called *dos Reis*, or *the King's*, well fortified with cannon, and level also with the water. Here the new viceroy takes possession at his arrival. Near this fort is a monastery of *Franciscans*, and opposite to it, within cannon-shot, is the fort of *Gaspar Dias*, but two miles distant from that of *the King's*. Beyond these castles the chanel grows narrower, sometimes to one, sometimes to two miles; and its banks, planted with the best fruits and finest trees *India* affords, yield the fairest prospect imaginable. Besides, there are beautiful country-houses called *Quinta's*, and abundance of pleasant dwellings of the country people<sup>3</sup>.

The situation, and beautiful

*Goa*. This delightful scene holds for eight miles, quite up to *Goa*. Half-way upon the right side is a palace called *Passo de Dangi*, where formerly the viceroys resided, but at present it

<sup>1</sup> MAFFÆI Hist. Indica, P. i. l. vii. c. 3.    <sup>2</sup> Les Etats du Monde, p. 217.    <sup>3</sup> PIETRO DELLA VALLE Voyage aux Indes, tom. iii. p. 176.

serves as a barrack for the garrison. There, begins a strong broad *prospect* wall, two miles in length, for a foot-path, when the country *over the* is overflowed; and a great deal of salt is gathered thereabouts. *country adjacent.* Opposite to this wall, or dyke, is a hill, on which the Jesuits have their house for novices<sup>b</sup>. The viceroy has his palace, called *la Palveira*, on the same chanel, and so has the archbishop. Here begins the city; and so far ships can come up, after discharging some part of their lading. This chanel, that makes so noble a port, runs many miles up the country, dividing it into several fruitful islands and peninsulas, which not only plentifully furnish the city with necessaries, but delight the palate with rich fruit; afford a curious prospect, and yield much profit to the gentry, to whom for the most part they belong. Adjoining to this port is the haven of *Murmugon*, formed by the other chanel that runs between the island of *Goa* and peninsula of *Salsete*; and supplies a safe retreat to the ships that come from *Portugal*, and other parts, when they are shut out of the port by the sands the river *Mandova* brings down, when swollen by the first rains of *June*, the passage not being open till *October*. This port of *Murmugon* is defended by the castle of the same name, seated in the island of *Salsete*, in which there is a good garrison, and the fortifications are well supplied with cannon<sup>c</sup>.

At the south entrance into the chanel, a little beyond the *Of the* fort, on the right hand, are seen the remains of *Old Goa*, and *former and* from thence to the new city there is a commodious road, elegantly adorned with trees for fruit and shade; and the country for several miles embellished with pleasant country-houses, *present state of* to which belong neat gardens. What is still styled the new city carries evident marks of decay; for, though the walls are kept in good repair, and are every-where well supplied with cannon, yet, taking in, as they do, a compass of twelve miles, *this city: extent, buildings, number of inhabitants, &c.* they serve to shew what the city once was in comparison of what it now is. In the time of its prosperity there was nothing could be compared with it in the *Indies*, and very few cities in *Europe* were either larger or better built. The public structures still remain, and bear incontestable evidence of its former grandeur. The cathedral is very large, supported by twelve beautiful columns, and the archbishop's throne is very stately<sup>d</sup>. His palace is also very magnificent, tho' that prelate usually resides in the country: the viceroy's palace is

<sup>b</sup> TAVERNIER, LE BRUN, &c.

<sup>c</sup> MANDELSLO, TA-

VERNIER, DELLON.

<sup>d</sup> GEMELLI CARERI *Tour du*  
Mond, liv. iii. cap. vi. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, tom. xv.  
p. 48.

also a noble building, and has many large and commodious apartments. The house of the holy office or palace of the inquisition is spacious, and the apartments that belong to the inquisitor-general very richly furnished. The power of that formidable ecclesiastic is very terrible, and extends to persons of all ranks, the viceroy, the archbishop, and his vicar, who is always a bishop, only excepted. There are churches and monasteries enough for a much larger place. The Jesuits alone have no less than five houses, and it is said that their revenues equal those of the crown of *Portugal*; but then it is to be remembered, all the wealth that is still remaining lies in the hands of the church<sup>e</sup>. The houses were formerly the best in *India*; and, being so still, make a tolerable figure: the number of inhabitants is said to be, in all, about twenty thousand; of these the native *Portuguese* are a very small number; the *Mestizos* are more numerous; the *Canarins*, or natives, are as black as jet, but have long black hair, and many of them fine features; multitudes of negro slaves, and pagans of different nations, make up the rest of the people. It is generally agreed, that the men are for the most part proud, indolent, jealous, revengeful, and indigent; the women lazy, lascivious, and as well skilled in poisoning as any in the world; so much are they degenerated from what they were in former times. It might be suspected that these accounts were fictitious, or at least exaggerated, if writers of different nations did not so exactly agree in them, and if the present state of things did not too plainly prove that they are founded in truth, and that the continued progress of corruption has debased them from what they once were into the state in which they are now represented<sup>f</sup>.

*The condition of the viceroy, and the nature of the government subsisting in the Portuguese Indies.* ALL that remains under the *Portuguese* dominion, from the *Cape of Good Hope* in *Africa* to the city of *Macao* in *China* is now governed by a viceroy, or captain-general, who resides at *Goa*. There are six, and sometimes eight, *Desembargadores*, or judges, that attend the governor, and compose a sovereign court or council, who all of them wear a gown down to their heels, over a cassock of the same length, the gown is made with wide sleeves reaching half-way their arms. They use *Gollilas*, and huge perukes after the *French* fashion<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> TAVERNIER, GEMELLI CARERI, DELLON, P. BOUCHET.

<sup>f</sup> LA MARTINIERE, SAVARY Dictionnaire de Commerce, ABRAHAM DU BOIS Geographie, p. 641. GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. ii. p. 69. HAMILTON's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 241. <sup>g</sup> Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, l. i. c. 13.

The chief court that these gowmsmen sit in is called *Relacaon*, in which justice is administered in civil and criminal cases; their power extending over all the officers of the crown, in which court also are tried appeals brought from all parts of their dominions. The viceroy, as chief of this court, sits under a canopy; the judges on benches placed on the floor. The council *De Facada* is a court of exchequer, where one of the gowmsmen sits as the viceroy's deputy. Thus the pomp and splendor of this government is still kept up, tho' the extent of it is so much lessened, and the power and credit of it in a manner quite decayed <sup>b</sup>. There are still as many subordinate governments as ever, that is, in title, for otherwise they are of no great consequence, and yet those on whom they are bestowed have the rank and title of generals. There is, for instance, a general of the gulf of *Ormuz*, who has four ships under his command; a general of the north, who commands the small towns on the coast of *Malabar*; a general of *Salzete*, who has the inspection of a territory of about fifteen miles; a general of *China*, who is properly speaking governor of *Macao*, and is a mere vassal to the *Chinese*. There is another general in the islands of *Timor* and *Solor*, to whom, however, the *Portuguese* there scarce pay any obedience, and who lives in a miserable fort, the guns of which are in no condition for service. There is, besides all these, a general of *Goa*, who takes care of the chanel between the islands, and restrains smugglers, unless they are under the protection of his superiors <sup>i</sup>.

BUT as it is a true observation, that men never grow superlatively wicked all at once; so it must be allowed, that dissolution of manners, as well as declension in power, came on gradually here: for, while *Portugal* remained annexed to *Spain*, viceroys and governors were sent over from very different motives, sometimes to remove them out of the way, sometimes through their interest at court, and sometimes as a reward for their condescension in points prejudicial to the interests of their native country. Such men, as might be well expected, behaved still worse abroad than they did at home, minding nothing but aggrandizing and enriching themselves by every method they could invent. The bad examples of the governors had a terrible effect on the subordinate officers; so that pride, vanity, luxury, and a pompous display of wealth, attained by the basest means, took place of that virtue and public spirit which enabled their ancestors to lay the

*A concise deduction of the several steps by which the inhabitants have been corrupted.*

<sup>b</sup> *Tout du Monde, par GEMELLI CARERI, b. iii. c. 6.*

<sup>i</sup> *BALDÆUS, TAVERNIER, GEMELLI CARERI.*



foundation of so large an empire, with a very inconsiderable part of the power which was in the possession of those who lost it. Their clergy followed the example of the laity; and, instead of promoting, as at the beginning, the conversion of the natives to the Christian faith, from the religious view of saving their souls, prosecuted that work from the meaner motive of making them subservient to their purposes, and enabling them to acquire vast riches. This corruption proceeded so far by degrees, that not only many of the Jesuits at *Goa* engaged in trade, contrary to the rules of their order, and their duty as missionaries, but descended so low as to disguise themselves in the habits of *Faquirs*, or *Mohammedan* monks, that they might have an opportunity of visiting the diamond mines, and purchasing stones there of extraordinary value, in which they have been detected, and openly punished<sup>\*</sup>.

*The keeping a multitude of idle and dissolute slaves the main instrument of their ruin.*

BUT what contributed to corrupt the inhabitants of the *Portuguese* settlements was, the little care taken to prevent their leaving all things to the direction of their negro slaves, and their intermarrying with the people of the country; practices which have been, and ever will be, fatal to all establishments, because it not only effeminates the minds of all such as fall into this way of living, but also makes them lose all regard for their country, and inclines them to take such dirty measures as are most likely to preserve them in the enjoyment of such servile pleasures. The *Portuguese* at *Goa* have been for more than a century past so much addicted to this sensual kind of life, that, provided they might enjoy their fine houses in the city, and their country palaces in its neighbourhood, they gave themselves no pain about what happened elsewhere, or how great progress the *Dutch* made in subduing their distant settlements. The natural consequence was, that when such settlements were lost, those who were driven from their habitations, instead of repairing to *Goa*, and taking arms in the king's service for the recovery of these dominions, went into the territories of some *Indian* prince, and there for a pitiful subsistence entered into his pay, or accepted of some low office in his court; so that while the fleets and armies of *Portugal* grew contemptible for want of soldiers and seamen, there were thousands of that nation scattered all over the *Indies*, disgracing their country by the ignominious manner of their getting their bread, when, by a proper behaviour, they might have restored the affairs of their prince, as well as their own fortunes. But when men once forget the dignity of their

<sup>\*</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 14.

nature to such a degree, as to place their supreme happiness in sensual delights, nothing just or prudent, great or good, is to be expected from them; and, their minds being already enslaved to their lusts, their bodies soon become the properties of those who will bestow those gratifications they so eagerly desire<sup>1</sup> (R).

THE territories that immediately depend on the viceroy of *Goa* are, first, the island upon which that city stands, and in *territories* which there are about thirty villages; the peninsula of *Sal-* *are which* *depend im-* *mediately* *on the vice-* *roy of Goa,* *and their* *import-* *ance.* *zete*, which is about sixty miles in compass; there are reckoned in it no less than fifty villages, and as many thousand inhabitants. The peninsula of *Bardes* is about forty-five miles round, and it is computed that there are, twenty-eight villages in it: the *Anchedives* are a cluster of five islands, at some distance, of no great extent, and not so well peopled. All these places are not of much consequence, farther than they supply the city of *Goa* plentifully with provisions, which some penetrating people think is no great advantage; for, vast quantities of rice coming to market, and slaves being contented with a dish of this food at noon, and another at night, this encourages every housekeeper to entertain a number of unnecessary attendants, scarce any having fewer than six, and some thirty or forty<sup>m</sup> (S). If these poor creatures, who are

<sup>1</sup> MANDELSLO, TAVERNIER, BALDÆUS, GUYON, BOUCHET.

<sup>m</sup> BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 14. Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARERI, b. iii. c. 6.

(R) We have, in a book written by a modern author of our own country, such an account of this place, as sets it in the most despicable light that can be, and this chiefly penned from his own observation and experience (96). He assures us, that there cannot be a more perfect contrast than that between the past and present state of this capital, and the country about it. He stood on a little hill near the city, and from thence counted fourscore convents and monasteries, to which there were said to belong not fewer than thirty thousand ecclesiastics of different orders,

nations, and complexions, who are not ashamed to live out of the labours of the laity, when they are scarce in a condition to subsist themselves, and when they are so far from giving the least umbrage to their Christian neighbours, that the *English* and *Dutch* consider the circumstances of their necessity with the utmost compassion, though at the same time they look upon their ill-placed haughtiness, and irreclaimable idleness, with an eye of contempt.

(S) When it is said that the far greater part of the inhabitants of *Goa* have a black complexion, it does not imply that they are

(96) *Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies*, vol. i. p. 254.

chiefly negroes, were employed in any useful labour, it were well enough; but carrying a *palanquin*, or supporting their master's umbrella, is the chief of their services: and thus poverty and pride accompany each other, and this to such a degree, that the women at *Goa* are carried in state a begging; and while the *palanquin*, with his mistress, rests at the door, a black boy enters with the lady's compliments, more especially to strangers, containing a succinct account of her distresses, and an intimation that some relief would not be disagreeable<sup>a</sup>. But let us now pass over to the continent, and just mention the towns and fortresses that are under the direction of the general of the north, which are not many, none of them very healthy, and seated at such a distance from each other, as to correspond chiefly by sea: we will name them in their order, according to their respective distances from the metropolis of *Goa*, to which they are much inferior in every respect; yet, if we may trust the most experienced travellers, they are not so much declined from what they were, at least in appearance, as that famous city<sup>o</sup>.

Of Chaoul, Damman, and the rest of

THE first of these is *Chaoul*, which is not seated, as many writers say, on the sea-shore, but in a plain, at the distance of six miles from the coast. It stands, however, upon a beautiful river, which at high water is deep enough to bring ships

<sup>a</sup> Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, lib. 1. cap. 13.      <sup>o</sup> NIEUHOFF, BALDÆUS, GEMELLI CARERI.

negroes, tho', as we have told the reader, there are abundance of them likewise. But the *Canarins*, or natives of the country, are also of a jet black, though their faces are perfectly well featured, and their hair long, and gracefully curled; these are most of them Christians; and such as are descended of the superior cast, that is, from the *Bramins* and the *Nairo's*, are a very shrewd, lively, and polite people; whereas those of the lower cast are as cunning, base, and wicked fellows, as the world can produce (97). Amongst

the former there are many priests, physicians, merchants, scriveners, and solicitors, who are as free, and some of them richer than the *Portuguese*; and yet are subject to one distinction that is exceedingly mortifying, which is, being obliged to go without shoes or stockings, let their circumstances be what they will. But, notwithstanding this, what little trade there is, and what money is to be got in the better sort of professions, is carried on and acquired by these barefooted people (98).

(97) Tavernier, Dellen, Hamilton, p. 640.

(98) Du Bois Geograph. moderne,

of considerable burdens to the city-walls. It is covered to-<sup>the fort-</sup>wards the sea by a large mountain, on the top of which there <sup>resses and</sup> is a strong fortress which commands the town, and protects <sup>ports unde</sup> the port, a little difficult at the entrance, but, within, one of <sup>the general</sup> the safest and most commodious in the *Indies*. The walls of <sup>of the</sup> the town are in tolerable good repair, and well supplied with <sup>north.</sup> cannon<sup>p</sup>. We have before mentioned *Daman*, which lies at some distance from *Chaoul*, on a river of the same name. There was formerly another city of the like denomination on the other side of the river, but nearer the sea, which is now fallen to decay, consisting only of huts, and mud-walled houses, inhabited by *Moors* and *gentiles*. As for the city of *New Daman*, it is beautiful, and well fortified; there are in it a great number of monasteries and churches, but the want of a good port, for even the smallest vessels can come up but once a day, and such as are of any burden but twice a year, that is, when there are spring tides, is a great disadvantage to it<sup>q</sup>. However, as the climate is temperate, the soil not despicable, and some spirit still left in the people, which encourages them to carry on an inland trade, and enables them to provide for a good garrison, it is very probable the *Portuguese* may keep this city as long as they retain any footing in the *Indies*<sup>r</sup>. *Bacaim*, *Bassaim*, or *Bazaim*, situated in the latitude of nineteen degrees north, was yielded to the viceroy *Nunes d'Acuna* so early as 1535, and was a place of great consideration; but as it was taken by the *Indian* princes some years ago, and there is some uncertainty whether it be yet recovered, it is not necessary that we should detain the reader with any particular description of it, and for this reason it was not mentioned before. One thing, however, must be remembered, before we part with it, which is this, that it was the residence of the general of the north, who lived here with a degree of magnificence much more suitable to his title than to his power, or the circumstances of the people under his government, by which those sums were squandered, which, properly employed, might have preserved the place<sup>s</sup>.

WE promised to say something farther concerning *Diu*, *A farther* which is justly styled the key of the *Indies*. The port is very *account of* good, and capable of holding large ships; for which reason, *the port*

<sup>p</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 779. HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 243.

<sup>q</sup> GUYON Histoire des Indes Orientales, vol. ii. p. 67. Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778.

<sup>r</sup> TAVERNIER, GUYON, BUCHET.

<sup>s</sup> Les Etats, Empires, et Principautez du Monde, p. 312.

and fort-  
ress of  
Diu, one  
of the most  
considerable in the  
Indies.

while the *Portuguese* had any fleets of consequence, they were commonly laid up there in the winter-season ; and, while their power continued, the *Moors*, and other traders in those seas, were obliged to take out passports here, before they failed to the east. It was to favour the trade of this city that the *Portuguese* destroyed *Surat* ; and in return, since that city has been rebuilt, and protected by the *Mogul*, it has, in conjunction with *Cambaya*, drawn away much of the trade of *Diu*†. As this place, however, is very strong, and the fortress, as experience shews, capable of a long defence, it bids fair for remaining sometime longer to the crown of *Portugal*. There is no doubt, that some trade is still maintained, and some ships fitted out from thence, but this is by the *Indian* merchants, and is in reality nothing in comparison of what might be expected from the situation and circumstances of the place, which, in the hands of any other nation, would soon become very considerable. Under its present masters it continues to subsist by what its inhabitants acquired in better times ; but is visibly declining, and, like the rest of their places, sinking slowly under its own weight (T).

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† BALDÆUS Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, c. 19.    Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 778.

(T) After *Goa*, this has been always esteemed the strongest place in the hands of the *Portuguese*, and is famous in history for two sieges that do the highest honour to the *Portuguese* nation, and therefore we will give the reader a short account of them. Sultan *Badur*, king of *Cambaya*, granted *Nugno d'Acugna*, then governor of the *Indies*, leave to build a citadel here in 1535 ; and he caused it to be raised, and put into a posture of defence, in forty-nine days (99). Soon after Sultan *Badur* changed his mind, and would have taken it from the *Portuguese*, but perished in the attempt (100). His successor Sultan *Mahmud* entered

into his schemes, and called the *Turks* into the *Indies* ; when *Solyman*, bashaw of *Cairo*, came with a potent fleet, and a numerous army on board, to his assistance. Before his arrival, *Mahmud* had invested the fortress of *Diu*, the outworks of which were not intirely finished. Don *Antonio Sylveira de Monefes* commanded in the place with a garrison of six hundred men. The *Turks* began to debark their forces September the 14th, 1538, opened their trenches regularly, carried on the siege in form with an army of twenty thousand men, and a prodigious train of artillery ; neglecting nothing that could be done, either by

(99) *Baldæus's Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, cap. 9.  
(100) *Maffæi Hist. Indica*, P. ii. l. xi. c. 41.

AT *Bisnegar*, and some other places in the *Indies*, they have State of factories, and a small proportion of trade. Thirty or forty years ago there was hardly any city or country that had any tolerable degree of commerce, in which there were not found some of the descendants of these ancient conquerors of the *Indies*; but it is otherwise now, or at least they are become much thinner than they were \*. In the islands of *Timor* and *Solor* and *Timor*.

\* Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, l. i. c. 14. Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 781.

skill or force, to become masters of the place: yet were at last obliged to raise the siege on the first of *November*, after losing, in the whole, three thousand men, and leaving behind them five hundred sick and wounded, together with most of their heavy cannon. The garrison too were quite exhausted, having no more than forty men left who were able to remain at their posts. The fame of this first siege of *Diu* was so great, that the *French* king, *Francis* the first, sent a person expressly to *Lisbon*, to bring him the picture of the governor (101). The second siege of *Diu*, no less remarkable than the first, happened in the year 1546, when *Don Juan de Castro* was governor of the *Indies*; *Mahmud*, king of *Cambaya*, was there in person with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery. The place was defended by a very feeble garrison, under the command of *Don Juan de Mascarenhas*, who gallantly maintained it for many months, till he was succoured by the viceroy, whose son had been killed in the course of the siege. *Don Juan de Castro* attacked the *Moors* in their entrenchments; and, after

an obstinate dispute, gained a complete victory, which put him in possession of the town of *Diu*, and of the whole island (102). But he found both the houses and the fortifications so terribly ruined, that there was a necessity of rebuilding the one, and of repairing the other; but this could not be done without money, there was none in the treasury; the credit of the government was gone, and no private person would be bound for it; in this distress the governor intended to have pawned the body of his deceased son, but that was not in a condition to be transported. At last he wrote a letter to the citizens of *Goa*, mentioning the sum he wanted; and sent them a lock of his beard, as a pledge for the repayment. This had all the effect he could desire: the ladies of *Goa* raised the money, and sent it with the pledge; and not long after the viceroy took a very rich prize, that not only enabled him to discharge this debt, but to repair the citadel, and rebuild the town of *Diu* in such a manner, as to render it one of the finest fortresses in the *Indies* (103).

(101) *Histoire generale de Portugal*, par Monsieur de la Cleyde, tom. iv. p. 503.

(102) *Baldæus Description of the Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, cap. 12.

(103) *P. Laftau Histoire des Conquetes des Portugais*, vol. iv. p. 3, & 4.

*Solor*, which are very remote, and depended heretofore upon the government of the *Moluccas*, they have still some settlements in participation with the *Dutch*; and once in two or three years a ship is sent from *Goa*, to load with the product of those places, which is sandal-wood, a commodity much esteemed in *China*, wax in great quantities, and *Solor* stones, which are of the nature, and held not at all inferior either in virtue or value, to the best bezoar \*. Besides these, they have nothing except the little city and island of *Macao* in *China*, of which we have undertaken to give some farther account, in reference to the present state and condition of the place, than occurred in the historical detail; and this it is the more necessary to do, since, after the detriment suffered by the loss of the *Japan* trade, it is no easy matter to conceive how its inhabitants subsist.

*The present condition of the island and city of Macao, in the empire of China.* IN speaking of *Macao*, some writers represent it as standing on an island, and others on a peninsula. Both accounts are true; and it is this that renders them not easily understood. The mouth of the river of *Canton*, or rather the arm of the sea where that river falls into it, is full of a vast number of broken islands of different sizes; from one of the largest of these there runs out a peninsula in the shape of a man's arm bending, joined to the main land, as it were by a tegument at the shoulder; which isthmus is so narrow, that there is a strong wall built across it; and therein a large gate, which is the boundary of the city's jurisdiction †. This peninsula lies in the north latitude of twenty-two degrees twenty minutes, and is not above three miles in compass. The port is not large, but very secure; there is a fortress, which is pretty strong, and has a garrison in it, but not very considerable. The city is without a wall; and, with respect to the *Chinese*, it is for many reasons a place of no strength at all. The ground is very uneven, and yet the city is not ill built: the public edifices are spacious and neat, and the streets very well paved; which is no wonder, since there was a time when the inhabitants were able to have paved them with silver ‡.

*Number of inhabitants, employment, &c.* OF the *Portuguese*, their descendants and their slaves, there are about four thousand, and about fifteen or eighteen thousand *Chinese*. The former, with respect both to their civil and military government, are under the governor of *Macao*, appointed by the crown of *Portugal*, who, in his own fort-

\* HAMILTON's New Account of the East Indies, vol. ii. p. 138.

Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 415.

† Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARERI, P. iv. l. i. c. 1.

‡ Dictionnaire de Commerce, vol. ii. col. 844, 845.

refs, is styled "his excellency the general of *China*." He is *and trade,* paid by the citizens, who allow him a crown a day for sub-<sup>of people in</sup>sistence, and three thousand crowns at his departure. The *Macao*.

*Chinefe* are under a mandarin, without whose consent the *Portuguese* governor also can do nothing. All people here live by trade, and nobody pretends to be born above getting his bread; it cannot indeed be otherwise, for they have not as much ground as would serve to sow a handful of peas: the only distinction is this, the common people labour, go to sea, or keep shops; the better sort merchandize, let out money, or insure; some trade they carry on with the *European* ships when they are in the river of *Canton*, some more especially, in their absence, with the *Chinefe*; but what turns to the best account is a kind of contraband commerce with the *Philippine Islands*, and, as some say, also with the inhabitants of *Hainan*, a great island on the coast of *China*, prodigiously rich in gold\*. Yet, what between the *Chinefe* port-duties levied by an *Hoppo*, or collector of the customs, and the imposition of ten *per cent.* upon all merchandize in *Portuguese* bottoms, for the support of the government ecclesiastic and civil, there are hardly any can boast of being rich; and if they can but live tolerably, and that too in a place where every thing is cheap, they are, generally speaking, content<sup>b</sup> (U).

\* GEMELLI CARERI, TAVERNIER, HAMILTON, &c. <sup>b</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 845, 846.

(U) We have before informed the reader how great a blow the loss of the commerce of *Japan* gave to this flourishing city; and here it may not be amiss to observe, because the fact is very little known, that what in a good measure completed their ruin was, their undertaking, and persisting for twenty years together in making war upon the inhabitants of *Timor*. Those people were Christians, and acknowledged the king of *Portugal* for their sovereign; but they were determined to live according to their own laws and customs, and not to admit of a

governor-general and prelate, which the *Portuguese* had a mind to impose upon them; and, under the command of one *Gonzales Gomez*, they defended their liberties so gallantly, as to preserve them from the least infringement. This war, which began in 1688, had, as we have remarked, the most dismal effects upon the people of *Macao*, who, from a thousand substantial burghers, were reduced to about fifty, and, from having upwards of fifty sail of good ships, had not, at the close of the war, above five (104).

(104) *Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 138. *Gracia*.



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their set-  
tlements.*

IN order to form a complete notion of the state of the *Portuguese* affairs in the *East Indies*, it is necessary to recollect what has been already said of the places which they still retain upon the coast of *Africa*, particularly *Mosambique* and *Sofala*. The gold obtained from thence is sent to *Goa* and to *Diu*, where it is coined into small pieces called *St. Thomas's*, not worth more than half a crown of our money; and it is observed, that this coin is of a worse touch, that is, of a baser alloy, than any other in the *Indies*, which is an infallible sign of a declining trade: for the *Sarajins*, which were formerly coined at *Ormuz* when in the *Portuguese* hands, were esteemed the best gold in the *Indies*, but they are now become extremely scarce; and the *St. Thomas's* are said to be coined in less quantities every year<sup>c</sup>. Upon the whole, these possessions are said to produce so little to the king of *Portugal*, that it has been more than once debated whether it would not be for the interest of the crown to abandon them altogether, withdrawing their artillery and effects; and we are likewise told, that it is not any political, but purely a religious, motive that has hindered this measure from taking place, the priests having suggested, that in that case a multitude of souls would be lost to the church.

*An expla-  
nation of  
the manner  
in which  
the re-  
maining  
commerce  
of GOA is  
carried on.*

WE shall the less wonder at this, if we consider that such as are best acquainted with the *East India* trade assure us, that a single merchant might well carry on as great a commerce as subsists between *Lisbon* and *Goa*; but this requires some explanation. There are still a great many ships employed from *Goa*, *Diu*, and *Daman*, to the coasts of *Persia*, *Pegu*, *Manila*, and *China*; but they are mostly on the account of *Indian* merchants, there being scarcely a *Portuguese* trader at *Goa* able to furnish a cargo of the value of ten thousand crowns<sup>d</sup>; and it is very much doubted whether, in the whole of their trade, they employ above two hundred thousand crowns; so that it is not at all strange, that, one year with another, there are not above two ships sent directly from *Goa* to *Lisbon*, and those not a fourth part so rich as when they annually sent twenty<sup>e</sup>: yet a late regulation made at *Goa*, for the preservation and promoting of trade, is that which those, who understand this subject best, agree has gone near to complete its ruin<sup>f</sup>. This is the establishment of an exclusive company, with the sole right to carry on the com-

<sup>c</sup> Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, p. 614. <sup>d</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 781.

<sup>e</sup> GUYON Histoire des Indes, tom. iii. p. 39, 40. <sup>f</sup> Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 780.

merce of *Mozambique* and *Macao*; which company has taken upon itself the payment of the royal officers, who are also two-thirds concerned therein; by which such a blow has been given to the natural commerce of *Goa*, that the best part of the *Indian* merchants are now retired from thence. To say the truth, it was the great share the viceroys, governors, and other officers, always took in commerce, without contributing any thing thereto, except protecting the merchants from the violence committed by themselves on such as did not admit them to a share in their trade, that first injured the extensive commerce they enjoyed (X). But, though their power and commerce are so much declined, their pride is as great as ever; inasmuch that, as we have before observed, they refuse the natives of the country, who are called the *Canarins*, the privilege of wearing stockens, though they would willingly pay a large consideration for that indulgence; notwithstanding they employ them as physicians, lawyers, and merchants, by which many of them are so rich, that they keep a dozen or fourteen slaves, and are in much better circumstances than the *Portuguese* themselves \*. But, after all, what is not a little surprising, the revenues of the church have suffered but a small diminution by this change in the state, inasmuch that there is hardly a monastery which does not receive four or five thousand crowns out of the treasury; at the same time the soldiers starve and mutiny for want of pay; and this is so much the harder upon the government, because the reverend

\* Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER, seconde partie, c. 13, 14.

(X) It is universally agreed, that the avidity of their governors was the principal cause of the miserable declension of their affairs, and this notwithstanding repeated orders from *Lisbon* for putting an end to such pernicious practices. The true reason why those orders never produced any great effect, was plainly this; that the governors, who broke through them, carried home fortunes sufficient to defeat all prosecutions; and, on the other hand, the parties injured were, by those very acts of injustice, disabled from taking the proper methods for re-

dress. But if the court of *Portugal* had appointed from time to time men of probity, in quality of commissioners, sent them to make inquiries upon the spot, and, in consequence of their discoveries, punished the offenders severely, and indemnified those who had suffered by them, out of their estates, the loss would have fallen upon a few wicked men; and the nation had preserved, by justice, that empire which the virtue of her citizens, such as her *Gama's*, *Albuquerque's*, and *Castro's*, had acquired.

fathers

fathers know very well how to take care of themselves. It is not easy to know what becomes of the money these churchmen raise<sup>b</sup>; but it is very evident, that the wealth they possess, together with the establishment of the inquisition at Goa, is such a dead weight on the settlement, as must sooner or later destroy it, unless some speedy and effectual remedy be applied<sup>i</sup> (Y).

*The most considerate people in Portugal are well apprised of the sad state of affairs here.*

THE Portuguese themselves, that is, the wiser and more intelligent part of the nation, are extremely sensible of this; and have often represented to the court, that, instead of living in a continual state of war, as they have done for above a century past, with all the Indian princes on the opposite continent of Malabar, which, because the honour of the crown is interested therein, entails a prodigious expence, it would be better to cultivate a good understanding with their neighbours, to employ a part of the church revenues for the support of the necessitous, and, by some indulgences, to the natives, revive again that spirit of industry which is necessary to accumulate wealth in the Indies as well as elsewhere<sup>k</sup>. But

<sup>b</sup> HAMILTON's Account of the Indies, vol. i. p. 251. <sup>i</sup> Du Bois Geograph. moderne, p. 640. <sup>k</sup> Dictionaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 748, 749.

(Y) It is not a little strange, that, amongst such a multitude of churchmen, there should not be some of parts and sagacity enough to see that persisting in this method of living must be fatal to them as well as to the state, since they cannot but be sensible that the enemies of the one will never pay any respect to the other: besides, experience might convince them, that all the rich churches in Malacca, Cochín, and in the island of Ceylon, have been demolished and plundered, and this will sooner or later be the fate of those in other places. It would have been so long ago at Goa, if the Marquis de Villa Verde, when he was viceroy, had not recruited his army with the lustiest monks he could lay his hands upon, by

whom the infidels were repulsed, and the city saved; notwithstanding which the viceroy was recalled, excommunicated, and underwent a great deal of trouble, though nobody pretended to deny the necessity which he pleaded as his excuse; a necessity so pressing, that a Portuguese woman of quality, understanding the danger the city was in from the enemy's having made themselves masters of an important post, put herself at the head of a handful of men, who, animated by her example, attacked, carried it, and cut twice their own number to pieces; for which generous exploit this heroine, who was living in 1705, enjoyed the title and the pay of a captain (105).

(105) Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, vol. i. p. 254, 260.

in a court where the king's confessor has always a very great influence, and sometimes is prime minister, though it may be wished, it can hardly be expected, that schemes of reformation should take effect where the churchmen are to bear the expence; and here there are none besides in any condition to bear it; whence some have ventured to foretell, that, by the end of the present century, this nation will not preserve a foot of land in that part of the world where they have already lost all their trade, and where the little power they have is in reality maintained at a very great expence to the crown; and this partly from a point of honour, and partly from a principle [of religion, which, though reputable motives, yet at the bottom are not those by which, generally speaking, colonies are made to flourish].

BUT, after all, the state of the *Portuguese* affairs in *Asia* *Yet, bad as* is capable of being considered in another and better light; *that state* since, however depressed their power may be, and how much *really is,* soever the people may be degenerated from what they were, *we may* yet they have at this hour such establishments as would, if *venture to* they were well managed, put them upon a better foot than *say it might* any other *European* nation interested in that part of the world, *be still re-* the *Dutch* only excepted. They have but a few places left, *medied.* it is true, and these scattered at a great distance one from another; but, notwithstanding this, those places are excellently situated for trade, and, by proper management, might be rendered highly beneficial to the crown of *Portugal*<sup>m</sup>. If *Diu* and *Macao* were made free ports, and the power of the inquisition restrained in respect to such *European* strangers as should be inclined to settle in the *Portuguese* dominions, it would infallibly give a new turn to things; for interest, in that part of the world especially, is a sufficient invitation. All the trade in the *Indies*, carried on by the other *European* nations, is managed by exclusive companies; and, whether this be or be not expedient for the nations to whom those companies belong, this is very certain, that individuals are very far from finding their account in it; and if places so convenient, and so well situated, were open to them, and they had a free liberty of trading under the protection of the crown of *Portugal*, it would very soon appear that this protection, though it cost nothing, would produce much; and that flag, which is at present so little esteemed, would in a small space of time

<sup>1</sup> GUYON *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. iii. p. 39, 40.  
<sup>2</sup> *Voyage de JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER*, tom. iii. p. 131.

be the most respected of any in the *Indies*<sup>a</sup> (Z). To some, no doubt, this project will appear very chimerical; but whoever reflects on the great struggle made in favour of the *Ostend* company; on the new establishments that have been made in the north of *Europe*; and on the scheme at present carrying into execution in the *Italian* dominions of the house of *Austria*<sup>o</sup>; will very plainly perceive, that, if the ministry in *Portugal* were inclined to act upon these maxims, and would do it with vigour, they might bid much fairer to engage those adventurers, who have been the real authors, and are the only supporters, of these new contrivances, than any of their competitors; and the difference is so very great between having no establishments at all, and having as commodious as any in those parts ready settled and fortified; and the concurring favourable circumstances, in respect to the navigation, are so self-evident, that we may boldly pronounce, nothing but indolence, timidity, and bigotry, can prevent the undertaking such a design, and, when undertaken, carrying it into execution with far greater ease than their first establishments were made two hundred and fifty years ago; and, having made this remark, which is wholly new, and, we hope, not impertinent, we shall proceed to another part of our extensive subject.

<sup>a</sup> See chapter x. concerning the *Ostend* company. <sup>o</sup> We may now add the *Prussian* company established at *Embsen*.

(Z) The reader will observe, that, though freedom of conscience is allowed at *Goa* to infidels of every denomination, yet all *Europeans*, as Christians, are exposed to the terrors of that tribunal, of the severity of which in this city not protestants (106) only, but papists (107), have complained, and justified their complaints by instances suffi-

cient to make a reader of any humanity tremble: while, therefore, this court continues there, and extends its influence to the few places that are yet left to the *Portuguese*, it is impossible that commerce should revive, without which they must gradually sink into a total dissolution.

(106) *Voyage de Mons. Dellen au Goa, seconde partie, l. i. c. 25.*

(107) *Jean Baptiste Tavernier,*

## C H A P. V.

*The History of the Discoveries, Settlements, Conquests, Disputes, and Commerce, of the SPANIARDS in the EAST INDIES, from their first coming into those Parts down to the present Times.*

## S E C T. I.

*An Account of the Motives to the Search of a new Passage to the East Indies by Sea, of the Disappointments that attended it, and of the celebrated Expedition of Ferdinand Magellane, by which that long-sought Passage was at length discovered.*

THE reputation which the Portuguese acquired by settling the Canaries, discovering the islands of Madeira, the Azores, and along the coast of Africa, soon raised the jealousy, or at least the emulation, of their neighbours, and more especially the Castilians, naturally as high-spirited a nation as any in the world. They were at this time governed by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella; who, by their marriage, united the kingdoms of Spain which descended to each of them by hereditary right; and, in consequence of that superiority of power which was the natural result of this union, they attacked the kingdom of Granada, the only region of which the Moors then remained possessed, and, after a bloody war, and a siege of the capital, which was of some length, added that fruitful territory to the rest of their dominions, by right of conquest<sup>a</sup>. While their catholic majesties were employed in the siege of this city, the queen, after he had spent many years in attendance, thought fit to accept the propositions made by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, for discovering certain rich countries, by sailing west from the coast of Spain; and, after taking possession of Granada, furnished him with the means of putting this design in execution; in consequence of which he embarked on Friday, August the third, 1492, the contract with him having been signed the seventeenth of April preceding<sup>b</sup> (A).

UPON

<sup>a</sup> MARIANA de rebus Hisp. lib. xxv. <sup>b</sup> Historie di FERNANDO COLOMBO nelle quali Phao porticolare, e vera relatione della vita e de fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo suo padre, e dello scuoprimento ch'egli fece delle Indie Occidentali dette mundo nuovo, tradotte dal Spagnuolo in Ital. da Alfonso Ulloa. Venet. 1511. 8vo.

(A) This project of Columbus and more noble design than any was out of comparison a greater that had yet entered the thoughts

Pope  
ALEXAN-  
DER VI.  
confirms  
their title  
to the dis-  
coveries  
made by  
Colum-  
bus.

UPON the return of this great man from his happy discovery, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* thought fit to apply themselves, according to the custom and policy of those times, to the court of *Rome*, in order to have their title to these new-found countries, and such others as might be found, confirmed and secured<sup>c</sup>. Upon this application, *Alexander* the sixth, who then possessed the papacy, consented to bestow on their catholic majesties the sovereign dominion of the *Indies*, with supreme jurisdiction over all that hemisphere; and accordingly, with the consent and approbation of the whole sacred college, the bull was passed in the usual form on the second of *May* 1493, with all the same formalities, prerogatives, and powers, that had been before granted to the kings of *Portugal* in relation to the *East Indies*, *Guiney*, and part of *Afric*: and by another bull, of the third of *May* of the same year, he granted them all the islands and continents already discovered, or that should be discovered, drawing a line from pole to pole at the distance

<sup>c</sup> HERRERA *Histor. de las Indias Occident.* Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. 4.

of any of the *Portuguese* navigators. It was the result of much study, and founded in true science; for, instead of creeping along the shore, and doubling with equal danger and difficulty one cape after another, which had been their method, he boldly undertook, by a navigation through the open sea, to perform at once what they had been aiming at, by a course of painful endeavours, for so many years (1). To make so strange a notion, as this must at that time have been, in some measure intelligible, he drew a chart of the world, according to his own conception, supported by the authorities of *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Isidrus*, from whence he undertook to demonstrate, that, by steering west from *Spain*, he must necessarily arrive at the

*Indies* as described by those authors (2). This chart his brother *Bartholomew Columbus* published at *London* in 1480; and though it was in many respects wide of truth, more especially in the distances, which, either misled by some authorities, or from a set purpose of representing the expedition very practicable, he made much smaller than they were afterwards found to be; yet, for all this, his scheme was perfectly well founded, and, to such as will contemplate it attentively, and without prejudice, must appear one of the greatest efforts of the human understanding; more especially when it is considered, that with no less prudence and fortitude he executed, than with skill and judgment he contrived, so vast a design (3).

(1) *Vita dell' Ammiraglio D. Cristoforo Colombo.*  
*las Indias Occident.* Decad. i. l. i. c. 7.  
*Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 2.

(2) *Herrera Histor. de*  
(3) *Hakluyt's Collection of*

of an hundred leagues to the westward of the islands *Azores* and those of *Cape Verde*; and that all that should be discovered beyond that line to the west or south, should appertain to the navigation and discovery of the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, provided it were not in the possession of any Christian prince before *Christmas-day*; and that no person should pass over into those parts under penalties and censures<sup>d</sup>. These bulls, which were intended to put an end to all disputes between the two crowns, were so far from having that effect, that it heightened the animosities between them; the king of *Portugal* representing to their catholic majesties, and to the court of *Rome*, that he was extremely wronged by this partition, insisting at first, that the new-discovered countries belonged to him, and threatening to send a fleet to support his claim<sup>e</sup>.

By degrees, however, things were brought to a better temper by a negotiation; and at length it was agreed, that, to prevent disputes, which could not fail of being detrimental to both, commissioners should be appointed by the two crowns, in order to discuss this matter amicably, and settle it to their mutual satisfaction. Accordingly such commissioners were appointed by both parties, with full powers to adjust this difference, either by settling boundaries north and south, or from east to west, or such other limits either by sea or land as they should think fit. After many conferences, and upon hearing of several cosmographers, who were admitted into their assemblies, on the seventh of *June* 1493 they agreed, that the line for settling the boundaries should be drawn two hundred and seventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the islands of *Cabo Verde* westward; and that all beyond that meridian, westward, should belong to the kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, and all to the eastward should appertain to the navigation, conquest, and discovery, of the kings of *Portugal*; but that their catholic majesties might freely sail through those seas belonging to the king of *Portugal*, they holding on their direct course. Likewise, that whatsoever should be discovered before the twentieth day of the said month of *June*, within the first two hundred and fifty leagues of the said three hundred and seventy, should remain to the kings of *Portugal*; and whatsoever should be discovered within the other one hundred and twenty leagues should appertain to the kings of *Castile* for ever<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> MARIANA de rebus Hispaniæ, l. xx. c. 3. - HERRERA, Decad. i. l. iii. c. 4. <sup>e</sup> Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 56, 57. <sup>f</sup> HERRERA, Dec. i. l. ii. c. 10.



Upon which the Portuguese prosecute their discoveries in the east with great vigour.

THESE conditions being drawn up before *Hernan de Alvarez de Toledo*, secretary to their catholic majesties, and *Stephen Baez*, secretary to the king of *Portugal*, their said catholic majesties signed them at *Arevalo* on the second of *July*, and the king of *Portugal* at *Ebora* on the twenty-seventh of *February* the next year<sup>s</sup>. Though their catholic majesties, on the seventh of *May* that year, ordered the cosmographers, and others that were to draw the line, to meet, and to do the same within ten months, if required; it does not appear to have been performed, though it is certain their catholic majesties endeavoured it<sup>h</sup>. The *Portuguese*, who at this time had discovered very little beyond the island of *San Tome*, or *St. Thomas*, under the equinoctial, that they might not be behindhand with their neighbours, exerted themselves so vigorously, that they soon after passed that cape now called *de Buena Esperança*, or *Cape of Good Hope*, and so entered into the possession of their *Indies*<sup>1</sup> (B).

On the discovery of the Moluccas, Ferdinand Magellan revives the dispute.

UNDER this agreement things rested quietly enough for many years, till *Ferdinand de Magalhaens*, or, as we usually call him, *Magellane*, who had some share in the discovery of the *Moluccas* for the crown of *Portugal*, began to surmise, that possibly they were not within the terms stipulated, and that therefore they might be claimed by the crown of *Spain* upon the foot of that agreement; of which he resolved to avail himself, in case he did not succeed in the pretensions (grounded upon his past services) which he had on the court of *Lisbon*; and, that he might be in the better condition to

<sup>s</sup> *Histoire generale de Portugal*, M. DE LA CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 61. <sup>h</sup> HERRERA, Decad. i. l. ii. c. 10. <sup>1</sup> J. DE BARROS, CASTENADA, MAFFÆUS.

(B) The reader will from hence discern the truth of what has been so often suggested, that, notwithstanding the passage to the *West Indies* was first discovered, yet it was in reality discovered by seeking a passage to the *East Indies*. It was indeed impossible for *Columbus* to look for countries utterly unknown; but as he all along suggested, that he might very probably find islands hitherto unvisited in his passage, so his credit was perfectly saved by his

first and future discoveries, which proved the source of these disputes, all arising from a supposition, which afterwards appeared to be well founded, that a passage might be opened this way to the *East Indies*, as it actually was by *Magellan*, who took up the thread, which, being cut off by death, *Columbus* had let fall; so that his merit lay in distinguishing the true design of that great man, and in prosecuting it, as he did, with effect (4).

(4) *Herrera Histor. de las Indes Occidental*, Decad. ii. l. ii. c. 3.

take

take whatever steps he thought necessary, he procured and obtained very ample memoirs from his friend *Francis Serrano*, who was the principal person concerned in that discovery<sup>k</sup>. Upon his return to *Lisbon* from the *Indies*, he set forth his services by a memorial, and desired a small augmentation of his pay. What he asked was so very trivial, that it seems strange to some writers the court of *Portugal* should so peremptorily refuse his demand; more especially when he threatened to renounce the service, to abjure his country (which it seems was legal in those times), and seek employment elsewhere<sup>l</sup>. But, in reality, it was not the gratification, to which the *Portuguese* ministers were so averse, as the thoughts of making such a precedent, the consequences of which they foresaw<sup>m</sup>. Upon this he determined to put his other scheme in execution; and accordingly went away into *Castile*, carrying with him a planisphere drawn by *Peter Reynel*, by which, and the correspondence he had held with *Serrano*, he persuaded the emperor *Charles* the fifth, that the *Molucca Islands* belonged to him; and confirmed his opinion from testimonies, and the authority of *Ruy Faleyro*, a *Portuguese* astronomer, and much more from that of *Serrano*<sup>n</sup>.

WHEN this was known in *Portugal*, several methods were proposed for preventing the execution of this scheme; great offers were made to *Magellan*, and his companion *Faleyro*, to induce them to return, but without effect: some mention was made of assassinating them; but this was either not attempted, or did not succeed<sup>o</sup>. There were, however, no pains spared to represent publicly at court, that the sending this man was a breach of treaties; and privately, that the thing would turn to no account, for that *Magellan* was a vain bragging boasting fellow, of little courage, and a shallow capacity. It is said the emperor was not much inclined to this adventure; but the *Spanish* council, who understood such affairs better, were of a different opinion. They thought the design practicable, and had a great opinion of him who proposed it; in which they were certainly right, for no man ever conducted an enterprize of that importance better. On the tenth of August 1510 *Magellan* sailed from *Seville* with a squadron of five vessels, two of which were of the burden of one hundred and thirty tons, two of ninety, and the least of sixty, having on

<sup>k</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i. <sup>l</sup> Histoire generale de Portugal, par M. DE LA CLEDE, tom. iv. p. 307, 308. <sup>m</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 10. <sup>n</sup> HERRERA, Decad. ii. l. ii. c. 3. <sup>o</sup> ARGENSOLA de Conquista de las Islas Molucas, l. i.

board, in all, two hundred and thirty-four men, of whom about a fourth part were *Portuguese*<sup>p</sup>. The points he had undertaken were two : first, to find certain islands within the limits assigned to *Spain*, from whence spices might be brought; and, secondly, to find a passage to and from those islands, without violating the rights of the *Portuguese*; which if he did, his imperial majesty stipulated, that he and *Ruy Faleyro* (who, falling mad, did not go the voyage) should have an exclusive trade thither for ten years, enjoy the title of *Adelantado*, and a twentieth part of the profits for ever<sup>q</sup>.

*A succinct  
account of  
Magellan's  
voyage, disco-  
veries, and  
death.*

THE Squadron making some stay at the *Canaries*, a caravel overtook them with dispatches for *Magellan*, by which he was informed, that *John de Carthagena*, and several other officers, had declared, before their departure, that they meant not to obey him, of which at that time he took no notice. It was not long before he was convinced that these officers were in that disposition, for they began to question him about the course he steered. He told them "that was his affair : " that they had nothing to do but to follow his flag by day, " and his lights in the night, and he would answer for the " rest." When they were advanced into the south latitude of thirty-five degrees, they complained of the cold, and other hardships. *Magellan* answered, " that it was indeed cold ; " but that *Norway* and *Iceland* lay in higher latitudes, where " the weather consequently was colder ; and yet those seas " were navigated, and found very tolerable." He wintered in port *St. Julian's*, where the mutiny broke out ; which he quelled by his wonderful presence of mind, and by a discipline necessarily severe<sup>r</sup>. He continued his voyage from thence into and quite through the streights which have since bore his name. As soon as he was in the south seas, he held a council, in which he declared, that there was now no farther doubt of there being a passage this way to the *Moluccas*. *Stephen Gomez*, the ablest pilot in the fleet, confirmed what he had said ; but gave his opinion, that it would be better for them to return, because they had still a wide ocean to pass. *Magellan* answered roundly, " that he meant to prosecute the " voyage, if he eat the hides that were nailed round the bot- " tom of the mast : that they should be exposed to as little " hardship going forward as backward ; and that if any pre- " sumed to speak of the length of the voyage, or the quantity " of the provisions, he would cause them immediately to be " put to death." However, *Gomez* soon after found means

<sup>p</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. i. fol. 352.    <sup>q</sup> HERRERA, Decad. ii. l. ii.  
c. 3.    <sup>r</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

to carry back the ship of which he was pilot. *Magellan*, having still with him three ships out of five that were under his command, pursued his voyage, though himself and his people were exposed to great difficulties, till he arrived at length at the island of *Zebu*, one of the *Philippines*, as they were afterwards called, and not far from the *Moluccas*<sup>a</sup>. He was well received by the king, who, by his persuasion, was baptized, and promised obedience to the crown of *Spain*. The *Spaniards* were well entertained here, and recovered surprisingly; but *Magellan*, engaging rashly in an action against two *Indian* princes, on behalf of the Christian king his friend, on the 27th of *April* 1521, was unfortunately slain<sup>c</sup>. Other writers affirm that the Christian king betrayed and murdered him; but, however that matter might be, one of his ships, called the *VICTORY*, under the command of *Sebastian Cano*, returned safe to *Spain*, being the first vessel, at least so far as history informs us, that ever sailed round the globe<sup>d</sup> (C).

<sup>a</sup> HERRERA, Decad. ii. l. vii. c. ii.      <sup>c</sup> RAMUSIO, vol. i. fo. 361.      <sup>d</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

(C) As there are various accounts of *Magellan's* voyage, some written by *Spanish*, some by *Portuguese*, and some by *Italian* authors, so they differ very much about the facts which they deliver; but as our business here is only to give a short and plain account of what regards the time and manner of his discovery, we did not think it necessary to enter into a long detail of these differences, which indeed are little or nothing to our purpose; for, whether he arrived first at one island, or at another in this *Archipelago*, is not of any great moment, since it is allowed on all hands, that he was the first *European* who visited them; and, by coming thither by another passage than that of the *Cape of Good Hope*, fully performed his contract

with the crown of *Spain*, and completed also the great design of *Columbus*, which was, reaching the *East Indies* by a west course; demonstrating the truth of that position, which he had laid down as the basis of his discoveries, that the globe was invested by the ocean, and that it was possible to sail round it (5). By this enterprize of *Magellan's* it appeared, that the line of demarcation was founded in reason, tho' the ambition of princes rendered it ineffectual, because it has been always found an easy thing, in such cases, to dispute about computations, each party having, or pretending to have, direct proofs that such islands or countries, as they desire to possess, are within the limits prescribed by treaties.

(5) *Essai sur la Marine et sur la Commerce*, p. 8.

*The emperor Charles the fifth, for a small sum of money, desists from his pretensions.*

WE should not have dwelt so long upon the motives to this expedition, and the disputes which it occasioned, if it had not been to explain in what manner the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the pope's bull, found a passage into the *East Indies*; which is certainly a very material point to our purpose, and therefore we shall pursue it so far as to shew how it ended with regard to the *Moluccas*, as these were the original cause of the quarrel<sup>w</sup>. *John* the second, who was at that time king of *Portugal*, knowing perfectly well the value of those islands of which he was in possession, and being very unwilling to have a war entailed upon him in that part of the world, with the only nation in *Europe* of whose naval force he had reason to be apprehensive, caused privately some hints to be given to the emperor, that, upon a treaty of accommodation, he might possibly acquire a considerable sum of money<sup>x</sup>. This was after two treaties that had been set on foot for an amicable discussion of their titles, which, to say the truth, was no easy matter, since the *Spaniards* affirmed, that the *Portuguese* had forged charts; and the *Portuguese*, on their side, disputed the astronomical observations made by *Magellan* in his voyage; so that the commissioners appointed in 1525 and in 1526 separated, without coming to any conclusion<sup>y</sup>. But the insinuation before-mentioned ran so strongly in the head of a monarch whose ambition made him always necessitous, that, under pretence of the near relation between them, and his unwillingness to create uneasiness in their respective families, he resolved to drive as good a bargain with the king of *Portugal* as he could; and accordingly, *August* the twenty-second, 1529, he concluded an agreement, by which, in consideration of the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, to be paid him at several short times therein stipulated, he consented to mortgage his title, whatever it was, and to appoint commissioners for re-examining these affairs; with a proviso that he should not be at liberty to act, whatever their division might be, till he had repaid that sum<sup>z</sup>.

*His agreement very unpleasant to the Spaniards,* THE *Spaniards*, who in those days were very free speakers, and did not apprehend their kings to be infallible or impeccable, were very angry with this agreement, in which, they said, the emperor had sacrificed their interests, in order to come at a sum of money he very much wanted to defray his coronation in

<sup>w</sup> See the history of this controversy in *EDEN's Book of Travayle*.

<sup>x</sup> *EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA* Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. iv. c. 11.

<sup>y</sup> *EDEN's History of Travayle*.

<sup>z</sup> *ARGENSOLA* Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. i.

*Italy*; yet, to shew that they meant something more than *what also* clamour, they offered an expedient, which, according to their *make pro-* notions, might reconcile his private and his public interests; *posals,* which was, that the *Cortes*, or parliament of *Castile*, should pay the money advanced by the king of *Portugal*, for which the emperor should make them a grant of the *Moluccas* for six years, during which the staple for spices should be fixed at *Corunna*; and, after the expiration of that term, the emperor should be again at full liberty to dispose of that trade as he pleased. But his imperial majesty, either from particular reasons, or from a point of honour, because he knew the king of *Portugal* relied upon the treaty he had concluded, rejected the proposal, and ordered a fleet ready to sail to the *Moluccas*, to be disarmed<sup>a</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

*The Settlement and Conquest of the Philippine or Manila Islands; the Methods taken to fortify and to secure them, and the Dangers to which they were exposed on every Side from open and avowed, as well as from secret and sinister Enemies.*

THIS agreement deprived *Spain* of the *Moluccas* during the remainder of that and some part of the succeeding reign; *The islands now called* but then, together with the rest of the dominions of *Portu-* the *Philippine* in all parts of the world, they fell under the power of pines, *Philip the second*<sup>b</sup>; yet, notwithstanding this sudden loss of *bow, by* what had been so lately found, the discovery of *Magellan* *whom, and* proved of very great consequence to the crown of *Spain*, not *at what* only as it opened a new passage to the *South Seas*, but as it *time, dis-* made way for the subjecting a great number of rich islands *covered.* to the crown of *Spain*, and might be attended with still farther advantages (D). *Ferdinand Magellan*, coming in sight of

<sup>a</sup> Histoire generale d'Espagne, tom. v. p. 196. ARGENSOLA, l. i. <sup>b</sup> EMANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUSA Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, l. v. c. 7.

(D) The very best *Spanish* writers are very far from being distinct or explicit in settling the bounds of these *Archipelagi*, which amongst geographers occasions a good deal of confusion. To prevent this as far as we may, it will be best to treat this matter rationally and historically. It is most probable that *Magellan* intended to include in his *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus* all the islands that he conceived to be on the *Spanish* side of the line

of a small part of these islands on the day dedicated by the church of *Rome* to the memory of *St. Lazarus*, called so many of them as he saw the *Archipelago de St. Lazaro*<sup>c</sup>. It was so long after his discovery as the year 1543 before we hear of any *Spanish* Squadron being sent thither; and then *Don Lopez de Villalobos* came thither, and took a view of some of the most considerable islands, giving them, as some say, the name of the *Philippines* in honour of the Infant *Don Philip*, then prince of *Spain*<sup>f</sup>; but others affirm, that they were not so called till the Adelantado *Michael Lopez de Legaspi* came in 1564, when King *Philip* was actually on the throne, in order to reduce them in earnest. He first subdued the island of *Zebu*, and others in its neighbourhood, which were then called the *Pintado's*, on account of their being inhabited by naked *Indians*, whose bodies were strangely painted. In doing this he spent no less than six years; and being then informed, that there were countries much better worth his arms, he in some measure abandoned those that had already submitted; and collected all his force, that he might undertake his new expedition with greater probability and certainty<sup>e</sup>.

*The reduction of* WHEN he had placed a small garrison in *Zebu*, and made the best dispositions he could for the preservation of that and *Luçon*, or the adjacent islands, he embarked all his forces, and went

<sup>c</sup> RAMUSIO. vol. i. fo. 356.  
Filipinas.

<sup>f</sup> Relac. de las Islas

<sup>e</sup> PURCHAS Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 284.

of partition; and consequently this took in the *Ladrones* on one side, and the *Moluccas* on the other; but this name is now grown almost into disuse. The *Philippines* are now understood to be those islands in the *Indian* ocean belonging to the crown of *Spain* (6), and are divided into the *Greater* and *Lesser Philippines*, which will be hereafter described, and the *New Philippines*, discovered about the beginning of the present century, and of which we have but very imperfect accounts. As for the *Ladrones*, or *Marian Islands*, they lie between the two continents

of *Asia* and *America*, are under the dominion of the crown of *Spain*; and, from being very populous, are many of them become desert. These *Spanish* islands taken all together, are very numerous; some writers swell the account to eleven thousand (7); but that serves rather to confound than to explain things: our business lies only with such as are well known and inhabited; and these, in comparison of the rest, are but a very few, as the reader will be informed at large within the compass of this chapter.

(6) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Molucas, por Hernan de los Rios Cermel.

(7) See the word *Filipinas* in *Sobrino's Spanish Dictionary*.

over to possess himself of *Luçon*, or, as it is pronounced, *Luzon*, one hundred and fifty leagues from *Zebu*. He fought the barbarians, who, after the first surprize caused by arms, ships, and countenances, differing from theirs, was over, defended themselves bravely. *Legaspi* ran into a bay four leagues over at the mouth, where is an island now called *Marivelez*. The bay runs thirty leagues up to the city of *Manila*, and is eight leagues over, lying north-west and south-east. The inhabitants of this city opposed him with more bravery than the *Pintados*, because they had cannon and a fort; but, as soon as they saw that taken by the *Spaniards*, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously, that the people from the country had not time to come in; and thus he entered *Manila*, which, from what follows, will appear to be a place strong by nature<sup>f</sup>. At a point of it, which is shut in by the waters of the bay, a considerable river empties itself, which rises in the great lake called *Babi*, five leagues distant. This point, which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the sea-coast runs away to the south-south-east, and the river west, leaving a most spacious plain for the city, which is all encompassed with water, except that part which lies to the south-west. *Legaspi* then built it of wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The roofs he covered or thatched with the leaves of *Nipa*, which is like sedge, or sword-grass, and a sufficient fence against the rains; but combustible, and the occasion of great conflagrations, which have often happened. One would have imagined, that in process of time, this incon- veniency might have been removed; and very probably it had, if the inhabitants were not sensible, that, in freeing themselves from this, they should run into a greater; for, the country being very subject to earthquakes, strong and well- built houses would frequently become the tombs of those who lived in them; and therefore to this time the upper stories are only built of wood, though they want not better materials g.

WE have but indifferent memoirs of the history of the *Philippines*, even in the *Spanish* writers, neither would it be necessary, or even suitable to our purpose, if we were better supplied, to enter into a regular detail of affairs; and there- fore we shall mention only some remarkable and less known passages, and then proceed to a description of the dominions of the crown of *Spain*, in this part of the world, the extent, importance, and commerce of which, are, generally speak- ing,

<sup>f</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.  
GEMELLI CARERI, l. iv. c. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Tour du Monde, par



ing, but very imperfectly understood (E). The *Chinese* were formerly masters of all these islands, as their own historians relate; but, finding their empire in danger of breaking to pieces by its bulk, they slighted these, and many other frontier provinces; upon this judicious maxim, that a smaller country, well peopled, and well cultivated, was better able to support its government, and receive the benefits of a wise and just administration, than a vast empire, the extremities of which, from their very situation, must be exposed to frequent and inevitable calamities<sup>b</sup>. But, notwithstanding the island of *Luçon*, or *Luzon*, was no longer under the dominion of this nation, yet many thousands of *Chinese* were settled there, when *Legaspi* made himself master of the capital, most of which retired to their own country afterwards, but continued to keep up their trade, and, at the proper seasons of the year, came thither in vast fleets<sup>c</sup>. The *Japanese* also pretended to have a claim upon this country<sup>k</sup>; so that the *Spaniards* found themselves on every side surrounded by enemies; and, instead of meeting with any relief from King

<sup>b</sup> PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 283.

<sup>c</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas. <sup>k</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

(E) It often happens, as a very judicious writer of our own nation observes, that the genius of a single minister thoroughly attentive to the interests of a great monarchy, strikes out sudden advantages from things overlooked or neglected for whole ages before. This will, some time or other, be the case, with respect to the countries the *Spaniards* possess in the *East Indies*, hitherto little regarded by them, and therefore strangely slighted by most of those who have hitherto treated this subject. A late *French* author, who has given the world a very entertaining, and a very instructive, history of the *Indies*, bestows but a page or two upon the *Philippines*, and has not so much as named

the *Spaniards* amongst the nations carrying on a trade to the *East Indies* (8). Yet, when the reader has considered this section, we doubt not of his being of our opinion, that whenever the court of *Madrid* pays a serious regard to its national interests, she will find it no difficult thing to convince the world, that her dominions in *Asia* are in reality very considerable, and capable of such improvements, as may render them very little inferior in value to that vast empire which she possesses in *America*; since their appearing hitherto of so little importance has been intirely owing to the advantages that might be reaped from them being not thoroughly understood.

(8) Guyon *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, vol. ii. p. 231.

*Philip's* adding the territories of *Portugal* to their own, they found it a dead weight upon them, more burdensome, and more expensive, than all the difficulties they had to struggle with before, and which made these islands less considered by the *Spanish* government than formerly.

It is very strange, that the *Spaniards* have never maintained any direct correspondence with *Luzon*, or the rest of the islands dependent upon it; but have constantly sent their governors, forces, and military stores, intended for the support of these islands, to *New Spain*. This, no doubt, is founded upon some maxim of policy, with which we are not acquainted; but it is evidently productive of many mischiefs, and is one great cause why so many rich and noble countries yield so little to the crown of *Spain*. Their welfare depends, and always did, on the good or bad qualities of those who are sent to govern it. The first who put it into such a state of defence, as freed them from all apprehensions of falling the victims of any sudden invasion, was *Gomez Perez de las Marinnas*, knight of the order of *Saint Iago*, or *St. James* the Apostle, a person of high reputation<sup>1</sup>. He arrived at the *Phillippines* in the year 1590, and brought with him his son *Don Lewis*, knight of the order of *Alcantara*.

THE new governor found *Manila* open, without any form of a city, and the inhabitants, in general, without the wealth necessary to improve it. Above two hundred thousand pieces of eight were wanting for this purpose, which he presently undertook; and though it seemed impracticable, yet he compassed the work, by several contrivances, without any damage to the public, or to private persons. He monopolized cards; laid penalties on excessive gaming; punished such as forestalled the markets, and victuallers, and other retailers, that were guilty of frauds. With these fines he built the walls of *Manila*, which are twelve thousand eight hundred forty-nine geometrical feet in compass<sup>m</sup>. He applied himself diligently to this work, the inhabitants being willing to forward it, on the intreaties, and from this example, of their chief. The city had but one fort, and that ill-built, he erected another at the mouth of the river, calling it *Saint Iago*, and repaired the old one. He finished the cathedral, and built from the ground the church of *Saint Poteneiana*, patroness of the island. Then he applied himself to casting heavy and small cannon; built gallies, to cruise and trade, on which

<sup>1</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas.    <sup>m</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNANDEZ DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

depends

depends the welfare of those countries; and, pursuant to what he had promised in *Spain*, bent his thoughts towards the reduction of *Ternate*, and all the *Moluccas*; reflected on the unfortunate expeditions of his predecessors, who attempted the conquest of that flourishing kingdom, and how he might punish those who tyrannized in it; which project of his, calculated chiefly to satisfy the desires of the court of *Spain*, had a very unfortunate catastrophe, notwithstanding all this nobleman's care and circumspection <sup>n</sup> (F).

*His unfortunate expedition for the recovery of the Moluccas, in which he perished.*

THIS governor, who had been hitherto admired and adored by the inhabitants, found himself, of a sudden, suspected and disliked. The people began to apprehend, by his preparations, that he had such an expedition in view, and this it was that lost him their confidence. He had therefore recourse to art; pretending sometimes, that he had intelligence of great designs formed by the *Chinese*; at others, that they were in danger from *Japan*; and, under colour of these false alarms, he increased his land forces, built a greater number of gallies, and provided every thing that he thought necessary, not only for the complete conquest of the *Moluccas*, but for the maintaining and defending them against any enemies whatever. When this formidable fleet came to put to sea, it was found that men were wanting to row the gallies; which obliged the governor to have recourse to the *Chinese*, and of these, partly by promises, partly by pay, he gained a great number; yet not enough for his purpose, and therefore, at last, he had recourse to force. *October* the 17th,

<sup>n</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. liv. i. c. 9.

• Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

(F) The very best account we have of these islands, allowing for the time in which they were written, are the memorials transmitted to the *Spanish* court, some of which have been printed at *Mexico*, but are become excessively scarce, and others are only to be found in manuscript, in the cabinets of the curious. So many of these as we could possibly obtain have been made use of, and are cited through the course of this chapter; but, it is highly probable, there are pieces of a fresher date, still more curi-

ous, and of greater importance, that the *Spanish* ministers have not thought fit to divulge, for reasons of state, amongst which, perhaps, may be reckoned the concealing their own ignorance and negligence. It is, however, never too late to mend; and, from some books on the subject of trade, lately printed in that kingdom, there are good grounds to believe, that, before the close of the current century, there will be great alterations in the *Spanish* politics in this respect.

1593, he sailed with his whole squadron, having on board about three thousand soldiers, exclusive of seamen, and such as rowed in the galleys. On board his own galley, there were two hundred and fifty *Chinefe*, and fourcore *Spaniards*. The former rose, in a dark night, upon the latter, murdered them all, except two, and carried off the vessel <sup>2</sup>. This put an end to the expedition, and, in that respect, was fortunate to the *Spaniards*; for his son, Don *Lewis*, returning to *Luzon*, was hardly settled in the government, before a numerous *Chinefe* fleet arrived, under the conduct of several mandarins. They gave but a very dark account of their business; but it quickly appeared, that, having intelligence of the expedition against the *Moluccas*, they apprehended the conquest of *Luzon* would be easy, as, if that expedition had taken effect, no doubt it had proved; but perceiving the army and the fleet returned, and the people highly enraged at the treachery of their countrymen, they judged it best to withdraw <sup>3</sup>.

AFTER such an escape, one would imagine succeeding go-  
vernors might have taken warning; but either their own am-  
bition was so great, or the orders received from *Spain* so precise,  
that they went on in the same track, and were continually  
hazarding the *Philippines*, in hopes of recovering the *Moluccas*  
from the *Dutch*, so long as *Portugal* continued annexed to the  
crown of *Spain*. Neither were they free from the other in-  
conveniency, produced from the avarice and negligence of  
their governors, who, for the sake of the high duties they  
imposed on them, suffered too many of the *Chinefe* to remain  
in the suburbs, notwithstanding the terrible consequences  
with which this piece of false policy has been attended <sup>4</sup>.  
Thus in the time when Don *Pedro de Acuna* was governor,  
who had been extremely kind to these people, and was  
thought to be beloved by them, some mandarins came from  
*China*, under a very frivolous pretence, but in reality, to per-  
suade their countrymen to revolt, and to furnish them with  
arms, the governor being, at that time, intent upon a new  
expedition <sup>5</sup>. On the feast of St. *Francis*, or rather the night  
preceding it, the *Chinefe* attacked the city, with the utmost  
fury, putting to death, without mercy, all that came in their  
way. The rebellion was general, and the dispute lasted many  
days; but, at length, the *Japanese*, and other strangers, as  
well as natives of the island, coming in to the assistance of

<sup>2</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. ix. <sup>3</sup> Re-  
lac de las Islas Filipinas. ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas  
Malucas, l. ix. <sup>4</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas. <sup>5</sup> AR-  
GENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ix.

the *Spaniards*, the *Chinese* were reduced, or rather extirpated, there being killed, in less than three weeks, upwards of twenty-five thousand; and all the large suburb that they inhabited was burnt to the ground, and therein perished all sorts of rich goods, to an immense value <sup>t</sup>.

*An ambassador from China, occasioned by the massacre which followed on the insurrection.*

IN a short time afterwards, came several mandarins from *China*, who expostulated roundly with the governor, about what had happened to their countrymen; affirming, that they were not the aggressors, but that they were attacked and murdered by the *Spaniards*, for the sake of plundering four hundred shops, and possessing themselves of the substance of eight thousand families; for which, in the name of the emperor of *China*, they demanded ample satisfaction, with threats of sending an army on board a thousand sail of vessels, in case what they demanded was refused <sup>u</sup>. Don *Pedro* answered the ambassadors, that these were notorious falsehoods: that four or five thousand *Chinese*, indeed, died innocently, as having no hand in the insurrection; but that they were killed by their countrymen: for that very reason, that he had spared as many as could be spared, and had sent them on board the galleys; but if they had a mind to carry them to *China*, they might: and that as to the money and effects of the deceased rebels, they were not plundered, but safely laid up, which might be restored to their heirs, if they could be found, or, otherwise, laid out in works of charity. These excuses were either accepted, or the loss was, in comparison of the profits by this trade, so little regarded, that, in the *April* following, the *Chinese* fleet was as numerous as ever, and the suburb was quickly filled again with inhabitants. A short time after this, one of the most powerful princes of *Japan* sent over an ambassador to Don *Pedro*, with rich presents, and instructions to demand some persons capable of building him ships, and casting cannon; which, as might have been expected, he refused, though with all the civility possible, and yet not without giving great offence <sup>v</sup>.

*The conquest of the Moluccas by Don Pedro de Acuna, which, however, were soon lost.*

THE same governor, Don *Pedro de Acuna*, had also the honour of achieving, what had been the ruin of his predecessors, the reduction of the *Moluccas*. He received his Catholic Majesty's command upon this subject, together with a considerable supply of vessels, troops, and military stores, from *New Spain*, in the year 1605; notwithstanding which,

<sup>t</sup> GEMELLI CARRERI *Tour du Monde*, l. iv. ARGENSOLA *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. ix.

<sup>u</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL.

<sup>v</sup> ARGENSOLA *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, l. ix.

he very much apprehended the success of this undertaking; but being informed that the *Dutch* were intirely masters of those islands; that they had a considerable fleet, and were preparing to attack him in the *Phillippines*, he quickly changed his sentiments \*. These informations being laid before the principal persons, both of the clergy and laity, they became as eager, and as industrious, in promoting this enterprize, as they had been backward and dilatory, upon all like occasions, in times past. In the beginning of *January* 1606, Don *Pedro* sailed with a numerous fleet, having upwards of three thousand men on board, and a good train of artillery. He found the *Dutch* and the natives perfectly well agreed, and in a good condition to receive him; notwithstanding which, he attacked the island of *Ternate*, and, with the assistance of the king of *Tydor*, reduced it, and, in a small space of time, the whole *Moluccas*. He carried back with him, amongst the prisoners taken in this expedition, the king of *Ternate*, his son, and twenty-four persons of the first distinction, with whom he entered, in triumph, into the capital city of his government, on the tenth of *June*. But he had not much time to enjoy the pleasure this success gave him, since some base people, who envied and hated him, caused him to be poisoned, of which he died, *July* the 3d, 1606, to the great detriment of the *Spanish* nation † (G).

IN

\* Relac de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL. † ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. x.

(G) We have followed, in what is related in the text, the authorities of the best *Spanish* writers, who are unanimous in bestowing the highest praises upon Don *Pedro de Acuna*, and in celebrating the success that attended his enterprize. Yet the memoirs we have mentioned speak somewhat a different language; they say, that he was to blame in suffering the *Dutch* to remain in possession of *Amboyna*, where they soon fortified themselves so, as not to be driven out; and, receiving fresh supplies from *Holland*, quickly recovered all that he had taken from them. It is

further alleged, that he failed very much in his duty, in not leaving some gallies to protect the *Moluccas*, and hinder the *Dutch* from fortifying themselves at *Amboyna*, which they might have done, as those vessels draw but little water, and the *Dutch* fortifications were all upon the coast. As for the captive king of *Ternate*, he was very well used, so long as Don *Pedro* lived; but in the time of his successor, Don *Juan de Silva*, he was thrust into a close prison, and so little care taken of him, that his body suffered from the inclemency of the weather, and

*Advances by which the Dutch were enabled to drive out the Spaniards.*

IN the space, however, of a few years, things were in as bad a condition as ever; and this, notwithstanding all the efforts that could be made by the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippines*, at which the reader will not at all wonder, when he considers, that the people under this government undertook these expeditions unwillingly; that the *Portuguese* were very indifferent as to their success; that the *Dutch* had the advantage of numbers, and of being better and sooner supplied; and that, not knowing as yet what masters they would make, the natives, in general, were their firm and faithful allies. These frequent miscarriages begetting continual complaints and never-ceasing demands from the *Philippines*, it was debated in the councils of *Philip* the third, as it had been in those of *Philip* the second, whether it might not be for the advantage of the *Spanish* monarchy to quit the *Philippines* intirely, and leave them to be occupied by any other nation, or to return again into the hands of their old masters the *Chinese* <sup>z</sup> (H).

## AMONGST

<sup>z</sup> Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas, à l'Illustrissimo y Reverendissimo Senor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, del-Consejo de su Magestad en el Real de las Indias, Obispo de la Puebla de los Angeles, por DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON, Procurador General de las Islas Filipinas, Agente del Principado de Cataluna, y Sindico de la Ciudad de Barcelona.

and he would have absolutely starved for want of subsistence, if he had not procured wherewith to keep him alive, by begging; which, our author says, was highly scandalous to his Catholic Majesty, considering, that the power of this monarch was once so formidable, as to strike terror through all the adjacent islands (9).

(H) If, from the time the *Philippines* were first settled, they had not been continually burdened with the protection of the *Moluccas*, and thereby engaged in a perpetual war with the *Dutch*, they would, in all probability, have been effectually

planted, and the *Spanish* inhabitants gradually increasing would have applied themselves to making the most of the mines, and other natural riches, with which they abound; but being continually diverted from their labours, and forced to be at a great expence in offensive and defensive wars, they were kept always poor, and always craving, which brought a very undeserved odium upon these islands, and furnished those pretences for exciting his Catholic Majesty to abandon them, of which the reader has a full account in the text; and from whence it will sufficiently ap-

(9) *Relas de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por Hernan de los Rios Corneel.*

AMONGST many reasons offered in support of this *Arguments* opinion, these were not the least persuasive: "That the *urged in*  
 " *Philippines*, though noble countries in themselves, and *the Spa-*  
 " such as might well excite a desire in another *European* *nish coun-*  
 " nation to become possessed of them, were, nevertheless, *cil for*  
 " nothing, when compared to the vast dominions already in *abandon-*  
 " the possession of the crown of *Spain*; and therefore, in *ing the*  
 " stead of meanness of spirit, it would argue magnanimity *Molue-*  
 " in his Catholic Majesty, to take this resolution; that the *cas.*  
 " dominions of the crown were already of such a vast extent;  
 " and so separated and divided, that the monarchy suffered  
 " from its own weight, and could recover no otherwise than  
 " by contracting its forces nearer to its center; that, in re-  
 " spect to the *Philippines*, these arguments were the more  
 " conclusive, since, instead of contributing towards the ge-  
 " neral expence of government, they were a constant burden  
 " upon *New Spain*, swallowing up annually vast quantities  
 " of silver; which being exported to *China*, from whence it  
 " could never return, was in effect digging it at a great  
 " charge, then transporting it with no small one; and all  
 " this to throw it again into the mine; that the sparing these  
 " annual draughts, withdrawing the garrisons, and disposing  
 " properly of the forces, that were in the *Philippines*, might  
 " be of great consequence to the rest of his dominions; and  
 " that, finally, these were arguments agreeable to common  
 " sense, and founded in facts that could not be denied;  
 " whereas all that could be urged against them, was, in ef-  
 " fect, no more than idle words, pompous sounds, and the  
 " language of men led away by vain notions of grandeur,  
 " which serve only to beggar private persons, and bring great  
 " states to ruin."

TO these motives, which were chiefly urged by the *Answers*  
*Italians* and *Flemings*, there was far from being a general *given to*  
 concurrence given, even before the sentiments of the king *these rea-*  
 were known; for, the debate being intirely free, all spoke *sons, which*  
 their opinions without reserve, that the king and his mini-  
 sters might judge. The old *Spanish* counsellors answered, *occasioned,*  
 " that no conclusion could be drawn to the prejudice of any *laying that*  
*motion*  
*aside.*

\* ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.

pear, that it is much easier for them, to make them advan-  
 ignorant and indolent ministers taneous to their mother coun-  
 to misrepresent distant colonies, try (10).  
 than by taking pains about

(10) *Justification, &c. por Don Juan Grau y Montsalcon.*

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C c

" part



“ part of the *Spanish* monarchy, by comparing it with the  
 “ whole, because at this rate every province might be at-  
 “ tacked, and all by degrees, and the expediency of quitting  
 “ them insisted upon; since, no doubt, whatever they threw  
 “ away others would pick up; and that, if his majesty had  
 “ a mind to try the experiment, he might do it with the  
 “ jewels of his crown at a cheaper rate than with the do-  
 “ minions descending to him from his ancestors; that, with  
 “ respect to the wide compass of the king’s dominions, it was  
 “ true the sun never outwent them in his journey, and that  
 “ the bounds of his territories and of the world were the  
 “ same; but that, as these were acquired by the wisdom and  
 “ power of his royal predecessors, so, with the exercise of like  
 “ prudence, they might be kept; that it was not the distance  
 “ of countries, but the dismal effects of weak administrations,  
 “ that made empires seem too large; and that, if the king  
 “ would contract his views at home, he might easily defend  
 “ his dominions abroad: that, as to those large sums sent  
 “ annually from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*, it was an ap-  
 “ parent charge, but might not be a real one, since the gold  
 “ sent back was equal in value to the silver; and if this was  
 “ more useful in the *Philippines*, and that better liked in *Ame-*  
 “ *rica*; there was no cause the king should throw away vast  
 “ countries to prevent people exchanging a white metal for  
 “ a yellow; but if there was a loss, it ought not to be  
 “ ascribed to the *Philippines*, but to the extraordinary ser-  
 “ vices which the crown had expected from the inhabitants;  
 “ that whatever might be advanced to the prejudice of these  
 “ settlements, they were discovered at the expence, and esta-  
 “ blished by the labours, of the *Spanish* nation; and it was  
 “ hard they should be given away either to preserve what the  
 “ *Portuguese* once possessed, and now despised, or to furnish  
 “ money for a war in *Europe* which had already exhausted  
 “ both the blood and treasure of *Spain*; and that these were  
 “ not empty words, or flowers of rhetoric, but the antient  
 “ maxims of the crown of *Castile*, maxims by which the  
 “ glory of the king, and the interests of his subjects, might  
 “ be maintained, whereas that strain of politics, which con-  
 “ fined all to *Europe*, must be necessarily mean and poor,  
 “ since it prompted the king to sink much below what he  
 “ was, and to throw away the *Indies*, from the absurd hopes  
 “ of compassing projects which he could not accomplish with  
 “ all the wealth that they had brought him.” King *Philip*  
 the second added, and his son adhered to his father’s reasons,  
 “ that he would not abandon the *Philippiner*, because, since  
 “ they came into his possession, there had been half a million  
 “ of

" of souls converted to the Christian religion : that if the  
 " silver of *New Spain* was employed to protect those new  
 " converts, it could not be better bestowed : that to quit  
 " these provinces, was to abandon vast countries and many  
 " nations to idolatry ; and that, after having wasted so many  
 " millions in opposing heresy, it would very ill become a  
 " Catholic prince to endeavour the making some small savings  
 " expence of Chridianity<sup>b</sup>."

## S E C T. III.

*A particular Account of the Name, Situation, Extent, Climate, Produce, Natural and Civil History, of Luçon, the principal Island among the Philippines ; together with an exact Detail of the Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, and whatever else is any way remarkable as to the Country or its Inhabitants, from whence its great Wealth and singular Importance to the Crown of Spain fully appear.*

A *Spanish* historian, who has written largely upon this sub-<sup>The Phi.</sup>ject by the command of his Catholic Majesty, and from lippines the very best memoirs, after applauding the judgment of the <sup>of very</sup> two kings, makes this remark, *That if the Philippines had great, and been abandoned, the Moluccas had been certainly saved<sup>c</sup>.* He <sup>capable of</sup> did not foresee, that, if it had been so, the *Moluccas* as well <sup>being ren-</sup> as the *Philippines* would have been lost to the crown of *Spain*, <sup>dered of</sup> and that therefore the wisdom of their Catholic Majesties has <sup>much</sup> been fully justified by the event. It is true, that, since the <sup>greater</sup> separation of the crowns of *Portugal* and *Spain*, the governors <sup>import-</sup> of the *Philippines* have applied themselves more to the proper <sup>ance,</sup> business of their charge, which however they have found sufficient to exercise their utmost abilities ; inasmuch that the best writers agree, that their power is not owned at all in the tenth part of the islands which compose that numerous archipelago : and that not a twelfth part of the people have submitted to them, even in those islands of which they are possessed. Yet, all things considered, this may be well excused ; for, having no direct communication with *Spain*, lying at such a vast distance from *Mexico*, on the viceroy of which the government of the *Philippines* depends, and having so many concerns of different kinds to exercise his thoughts, it

<sup>b</sup> Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c. <sup>c</sup> AR-  
 CENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, l. ii.

is no-ways strange that the person intrusted with the supreme power here is not able, though he holds the reigns of government a long time, to do much towards reforming the evils that have grown by degrees, or attempting any good in a place where of necessity many of his hours must be employed in providing for his own safety<sup>d</sup>. The removing these obstacles, to his doing what ought to be done for the king's service, is the business of the ministry.

*An account  
of the me-  
thod and  
intention of  
the re-  
main-  
ing  
part of this  
chapter.*

IN order to justify what has been advanced, and to dispel that cloud of uncertainties which the differing opinions of various writers have thrown upon this subject, which in itself is infinitely more curious and entertaining; more useful and instructive, and of far greater consequence, than is commonly imagined; we will first give as clear an account as may be of the principal island, its capital, and whatever else is remarkable therein; after which, we will proceed to the government ecclesiastic and civil; and this will open the way to speak of the dependencies of this government, and of the many islands that are subject to or dependent upon it; we will then discuss the famous point of the annual ship that traverses the vast *Atlantic* ocean, from the port of *Manila* to that of *Acapulco*; and conclude with some remarks upon the commerce of the *Spanish East Indies*, and what grounds there are to suppose that it may gradually increase or decay; whence the reader may form a better judgment of the *Spanish East Indies* than could be easily made by the perusal of any book yet extant in our own or in any other language; since we may venture to affirm, that there is hardly any point of general history that has been so little considered as this, and we shall therefore esteem ourselves happy if we can bring the materials relating to it into any tolerable order (I).

THE

<sup>d</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China.*

(I) We could have inserted a great many other particulars relating to these islands, of which there is hardly any notice taken by those who have hitherto described them; but the nature of this work, and the necessity of keeping within bounds, obliged us to be content with inserting only so much as might render

our account of the present state of the *Philippines* clear and intelligible. The *Dutch*, as might be naturally expected, before the conclusion of their peace with *Spain*, made several attempts upon this country, but without any greater success than taking sometimes rich prizes, and at others plundering towns and

THE principal island of the whole archipelago is called *Luçon*, or *Luçonía*, from the name imposed by its inhabitants, which is pronounced *Luçon*; the *Spaniards* call it *Manilla*, or, as it is generally written, *Manila*, from its capital. As for the etymology of its antient name, it stands thus: The people of this and of the adjacent islands lived chiefly upon rice, which they were accustomed to bruise before they either boiled or baked it; in order to this, they made use of wooden mortars about eight inches over, and sometimes they had two or three of these cut out of the same piece of wood, which they set before their doors, that so many persons might beat rice for the family together: such a mortar they called *Luzon*, and, in the plural number, *Luzones*; so that from this particular usage they derived the name, meaning to express thereby the island where the people bruise their corn in mortars. As for the *Spanish* name *Manilla*, it signifies properly a bracelet, but is supposed to have been applied to this island from a notion, very indifferently founded, that it was antiently so called by *Ptolemy*. As to its situation, it is remarkably happy, having the continent of *China* on the north, at the distance of about sixty leagues; the famous islands of *Japan* to the north-east; the sea between them, of the breadth of two hundred and fifty leagues; on the east it has no other boundary but the ocean; to the south lie the rest of the islands of this great archipelago, the number of which, great

*The sense and etymology of the name of Luzon, or Luçon, the largest of these islands.*

\* GEMELLI CARERI *Tour du Monde*, l. iv. c. vi.      † CARRERA, lib. vii. cap. 8. p. 422. but certainly a mistake.

and villages upon the coast by surprise (11). If the memorials we have so often mentioned had been regarded, if due care had been taken in the choice of governors; if they had been enabled to build and keep in pay a competent fleet of gallies, and had entered into an alliance with the king of *Macassar*, and some of the *Indian* monarchs on the continent, as the patriots in these islands proposed; and, above all, if they had excluded the *Chinese*, and suffered other nations to trade openly and

freely at *Manila*, they had long ago made a much better figure than they do now: for though there is, and has been always, a vast commerce carried on here, yet, being contraband and clandestine, it has never turned to the general benefit of the people, as it might have otherwise done, but has filled the coffers of their governors, and other persons in power, who, at their departure, found means to carry it from thence, though but very few have been so lucky as to get it safe home (12).

(11) See some account of these in the next chapters.  
3 *Montfalcon Justification*, &c.

(12) *D. Juan Grau*

and small, some affirm to be eleven hundred; on the west lie *Malacca, Patana, Siam, Camboia, Cochinchina*, and other provinces of *India*, the nearest at the distance of three hundred leagues & (K).

*Its situation and extent.*

THE middle of this island is in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, the east point in thirteen degrees thirty minutes, and the most northern point is in the latitude of nineteen de-

& Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

(K) It may not be amiss to put the reader in mind here, that the eleven hundred islands above mentioned refer to the *Philippines*, and not to the archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, which, as has been observed, is supposed to contain ten times as many; but however we do not make ourselves accountable for either computation. It is not impossible, that, considering the received opinion of the island's resembling an arm, there may be some allusion thereto in giving the name of *Manila*, or a *Bracelet*, to the capital, as fancies of this kind are very conformable to the *Spanish* genius. All the writers of voyages agree, that, from the port, this city has a most agreeable appearance; and that the better sort of the inhabitants live, as far as the climate will permit, in great plenty and magnificence; tho' in some respects this is not very acceptable to *Europeans*, who are apt to treat as idle and ridiculous every system of folly but their own. Yet some there are who affirm, that it is not the beauty of the town that induced the *Spaniards* to call it *the Bracelet*, but quite the contrary: that the

*Indians* themselves called the spot of ground *Mainila*, that is, a *Morass*, which the *Spaniards* called *Manila*, preserving the sound as near as they could (13). In the same manner we are told, that the name which the *Spaniards* give to a *Chinese*, *Sangley*, is derived from a mistake made by themselves the first time the *Chinese* came among them; for, inquiring of each of them, as they met them, who they were, and whence they came, they constantly answered, *Xang-lai*, which therefore they understood to be the name of their country, or of their profession; whereas the *Chinese* apprehended they asked them why they came thither, and therefore answered, *Xang-lai*, *We come to trade*. It is farther asserted, that the name of the island *Luzon* is taken from the *Chinese*, who call this country *Liu zun* (14); but as those words are very differently written, and as we are not told the import of them in the *Chinese* language, it is not at all improbable that they derived this name from that of the natives, which, as we have shewn, signifies a kind of mortar.

(13) D. F. Navarrete *Tratados históricos de la Monarquía de China*, lib. i. cap. 1.

(14) The *Chinese* in like manner call *America*, in their own language, *Ya-me-li-kia*, which at first sight looks like another word, but in truth is the same, as well expressed as their orthography will permit.

grees. The shape of it is said to resemble that of an arm bent, but it is very unequal in compass. The eastern point, running into the ocean, is not above a day's journey over; but in the northern part it is, where narrowest, between thirty and forty leagues from sea to sea. The whole length is about one hundred and sixty *Spanish* leagues, and the circumference is about three hundred and fifty. At the elbow of this arm, looking towards the south-east, a large river falls into the sea, and makes a noble bay thirty leagues in compass, to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Bahia*, because the river runs out of the great lake *Bahi*, which lies at the distance of about six leagues behind it <sup>b</sup>.

THESE points are settled from the best authorities that could be procured, and more especially from a *Dutch* map, drawn at a time when they had some views upon these islands, and were for that reason most likely to be as accurate in their descriptions and draughts as possible. In respect to the longitude there are great variations, occasioned chiefly by the disputes which *Magellan* raised in order to justify his scheme. *The longitude of this island from the Dutch charts, and from those of Magellan.* If the map before-mentioned may be depended upon, the middle of the island lies in the longitude of one hundred and thirteen degrees east from *London*; which however does not very well agree with *Magellan's* chart, according to which it should lie in the longitude of one hundred and sixty degrees from the famous line settled by the courts of *Castile* and *Portugal*, for the division of their discoveries <sup>i</sup>. It is allowed, that this is not a matter now of any great importance, if we except the knowledge of the truth of things, which is always of importance; and with respect to which, those who read for information and instruction, and not merely from curiosity or amusement, will be always solicitous. *Magellan* asserted, that his charts were settled from astronomical observations; and, according to him, all the countries to the east of the peninsula of *Malacca* were within the bounds of *Spain*, upon which the title of the *Spaniards* to all that they possess in the *East Indies* is grounded, that is, with regard to the crown of *Portugal*; for, as to the other princes and states of *Europe*, they have as little to do with these treaties as with the pope's bull, to which no reverence can be expected but from princes in communion with the church of *Rome*; and from what has been said it appears, that even by them they have not been

<sup>b</sup> GEMELLI CARERI Tour du Monde, lib. iv. c. 7. <sup>i</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS. CORONEL.

*The climate of Manila, its advantages and disadvantages, and the age of the inhabitants.*

very scrupulously regarded ; if they had, none of these disputes would have happened <sup>k</sup>.

As to the climate of *Manila*, it is, as might be expected, hot and moist ; yet we are assured by a native of *Italy*, who was certainly the best judge, that the heat is not so violent there as in the dog-days at *Naples* <sup>l</sup>. The moisture is occasioned by the vast abundance of waters of all sorts ; wells, lakes, springs, rivulets, and great rivers ; and the sun being in their zenith twice a year, that is, in *May* and in *August*, it may be easily conceived that the vapours raised must be very copious and humid. One thing is held very extraordinary, that in stormy weather there is much lightning and rain, and that thunder is seldom heard till this is over. During the months of *June*, *July*, *August*, and part of *September*, the west and south winds blow, which they call *Vendavales*, bringing such rains and storms that the fields are all overflowed, and they are forced to have little boats to go from one place to another. From *October*, till the middle of *December* the north wind prevails ; and from that time till *May* the east and east-south-east, which winds are there called breezes. Thus there are two seasons in those seas, by the *Portuguese* called *Monzoens*, whence our word *Monsoons*, that is, the breezes half the year, with a serene dry air ; and the *Vendavales* the other half, wet and stormy <sup>m</sup>. It is further to be observed, that in this climate no vermin breed upon *Europeans*, though they wear dirty shirts, whereas it is otherwise with the *Indians*. In this country the weather can never be said to be cold, for the cause before assigned, and because the days and nights are there always of an equal length ; for which reason at *Manila* they never change the hour of dining, supping, doing business, studying, or praying ; or their cloaths, or wear cloth but only against the rain <sup>n</sup>.

THE air, being here, as has been said, very hot and moist, is not wholesome, and hinders digestion, yet is worse for young men that come from *Europe* than for the old : Providence, however, has obviated this inconveniency in a very great degree, by furnishing the natives with provisions easy of digestion. They use no other bread but rice, but that not so nourishing as what we have in *Europe*. The great dews that fall in fair weather is one of the principal causes why hardly any season can be called wholesome ; but as it is

<sup>k</sup> LUYTS Introduct. ad Geographiam, sect. iii. c. 13. <sup>l</sup> GEMELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde, P. i. l. i. c. 10. <sup>m</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchie de China. <sup>n</sup> Tour du Monde par GEMELLI CARRERI.

perceived that the higher grounds are the most healthy, so persons of distinction, and such as are wealthy, have their country-houses in the mountains, to which they retire about the middle of *March*, and continue there to the end of *June*. As for the natives, without using many precautions, they live to fourscore or an hundred; but it is very rare to see an *European* above sixty, unless he came there<sup>o</sup> pretty much in years; and for this reason it has been thought that few persons of great quality have accepted this government (L).

THE soil is famous throughout the *Indies* for its fertility, *Fertility of* and that to a degree, which, if we were to insist on it particularly, would appear incredible. One observation will make *the soil, its produce;* it sufficiently appear: rice, which elsewhere requires much *why destitute of* cultivation, grows in every part of this island with little or no care at all, even on the tops of the highest mountains, without being watered; and this makes it so plentiful, that the *Indians* value gold so little as not to pick it up, tho' it lies almost every-where under their feet<sup>p</sup>. Wheat is sometimes so scarce, as to be sold for ninety pieces of eight a bushel, because they have none but what is imported; yet the soil is very capable of bearing it, as appeared by an experiment that was made, when one bushel produced one hundred and thirty (M). As for rice, which is the corn of the country, it is of different

<sup>o</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL. <sup>p</sup> NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS,

(L). This account deserves to be well considered; for, though none of the writers we have met with have made the observation, yet it appears from their concurring relations, that there is a very apparent difference in stature and strength between the natives who inhabit the vallies, the sides of the mountains, and the tops of them. These last, who are absolutely free, are tall, active, and stout men, notwithstanding, as the reader will hereafter see, they fare worse, and are more exposed to the inclemencies of weather, than any

of the rest (15). There might be much said upon this subject, but the nature of this work requires that we should satisfy ourselves with giving a short hint only, and leave the rest to the reader's own speculations.

(M) There is something so strange in this, that it looks like an absurdity; and it is for want of inquiring into points of this nature that the veracity of the best authors is frequently called in question. In the present case the truth of the matter is this: If the *Indians*, subjects to the *Spaniards*, sow corn, the

(15) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Gemelli Carreri, Navarette.



different kinds, some requiring four or five months between the sowing and harvest, and some sown and reaped within the space of forty days<sup>1</sup>. What has been said is barely to shew how excellent a country this is in itself, notwithstanding that some writers represent it as poor, because fewer *Spaniards* return rich from thence than from any of the countries subject to his Catholic Majesty; which in fact is partly owing to the pleasantness of the place, that attracts the affections of the people, and engages them to live there; and partly from the great difficulty of returning, the very expence of which amounts to a moderate fortune, requires a great deal of time, and forces a man to pass through some of the most unwholesome places upon earth, and that too at seasons none of the most favourable<sup>2</sup>.

*But exposed, with all these advantages, to many and great inconveniences.*

It must not, however, be concluded from hence, that, with all its fertility, *Manila* is not subject to great disadvantages; the very worst of these are earthquakes, to which no country is more subject, since they are here both frequent and terrible; and next to these may be reckoned their burning mountains, of which there are several, some that throw out flames still, others that were extinguished long ago, and several that have been but lately exhausted; notwithstanding all this, the face of the island is far from being disfigured by them, or by the consequences of their explosions (N); on the contrary, there is

<sup>1</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS. <sup>2</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

governors often take it from them for the king's use, at a low price, paid at a great distance of time, and often not at all; and therefore they will not cultivate their ground; which affords a clear reason for scarcity being so frequently felt in this land of plenty (16).

(N) It is not at all difficult to distinguish the causes from whence these dismal effects proceed. The soil is every-where full of mineral sulphur; and the great heats, having opened the body of the earth, when the

rainy season comes on, the waters find an easy passage to these sulphureous veins; and, by the fermentation this occasions, earthquakes are produced, where the surface is solid and tight; and, where it is lighter and porous, the air insinuating itself, these heated vapours take fire, and are exploded with great violence so long as the combustible materials last. It may not be amiss also to observe, that the great heat, and the situation of these countries, surrounded on every side by the ocean, and its

(16) Coronel Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas. D. F. Navarrete Traducido historicos de la Monarquia de China, t. vi. c. 6. Gemelli Carreri.

abounding

is no soil more pleasant or fruitful. The grass grows, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit at once, all the year round, and this as well on the mountains as in gardens; and the old leaves seldom fall before the new ones are come. For this reason the *Tinguiani*, that is, mountaineers, have no particular place of abode, but always live under the shelter of the trees, which serve them instead of houses, and furnish them with food; and, when the fruit is eaten up, they remove where there is a fresh sort. The orange, lemon, and other *European* trees, bear twice a year: if they plant a sprig, in a year it becomes a tree, and bears fruit\*.

IT is not within our intention to describe at large the produce of this rich country, since that would require a small treatise; it will answer our purpose sufficiently to observe, that the richest fruits of the *West Indies*, as well as the *East*, grow plentifully, and some that are to be found no-where else. They have forty different sorts of palm-trees, the most excellent cocoas; and the best cassia in such plenty, that they feed their hogs with its fruit. In the mountains they have wild cinnamon, wild nutmegs, and some say wild cloves also; ebony, sandal-wood, together with excellent timber for building and shipping. All kinds of cattle they have in the greatest abundance, so that a large fat ox does not cost above four pieces of eight: civet-cats are very common here, and their civet highly valuable; amber is thrown upon their coasts, and frequently ambergris in prodigious quantities, sometimes there are pieces found of forty, fifty, and even sixty, pounds weight. After this, it will be thought stooping very low to observe, that hardly any country yields more or better wax, which is made without any trouble to the inhabitants, farther than that of looking for it in the woods†.

LAST of all let us observe, that this country abounds with gold to a degree that can hardly be affirmed of any other, except the adjacent islands; for though in some provinces there is more, in others less, yet in every part of *Manila* gold

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.  
pinas y Malucas, par HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARRETE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

† Relac. de las Islas Fili-

abounding also with hills and woods, are the principal causes of its being so moist; as this moisture, joined with heat, is of its extraordinary fertility, as well as the soundness and solidity of the timber, which is excellent for all sorts of uses (17).

(17) *Varen. Geograph. universal. Lays's Introduction, ad Geograph. Novorette, Gemelli Carreri, Hook's Lectures upon Earthquakes.*

*modity of Manila is gold, with which it abounds.* is to be found on the tops of their mountains, washed out of the earth by the heavy rains; in the mould of their vallies, washed down thither by the rivulets; and in the sand and mud of their lakes, brooks, and rivers. When the *Spaniards* came first thither, the *Indians* were much more indolent in gathering this precious metal than they are at present, for the sake of the ornaments they made of it; about which they are now become very indifferent, because they are commonly taken from them; neither would they gather it at all, if in some places they were not obliged to pay their tribute therein, and in nothing else<sup>u</sup>. It is by this means that the *Spaniards* obtain about a thousand or fifteen hundred pounds weight every year, but without the use either of fire or quicksilver; whence it is easy to conceive what immense sums *Manila* would produce, if they could oblige its inhabitants to work as in *Chili* and *Peru*; but they have found by experience, that, in the sentiments of these people, death is much more eligible than such a slavery; and from hence it proceeds (as one of their own writers observes) that there is no part of the *Indies* into which these people have not fled for fear of it<sup>w</sup>.

*Of the original inhabitants of this island, their colour, disposition, &c.*

WE will next speak of the people inhabiting this country when the *Spaniards* came thither. Upon the coast they found a nation of *Moors*, who called themselves *Tagalians*, or *Tagaleze*, who certainly came from *Malaca*, or perhaps more immediately from *Borneo*, whether driven by tempest, or of their own free choice, is more than can be determined. That they are really *Malayans* by descent, is evident from their colour, shape, habit, manners, and language. They are for the most part a modest, tractable, and well-disposed people<sup>x</sup>. In some provinces they found *Pintadoes*, that is, painted negroes, persons tall, streight, strong, active, and of an excellent disposition. Lastly, blacks, who lived in the mountains and thick woods, on whom the *Spaniards* have bestowed the name of *Negrillos*<sup>y</sup>, who are held to be the *Aborigines* of the island, and are the most enthusiastic lovers of liberty in the world. Their sole principle is, an abhorrence of submission, whence there is no government amongst them, and scarce any society: those who inhabit the foot of a mountain are mortal enemies to those who dwell at

<sup>u</sup> L'Amirante D'HIERONIMO DE BANVELO Y CARILLO Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI. <sup>w</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARETTE.

<sup>x</sup> CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. <sup>y</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados historicos de la Monarchie de China.

the top of it, and both are equally hated by those who live in the middle. When they kill a *Spaniard*<sup>a</sup>, they make a cup of his skull, and drink out of it; in other respects they are barbarous and brutal to the last degree. Neither is this character taken wholly from the *Spaniards*; for, before their time, the *Tagaleze* and the *Pintadoes* found them as incorrigible, and dealt with them no otherwise than by knocking them on the head<sup>a</sup>. In the mountains, near springs, and in caves pleasantly situated, live a nation called the *Ilayas*, or *Tinghianos*, whom some suppose to be descended from the *Japaneſe*, as free as the *Negrilloes*, but agreeing with them in no other respect, for they are very brave, and yet very courteous and humane. They live intirely upon the gifts of nature, and never sleep under any other shade than that of the trees or a cave. They never hurt either *Spaniards* or *Indians*, unless they attempt to deprive them of their liberty; but they shew no mercy to the poor *Negrilloes*, from a principle of self-defence<sup>b</sup>. It is generally believed, that, for these black people, they are the same that inhabit *New Guiney*, and several islands between that country and the *Philippines*. In saying this, we say very little, but at the same time all that is to be said; for though it is now two hundred years, or more, since the *Europeans* had some knowledge of that country, yet are we still ignorant whether it be a continent or an island; whether under the power of one prince, or of many; and whether the people are disposed to trade, or are of the same intractable humour with the *Negrilloes* in the island of *Manila* (O).

IT

<sup>a</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, c. vi.    <sup>a</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchie de China, l. vi. c. 4.    <sup>b</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI.

(O) There is no doubt that the accounts given by the missionaries are to be read with great caution in many respects; but at the same time it must be allowed, that, if it were not for their relations, we could have no certainty at all as to the temper, inclination, and genius, of the *Indians*. The *Spanish* historians treat the *Tagaleſe* as a rude, stupid race of people, and consequently fit to be made slaves. A very learned Jesuit, who resided long in *Manila*, assures us, on the contrary, that they are not only an honest and tractable, but also a very sensible, courteous, and well-bred people (18). A *Franciscan*, who wrote some remarks upon the Jesuit's book, differs with him

(18) P. Letona Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Historia de la Compania de Jesus en las Islas Filipinas, por F. Colin, c. xiii. p. 37.

*Of the province of* It is now necessary to speak of the provinces into which this island is divided; that of *Balayan* is next the city of *Balayan*, *Manila*, and extends along the coast, on the east side of the island, a little beyond the bay of *Batangas*. There were in it formerly gold mines, but they have been long since abandoned. It is inhabited by about two thousand five hundred tributary *Indians*, and abounds in cotton, rice, and palm-trees. This province is well cultivated; and the *Spaniards* have, generally speaking, their country-houses in it. Adjoin-

a little upon this head of good breeding; more especially as that reverend person had chosen for an instance of it their speaking to those whom they address, not in the second, but in the third person; so that, instead of saying, *How dost thou do?* they say, *How does Mr. Such-a-one do?* naming the person to whom they speak. Upon this our critic makes these remarks: "I was a missionary amongst the *Tagalese*, whose language, tho' I have been from thence eighteen years, I have not forgot. I exercised the mission among them, heard thousands of confessions; and preached some hundreds of times. I do not say but several of them, and particularly the best sort, use that manner of speaking the author mentions, yet I cannot grant it to be universal: they use a thousand *Thou's* and *Thee's* to the fathers that assist them. They have learnt some breeding of the *Spaniards* they converse with, and therefore those about *Manila* are more civil than the rest. Discouraging on this point upon a time with some *Indians*, one of the chief of them then

"present said, If the *Spaniards* had not come to our country, we had been all mere brutes; the light of the Gospel religion and conversation has made us men. He spoke the truth, and shewed himself a man of sense and reason; by which it appears the *Tagalese* are not of themselves so courteous and well-bred as some will make them" (19). One sees that, in effect, this confirms, rather than refutes, what the Jesuit had delivered; but in this point they both agree, that the *Tagalese* are much better Christians than their masters: that the men are just, charitable, and industrious; the women chaste, prudent, and remarkably modest; and both writers complain that they are miserably oppressed and ill used; and in this, to say the truth, they affirm no more than their predecessors have ever done, representing continually to the crown of *Spain*, that, if they would treat these people not as slaves, but as subjects, they might be as powerful in the *Philippines* as they could wish; but that, it seems, is not the interest of persons in authority (20).

(19) D. F. Novarrete *Treatados historicos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. t. 3.  
(20) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*.

ing to this is the province of *Calilaya*, or *Tayabas*, which reaches to *Cape Bondo*, and up the country to *Mauban*, on the opposite coast of the island: it has more inhabitants, and is larger, than the other. Next is the province of *Camarines*, in which are *Bondo*, *Passacao*, *Ibalon*, metropolis of the government of *Catanduanes*. *Bulan*, where the ship called the *Incarnation* was cast away returning from *New Spain* in 1649. *Sorsocon*, or *Bagatao*, where the king's ships are built; and *Albai*, a large bay without the streight, where there is a high burning mountain seen at a great distance by the ships coming from *New Spain*: in this mountain there are some springs of hot water. Beyond *Albay*, eastward, is the cape of *Buyfaygay*; and then the island runs northward, leaving the isles of *Catanduanes* on the right hand. Coasting from thence westward, they meet the river *Bicor*, which flows from a lake, and runs by the city *Caceres*, founded by the second governor and proprietor of these islands, *D. Francis de Sande*. Here resides the bishop of *New Caceres*, under whom are the provinces of *Calilaya*, *Camarines*, and *Ibalon*.

NEXT to the province of *Camarines* is that of *Paracale*, *Of that of* where there are rich mines of gold, and other metals; and of *Paracele*, excellent loadstones; in it dwell about seven thousand tributary *Indians*. The soil is good, and very level, producing cacao and palm-trees, from the last of which they get much oil and wine. Three days journey from *Paracale*, along the coast, is another bay called *Mauban*, where the island winds, and makes as it were the bowing of the arm opposite to the elbow where *Manila* stands. Sometimes the ships coming from *New Spain* have left their money here, to be sent to *Manila*. Without this bay is the port of *Lampou*, like that of *Mauban*. From *Lampou* to *Cape Engano* the coast is inhabited by none but *Negrilloes* or barbarians. Here begins the province and district of *Cagayan*, which is the largest in the island, being eighty leagues in length, and forty in breadth. The metropolis of it is the city called *New Segovia*, founded by the governor *D. Gonzalo Ronquillo*, and in it the cathedral church. The city stands on the bank of the river of the same name, which runs almost across all the province. There resides the chief Alcade, with a garrison of *Spanish* foot. A stone fort was built here, and other works made of gabions and wood, for a defence against the revolted *Indians* called *Ilayas*, who live on the sides of high mountains which divide the whole island. In this province the parishes belong to the *Dominicans*.

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI.    d D. F. NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTZ.

THE most northerly cape is that called *del Engano*, dangerous by reason of the northern winds and great currents. Fifteen leagues from *New Segovia* eastward is *Cape Bejador*; and then doubling the cape, and coasting along from north to south twenty leagues, ends the province of *Cagayan*, and begins that of *Illocos*. The peaceable *Cagayans*, who pay tribute, are about nine thousand, besides those that are not subdued. The whole province is fruitful; the men able of body, inclined to tillage and arms, and the women to several sorts of work in cotton. The mountains produce plenty of wax, there being such abundance not only in this province, but through all the island, that wax is exceeding cheap, and all the poor burn it instead of oil. They make their candles after this manner: they leave a small hole at each end of a hollow stick, for the wick to run through; and then, stopping the bottom, fill it with wax at the top; and thus the candle is made in a moment of any size whatever; which when cold, they break the mould, and take it out. On the mountains there is abundance of brasil, ebony, and other sorts of wood of great value. In the woods, store of wild beasts, as boars, but not so good as those in *Europe*; and deer, which they kill for their skins and horns, to sell to the *Chinese*.

Of the  
province  
of Illocos.

THE province of *Illocos* is the richest and best peopled in the island; its coast runs forty leagues. On the bank of the river *Bigan*, the governor *Guido de Laccazaris*, successor to the *Adelantado*, in the year 1574 built the city *Fernandina*. Up the country the province is not above eight leagues in breadth, being intersected by mountains and woods inhabited by the *Igolotti*, a tall warlike people, and by blacks not subdued: yet the extent of the whole country was viewed, when the army marched seven days, travelling three leagues a day through woods of wild nutmegs and pines, and at length came to the top of the mountain, where were the principal habitations of the *Igolotti*. They live there because of the rich gold mines in those parts, which they gather, and exchange with those of *Illocos* and *Pangasinan*, for tobacco, rice, and other commodities. Besides gold, this province produces much rice and cotton, of which they make quilts, and other furniture.

Of the  
province  
of Pangasinan.

ADJOINING to this is the province of *Pangasinan*, for about forty *Spanish* leagues along the coast: its breadth is about eight or nine leagues; and very like *Illocos*. The mountains and plains produce much brasil wood, called by the

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.  
Tour du Monde, P. iv. l. i. c. 7.

† GEMELLI CARRERI

*Indians Sibucan*, used in dying red and blue. The inland parts are full of wild *Indians*, who, like brute beasts, wander naked up and down the woods and mountains, only covering their privities with a leaf. They sow a little rice in their vallies; and what more they want they get in the conquered country, in exchange for small bits of gold they gather in the rivers. In the province of *Ilocos* there are nine thousand that pay tribute, and seven thousand in that of *Pangasinan*. On the coast of this province is the port of *Bolinao* and *Playahonda*, famous in the *Philippine Islands* for the victory there obtained by the *Spaniards* over the *Dutch*. Next to this lies the province of *Pampanga*, where the diocese of *New Segovia* ends, and that of the archbishop of *Manila* begins. This province is large; and of great consequence, because the natives, being well instructed by the *Spaniards*, help to defend the land, and have stood by them upon all occasions, not only in *Manila*, but in *Ternate*, and other provinces. Besides, the soil is very fruitful, particularly in rice, so that it furnishes *Manila*. It also yields timber for building of ships, the woods being on the bay, not far from the port of *Cavite*. It contains about eight thousand *Indians*, who pay tribute in rice. In the mountains of this province dwell the *Zambali* and *Negrillos*. These are always fighting among themselves, to defend their woods from their neighbours, and secure their game and pasture (P).

THE

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. NAVARETTE, GEMELLI  
CARRERI, LUYTS.

(P) We have in the author  
 all cited, in his correction of  
 another writer, a very distinct  
 and agreeable account of these  
 nations, which, as it is but  
 short, we will give the reader  
 in his words (21): "F. Latona  
 says he asserts, that within  
 the archbishoprick of Manila  
 there were certain beaten  
 blacks, natives of the island  
 unconquered, called *Zambales*,  
 and very barbarous. But they  
 deceived him, who said they  
 were the same as the *Zam-  
 bales*; for these *Zambales* are  
 " mortal enemies to the *Blacks*,  
 " and extremely dreaded by  
 " them. There are very good  
 " Christians among them; their  
 " towns are on the skirts of the  
 " mountains, to hinder the  
 " blacks from coming at the  
 " towns of the *Indians*. For  
 " these, and other reasons, the  
 " *Zambales* are exempt from  
 " contributions, and personal  
 " duty; they pay their taxes  
 " in unwrought silver, not in  
 " specie. The blacks have  
 " frizzled hair like the *Cafres*;  
 " the *Zambales* have not. The

(21) D. F. Navarette *Tratados historicos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. c. 32.  
 MOD. HIST. Vol. IX. D d " blacks



Of the  
vinces of  
Bahi and  
Balacan.

THE province of *Bahi*, lying east of *Manila*, is no less important for building of ships. About the bay of this name,

“ blacks are not conquered ;  
 “ nor is it possible to subdue  
 “ them, though one hundred  
 “ thousand men were gathered  
 “ together to that purpose :  
 “ first, because the mountains  
 “ are inaccessible ; and so thick  
 “ wooded, that, unless the shel-  
 “ ter be destroyed, neither *Spaniards*  
 “ nor *Indians* can ad-  
 “ vance a step, and the blacks  
 “ run in and out at every hole  
 “ like hares : secondly, because  
 “ they, standing behind the  
 “ trees with their arrows, shoot  
 “ as many as they please, with-  
 “ out being seen, by reason  
 “ their colour cannot be distin-  
 “ guished from that of the tree.  
 “ If the *Indians* and *Zambales*  
 “ go into the mountains, they  
 “ have generally the worst ; and  
 “ therefore they endeavour to  
 “ catch the blacks in open  
 “ fields, but that is no easy mat-  
 “ ter. I knew them sometimes at  
 “ peace, and sometimes at war,  
 “ with the *Indians* : when they  
 “ were at peace, whole troops  
 “ of them would come down  
 “ to the towns ; we gave them  
 “ tobacco, rags, and wine,  
 “ which pleased them very  
 “ much, and some of them help-  
 “ ed the principal *Indians* in  
 “ their tillage. We admired to  
 “ see them so fat, tall, and  
 “ strong : they eat nothing but  
 “ wild mountain roots, some  
 “ fruit, and raw flesh, without  
 “ any clothing but their skin,  
 “ or any other bed but the  
 “ ground. Every one of them  
 “ has his bow and arrows ; the  
 “ bow is as long as he that uses  
 “ it ; they make them of a  
 “ palm-tree as hard as iron ;  
 “ the string is made of the barks  
 “ of trees, so strong, that no-  
 “ thing can exceed them. Be-  
 “ sides these, they use another  
 “ little iron weapon, broader  
 “ than one's hand, a quarter of  
 “ a yard long, the handle very  
 “ fine, which they said was  
 “ made of burnt oysters and  
 “ snails ; it looked like delicate  
 “ marble. This weapon serves  
 “ them when in close fight ;  
 “ and they will cut off a man's  
 “ head at the mouth very dex-  
 “ trouly. All the people along  
 “ those mountains, as far as  
 “ *New Segovia*, value a skull  
 “ mightily to drink out of, so  
 “ that he who has most skulls is  
 “ the noblest among them ; and  
 “ they go out to cut off heads  
 “ for this honour, without any  
 “ other prospect. In some places  
 “ they make use of the teeth  
 “ out of those heads they cut  
 “ off, stringing and making  
 “ garlands of them, to wear on  
 “ their heads ; he that has most  
 “ is best looked upon. There  
 “ are a great many of these  
 “ people on the mountains of  
 “ *Orion*, upon the bay of *Ma-  
 mila*, but they are peaceable ;  
 “ all the time I was there they  
 “ never did the least hurt.”  
 This passage is very curious,  
 and acquaints us with several  
 particulars that occur no-where  
 else. It shews us, that in these  
 islands there are two distinct  
 races of black people ; one that  
 are perfect negroes, and another  
 that have long hair like the *Ca-  
 narins* in the neighbourhood of  
*Goa* ; that these are naturally  
 enemies to each other ; that the  
 former are fierce, and more bar-  
 barous

name, and in the neighbouring farms, grows the best fruit that is eaten in *Manila*, especially the *Bonga* or *Arecca*, and the *Buyo*, which is the same as *Betle*. This is an aromatic and delicate fruit; but it must be observed, that this of *Manila* exceeds all other; and the *Spaniards* from morning till night never cease chewing of it. The fruit this plant bears is called *Taclove*. This province suffers very much by the continual labour the natives are put to in felling timber for building of ships, two hundred, and sometimes four hundred, being employed every month in this work on the mountains, or at the port of *Cavite*. The king allows them a piece of eight a month, and rice enough. The whole province contains six thousand tributary natives. The province of *Bulacan*, lying between *Panpanga* and *Tondo*, is small, its inhabitants *Tagalians*, and abounds in rice and palm wine: the number that pay tribute, three thousand. It remains to say something of a small province near the mouth of the channel; because, though its metropolis be on the main land of *Manila*, yet the rest of it is made up of several islands, as *Catanduanes*, *Masbate*, and *Burias*. *Catanduanes* is thirty leagues in compass, ten in length, and its shape is almost a triangle. It is one of the first met with in the way to the islands; and so near the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the channel of *St. Bernardin*, that some pilots, mistaking it, have lost their ships; for, believing they were entering the mouth of the freight, they found themselves among dangerous flats, which are all round the island a musket-shot from the shore. Its being exposed to the north wind makes it always stormy; for which reason there is no sailing thither but from the fifteenth of *June* to the middle of *September*.

It abounds in rice, oil of palms, cocoas, honey, and wax. Of the There are several rivers, dangerous to cross, in the channel of island of which there is gold found, brought down from the mountains *Catan-* by floods, which have worn deep channels down their sides. The *duanes* biggest of them is called *Catandangan*, and by the *Spaniards* *Catanduanes*, whence the island took its name. The chief employment of the natives is carrying wood, making very light boats, and carrying them to sell at *Mindora*, *Caleleya*, *Balayan*, and

h Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI.

barous than the latter; and that, writers, and those who copy though one is more easily civi- from them, commonly represent- lized, yet the other kind of peo- these miserable creatures, that ple are far from being irreclaim- they may justify their usage of- able, as most of the *Spanish* them.

other places. They first make one very large, without any deck, and not nailed, but sewed together with *Indian* canes, and then others less and less, one within another, and thus they transport them an hundred leagues<sup>1</sup>. The people are warlike, and paint themselves like the *Bisayas*. They are excellent sailors; and, leaping into the water, turn a boat again in a moment, that has been overset. For fear of such accidents, they carry their provisions in their hollow canes close stopped, and tied to the sides of the boats. Their habit is only a waistcoat, which reaches down to the knees. The women are of a masculine size, and apply themselves as much as the men to tillage or fishing. They are modestly clad in a coat or jerkin; after the manner of the *Bisayas*, and a long mantle. Their hair is tied on the crown of the head, making a knot like a rose. On their forehead they wear a plate of gold two fingers broad, lined with taffeta; in their ears three gold pendants, one in the place where the *European* women use it, the other two higher<sup>k</sup>. On their ancles they have rings, which make a tinkling noise as they move. We are next, after thus making the tour of the whole island, to give a short description of its capital, which is also that of the *Philippines*; and the dominions of his Catholic Majesty in the *East Indies*; neither is it in any respect beneath that notion one would naturally form of a place honoured with those titles.

A description of the city of Manila, the capital of the island of Luzon, and the Philippines.

THE city of *Manila*, as has been already hinted, stands upon that point of land where the river that comes out of the lake runs into the sea, and whence *Ragia* the Moor, who had fortified himself with ramparts upheld by palm-trees, and furnished with small guns, was beaten by *Michael Lopez Legaspi* on the nineteenth of June 1571. In compass it is two miles, in length one third of a mile; the shape irregular, being narrow at both ends, and wide in the middle. It has six gates, which are called *De los Almazenes*, or, Of the magazines; *Santo Domingo*, or *St. Dominic*, opening on that suburb; of *Parian*; of *Puerta Real*, or, The royal gate; of *St. Lucia*; and the *Postigo*, or, The postern. The wall on the side next *Cavite* is strengthened with five little towers with iron guns; but on the angle, next the land, is a noble bastion called *la Fundizion*, or the Foundery; and beyond it another, not inferior to it, between which is *Puerta Real*, or the royal gate, well furnished with brass guns, and good out-works. Further is the gate of *Parian*, over which there is a battery of breast artillery. Proceeding still by the river side,

<sup>1</sup> CORNEL, NAVARETTE, LUYTS;  
GEMELLI CARERI, LUYTS.

<sup>k</sup> NAVARETTE,

the next is *St. Dominic's* bastion, as being near the monastery of the *Dominicans*; and thence you go on to the castle which terminates the city, which on the south is washed by the sea, and on the north and east by the river, over which there are drawbridges to enter at the royal gate, and that of *Parian*. The palaces of *Manila*, though all of timber above the first floor, yet are beautiful from their handsome galleries. The streets are broad; but frequent earthquakes have spoiled their uniformity, several houses and palaces being overthrown, and little hope of rebuilding them<sup>1</sup>.

*MANILA* contains about three thousand souls; but these of *The num-* such different mixtures as to qualities and colour, that they *ber of in-* are distinguished by several strange names. This has hap- *habitants* pened by the conjunction of *Spaniards, Indians, Chineses, Ma-* in the city, *labars, Blacki*, and others inhabiting that city, and islands *and in the* depending on it, as is also fallen out in the *Portuguese con-* famous *quests in the East Indies*, and the kingdoms of *Peru* and *Me-* suburb of *xico in America*. Though *Manila* be so small, if we look *Parian*, only on the circumference of its walls, and the number of inhabitants, yet it will appear large if we include its suburbs; for within a musket-shot of the gate of *Parian* is the habitation of the *Chinese* merchants called *Sangleys*, who in several streets have rich shops of silk, porcelain, and other commodities. Here are found such as exercise all arts and trades; so that whatever the citizens are worth runs through their hands, by the fault of the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who apply themselves to nothing (Q). There are about three thousand of

<sup>1</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

(Q) This arises from laziness in the *Spaniards*, and from poverty and diffidence in the *Indians*, who, as on the one hand they have but very little to trade with, so on the other they are very much afraid of having that little taken from them; which would probably be the case, if they engaged themselves in traffic. As it is, their misery is their greatest protection, the reputation of indigence serving to keep them quiet and free from those snares which would be certainly laid for them if they either had, or were supposed to have, wealth. By this means all comes to the hands of those industrious people, who think nothing mean, troublesome, or laborious, that is attended with profit. As to the name by which they are distinguished in the text, the origin of it has been already mentioned. What the *French*, in their southern provinces, are to the *Spaniards* in *Europe*, the *Sangleys* are to the *Spanish* inhabitants of the *Philippines*; they supply their wants, do their drudgery, flatter their

D d 3

vanity,

of them in this suburb, and as many more throughout the islands; which is permitted them, if not as Christians, at least in hopes they may become such, though many are, or pretend to be, converted, for fear of being banished <sup>m</sup>.

*Of the Chinese who inhabited that suburb, their employment, wealth, &c.*

THERE were formerly forty thousand; but abundance of them were put to death in tumults they raised at several times, and particularly that on St. Francis's eve, in 1603, as the reader has seen, and they were afterwards prohibited staying in the island by his Catholic Majesty. This order is very little observed; for there always remain behind hid many of those that come every year, in forty or fifty *Chiamfans*, loaded with commodities; the profit being very great at *Manila*, which they could not find in *China*, from the small price manufactures bear. The merchants or *Sangleys* of *Parian* (R) are governed by an Alcaide, to whom they allow a good salary, as they do to the king's solicitor, their protector, to his steward, and other officers, besides all the duties and taxes

<sup>m</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUTM.

vanity, bear their ill usage, and carry away their money, but not till they have a better title to it than themselves; and, to speak out, in this only lies the grievance. These facts are literally true; and yet are an allegorical picture of the different kinds of intercourse by which some nations are enriched, and others beggared.

(R) The industry and address of these people is so great, and they have the art of managing the passions, and attacking the foibles of those they deal with, so dexterously, that they constantly carry away almost all the silver that comes by the annual ship from *Mexico*. In short, they are the keenest traders in the world; and, as they constantly outwit others, so it sometimes happens that they outwit themselves. A very diverting instance of this is preserved in one

of the *Spanish* memorials, which for the reader's amusement we will transcribe: A certain *Spaniard* had the misfortune to lose a part of his nose, which exposed him in so disagreeable a manner to public notice at *Manila*, that he sent for a *Chinese* toymen, and asked him, If he could not supply that defect by an artificial nose? The *Chinese* readily undertook, and effectually performed, what was required of him; with which the *Spaniard* was so pleased, that he gave him twenty ducats. This was so acceptable to the trader, that when he returned the next year from *China*, he brought with him a whole cargo of false noses, not considering that such accidents were not frequent enough to furnish him with customers so that, with all his quickness and ingenuity, he had only his labour for his pains (22).

(22) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, written by an ecclesiastic who had resided at *Manila* eighteen years.

to the king. They pay his majesty ten thousand pieces of eight a year for the privilege of playing at *Metua* at their new year ; and yet this permission is but for a few days, that they may not throw away other men's money. *Metua* is the game of Even or Odd, at which they play, laying down small heaps of money, to be won or lost by guessing right<sup>n</sup>. They that use this sport are so expert, that they know the number by the dimensions of the heap ; and sometimes they sharply withdraw a piece, to make their number fall right. The *Spaniards* keep the *Chinese* very much under, not suffering them to be in Christian houses at night, and obliging them to be without light in their houses and shops (S).

OVER

<sup>n</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, cap. ii.

(S) The great inconveniency, and the apparent danger, of having these people in such numbers about the capital has been the subject of remonstrances to the *Spanish* government almost ever since they were possessed of the island, but without any tolerable effect ; for though the mischief has been sometimes moderated, yet it has been never extirpated ; the reason of this is, that the governor, and the persons in power, find their account in continuing, and the public only would be benefited by the redressing this evil. In answer to the remonstrances, therefore, they never failed to acquaint the court, that the ordinary and extraordinary taxes upon the *Chinese* amount to a third part of the whole revenue of the *Philippines* ; and that consequently this would be lost if they were banished ; and this, tho' a very poor reason, has hitherto prevailed. In one of the *Spanish* memorials, so often mentioned, the writer reasons upon this subject thus : The trade of the *Philippines*, as it is managed at *Manila*, is the richest in the universe ; and yet his

Catholic Majesty gets nothing, and his subjects very little. How happens this ? As wealth is the object of commerce, it may be considered as a kind of gaming ; but then it is a game of skill, and not of chance ; those therefore who have knowledge and industry must in the end carry off all ; and these at *Manila* are the *Chinese*, they hold the box, and in the long run all that is played for comes into their pockets ; only the governors, and the great ones from whom they derive this privilege, share in the spoils. The remedy is plain and easy in all respects but one, and that is, the fixing upon three honest governors in succession ; men who would prefer honour and reputation to the uncertain hopes of carrying a fortune to *Spain* ; which, tho' it has misled so many, is in reality a thing in which very few have succeeded. If such a succession of governors would treat the native *Indians* gently, encourage their manufactures, and suffer them to enjoy the fruits of their industry without molestation, the *Chinese* would be quickly beat out of

Of the  
other sub-  
urbs of  
Manila,  
and their  
people.

Of the  
buildings  
in Manila,  
and in the  
country  
round  
about that  
capital.

OVER the bridge adjoining to *Parian* are the suburbs or hamlets of *Tondo*, *Minondo*, *Santa Cruz*, *Dilao*, *S. Miguel*, *S. Juan de Bagumbaya*, *Santiago*, *Neustra Señora de la Hermita*, *Malati*, *Chiapo*, and others, to the number of fifteen in all, inhabited by *Japonesse*, *Tagali's*, and other nations, under the government of an *Alcaide*.

THE houses are generally of wood, near the river, and standing on pillars, with steps going up to them, after the manner of *Siam*. The roofs are covered with *Nipa*, or palm-tree leaves, the sides of cane, and they go up ladders to some of them, because the ground is moist, and sometimes full of water. In the time of the petty king *Matanda*, *Tondo* was fortified with ramparts and cannon, but could make little resistance against the *Spaniards*. In the space between these hamlets, on both sides of the river, as far as the lake of *Bahi*, there are gardens, farms, and country-houses, pleasant enough to behold; so that, looking on it altogether, it is much like the large villages in the neighbourhood of *Siam*. As to the public edifices, they were formerly much more magnificent than at present, experience having taught them that wood or cane are far better materials for building in that country than brick or stone; but the magnificence which reigns within shews sufficiently that they are not either strangers or enemies to splendor. The *Jesuits* college is by far the most considerable building in the city, in all respects; it was founded in 1581, and, like other houses of that society, has been increasing in wealth, as the fathers who inhabit it have

\* MENDOZA Descript. de l'Isle de Luçon.  
CARRERI Tour du Monde, P. iv. b. i. c. 2.

† GEMELLI

this trade in spite of all their cunning; a great part of the silver that comes from *Mexico* would remain in the island; shipping would increase; new markets would be opened; his Catholic Majesty's revenue would in a few years be ten times what it is, and the number of his subjects doubled, nay trebled; for multitudes of the *Indians* are Christians in their hearts, who will not receive baptism, that they may not fall under the yoke of a government

which has not either justice, œconomy, or tenderness, to recommend it; in which rapine and fraud have reigned for two hundred years, driven some hundred thousands from their native country, for want of subsistence, and destroyed millions that remained behind, in spite of that beneficence with which Providence has bestowed upon these islands all those things that mankind concur in calling temporal blessings (23).

(23) D. Juan Cruz y Manfalcon, Justification, &c.

done

done in credit and power ever since. There are besides, a vast number, in proportion to the size of the place, of churches and religious houses. The castle or fort stands, as we have before observed, at the west end of the city, having the sea on one side, and the river on the other: it is styled the citadel of *St. James*, and was originally fortified in the shape of a triangle, having one bastion towards the sea, another towards the river, and a third at the west point, to cover the port, which is only fit for small vessels. And now, having said so much of the city, let us step out a little, and take notice of another place of consequence, which is generally considered as the sea-port, because, as we observed, small vessels only come up to *Manila*.

THIS town is called *Cavité*, a name bestowed upon it by the *Tagalians*, or *Tagalase*; it lies three leagues south of *Manila*, on a long narrow neck of land, on one side of which is the sea, and on the other the bay that forms the port. It is defended by the castle of *St. Philip*, which commands the port, and is by much the best fortress in the island, being a regular square, with four good bastions well supplied with cannon; and here are the principal magazines for military and naval stores. The bay is for the most part very deep, there is in it plenty of good fish, and the sides of it are sprinkled with very pleasant villages. Directly against the mouth of this bay lies the island of *Maribeles*, about three leagues in compass, and half a league in length. It is about twenty-four miles distant from *Manila*; and, though a place of very great consequence, has but a small guard under the command of an officer, who is also the *Corregidore*, or civil magistrate in the village. There are three mouths or entrances from the sea into the bay, the first between that island and *Punta del Diablo*, or *The Devil's Point*, which is about a mile and a half over, very deep, and therefore most used; the second lies between the opposite shore and the rock called *De los Cavallos*, or *The Horses*, it is scarce a mile over, shallow, and with many rocks in the passage, so that it is very unsafe; the third lies between the rock before-mentioned and the point of *Marigondon*, it is nine miles over, but encompassed with flats and shoals, so that it is dangerous to sail through it without a good pilot. The port itself is in the form of a semicircle, very well defended from south winds, but not so well sheltered from the north. On the same point with the castle of *St. Philip*

*A description of the port of Cavité, and the several entrances from the sea.*

1 CORONEL, NAVARETTE, LUYTS. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 102.



stands the arsenal, where the galleons are built, for which service there are from three to six or eight hundred *Indians* constantly employed, who are relieved every month, and, while upon duty, are maintained at the king's expence. To the town, or, as some call it, city, of *Cavité*, belongs the suburb of *Saint Roch*, inhabited by *Indians* and *Chinese* as well as *Spaniards*, and more populous than the town itself. There are likewise upon this coast several other ports, but far less considerable; and yet of great use, as they afford shelter to the *Japoneſe* junks, and the vessels of other eastern nations, that at the proper season of the year resort thither annually in great numbers \* (T).

*The ecclesiastical and civil government of Manila, and court of royal audience.*

IN respect to the government, we will, for the sake of decency, begin with the church. *Manila* was erected into a bishoprick in 1581; and seventeen years after became an archbishoprick, through the favour of the pope and the king of *Spain*: to this prelate all the clergy in these islands are subject, as their metropolitan. He receives yearly out of the king's treasury six thousand pieces of eight; and the twelve canons or prebendaries of his cathedral church have a clear income of between four and five hundred crowns, each paid them in like manner. Besides *Manila*, there are three other bishopricks in the *Filippines*; viz. *Zebu*, *Camerines*, and *Cagayan*; each of these prelates have 5000 pieces of eight a

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. Voyage de Compagnie, tom. viii. p. 98.

(T) The very best accounts we have of these parts are not of so fresh a date as to enable us to speak with absolute certainty of their present condition; and for this reason we cannot venture to assure the reader, that the *Japoneſe* junks regularly visit the coasts of *Luzon* at this day, but that they frequently come with the *Chinese* vessels, and now-and-then venture alone amongst the adjacent islands, is generally agreed. The *Chinese* fleet arrives annually from the opposite coast from the middle of *December* to the end of *January*. About two

months are spent by the merchants in dispatching their affairs; but they generally return to *China* towards the close of the month of *March*, or the beginning of *April*, after which, the navigation of these seas is reputed dangerous; and indeed, considering the nature of the vessels that sail in them, shipwrecks would be more common than they are, but for the numerous ports and creeks in the islands that lie in the neighbourhood of the bay of *Manila*, where at all times they can take shelter upon the first appearance of bad weather (24).

(24) Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Molucas, por Hernan de los Rios Coronel.

year, together with the bishop, without any declared fee, who succeeds in the first vacancy, to prevent the inconveniences that might ensue from waiting the best part of six years, till the successor could be sent from *Spain*. The inferior clergy are very numerous; and, as all of them receive more or less from the royal treasury, this is a great burden on the state: yet we must not hastily pronounce it a useless burden, since it is very certain that the natives are retained within the bounds of their duty rather by the exhortations and influence of the ecclesiastics than by any other method (U). As to the civil

\* GEMELLI CARRERI, *Tour du Monde*, P. v. b. i. c. 5.

(U) There are not many secular priests; but these islands in general swarm with regulars of different orders, such as *Dominicans*, *Cordeliers*, *Jacobines*, *Augustines*, and *Jesuits*, who are intrusted with the care of the parishes into which each diocese is divided. They agree very well with each other, the last order only excepted, who agree amongst themselves, but with nobody else. It is to these missionaries that his Catholic Majesty owes all the *Indian* subjects that he has; and might be indebted for many more, if errors in the civil government did not deter them from making an open profession of Christianity. It appears plainly from the books they have written, and the memorials they have presented to the *Spanish* court, that they are the best patriots in the *Philippines*, and in many respects shew themselves to be very disinterested, in declaiming against sinecures, and the unnecessary grandeur of some clergymen, while the people are in other places without spiritual guides, for

want of having wherewithal to subsist them (25). Father *Navarette*, in whose work there are a thousand curious particulars, affords us a strong proof of this, when he reasons in the following manner against the *Jesuits*, who are the only preachers employing a military assistance in conjunction with spiritual messengers (26). "In *Japan*, says "this venerable writer, there "was a great increase of Christianity without arms; and if "it fell to nothing, it was not "for want of soldiers, but "other things that might have "been well avoided. The two "general persecutions in *China* "proceeded from other causes. "I find there is something "amiss every-where. The fathers of the society, carrying "soldiers into *Ethiopia*, were "expelled, without hopes of "ever returning. In *Tunquin*, "*Cochin-China*, and *Cbina*, they "were looked upon as spies: "this is not so bad as the other. "Nor does our going from "*Manila* to *Itui* with soldiers "make out any thing; it was

(25) *Navarette*, *Gemelli Carreri*, *Combes*.  
*Tradados historicos de la Monarquia de China*,

(26) *D. F. Navarette*,

civil government, the city of *Manila* is governed by two Alcaldes; the rest of the cities and great towns in the island have each an Alcalde; and in every village there is a Corregidore. Appeals from their sentences are made to the royal court at *Manila*, in which there are four judges and a fiscal or attorney-general; each of these judges has a salary of three thousand three hundred pieces of eight *per annum*. The viceroy is president, and, in that quality, has an income of four thousand pieces of eight, but he has no vote; yet, if the judges are divided equally, the president names a doctor of the civil law, who, in virtue of his appointment, has a decisive voice. The attorney-general, in right of his office,

“ the particular opinion of one  
 “ man, disapproved by others,  
 “ and the ill success foretold.  
 “ Whilst there were only three  
 “ fathers in that province, they  
 “ made some advance, and  
 “ preached in peace and quiet-  
 “ ness: as soon as ever the sol-  
 “ diers came, the natives were  
 “ alarmed, ran to arms, burnt,  
 “ killed, and wounded, and all  
 “ was lost. What happened  
 “ in the islands called *Marianas*  
 “ is well known, so that there  
 “ is no ascertaining any thing  
 “ in this matter. Another dif-  
 “ ficulty occurs to me, which  
 “ is, that if missions must be  
 “ carried on under the protec-  
 “ tion of an armed force, there  
 “ will be very few; therefore  
 “ they must either be left off,  
 “ or continued in the same  
 “ manner the apostles followed  
 “ them; for whence shall we  
 “ have a force to support  
 “ those that preach in *Chi-  
 “ na*, *Japan*, and the *Mogol’s*  
 “ country? I only mention  
 “ these, without speaking of  
 “ many other vast kingdoms.  
 “ Now if all the soldiers in the  
 “ church will not suffice for  
 “ three places, how must we  
 “ relieve the rest? I am per-  
 “ suaded one Christian convert-

“ ed and instructed peaceably,  
 “ is worth twenty made with  
 “ the shew of force. They who  
 “ talk of the protection of  
 “ Christian forces, imagine the  
 “ soldiers will do nothing but  
 “ aid and protect; but I say  
 “ they will do more mischief  
 “ with their lewdness in one  
 “ day, than twenty religious  
 “ men can repair in a year.  
 “ But if there be no soldiers,  
 “ say these folks, they will kill  
 “ the religious men before they  
 “ have done any good. Let  
 “ them kill: Christ himself and  
 “ his apostles were killed; and  
 “ it is enough done to sprinkle  
 “ that country with blood, that  
 “ it may afterwards yield a  
 “ more plentiful harvest.” This,  
 we must allow, is very honest,  
 and very heroic. Other procu-  
 rators (for to this dignity Father  
*Navarette* was advanced) insisted  
 on the same points; maintain-  
 ing, that without troops they  
 could subdue thousands to his  
 Catholic Majesty’s service, make  
 these new subjects industrious  
 without the help of any laws but  
 those of the gospel, and the coun-  
 try rich and flourishing, if their  
 converts were but secure from  
 spiritual and temporal oppres-  
 sion.

is protector of the *Chinese*, in consideration of which he receives six hundred pieces of eight every year \*.

As for the *Indians* that are in subjection, they pay tribute in the following proportions: young men from eighteen, and from thence, if they continue single, to the age of sixty, pay five rials of plate by way of capitation; as single women likewise do from twenty-four to fifty; married men pay ten rials. It is computed that there are within the compass of this government two hundred and fifty thousand *Indians*, subject to his Catholic Majesty, of whom two fifths hold immediately from the king, and the rest from lords or proprietors. Such a lordship is called, in *Spanish*, *Encomienda*, and the proprietor *Encomendario*; but out of these there are considerable deductions, such as two rials for every head for the maintenance of the forces, and the like sum for the parish priest \*. The royal revenue is computed at about half a million of pieces of eight, exclusive of casualties. In reference to the military force, the garrison of *Manila* consists of about eight hundred or a thousand men, and there are about three thousand more in the *Philippines*. The viceroy is by his office captain-general, with a salary of about four thousand pieces of eight \*. We shall speak hereafter of the extent and value of his authority and employment, considered under his highest title. And, having thus run thro' the several points proposed to be explained in relation to the island of *Luzon*, and its capital the city of *Manila*, we are next to attempt a short description of the rest of the *Archipelago*.

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, por HERNAN DE LOS RIOS CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI, NAVARETTE.

\* Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c.

## S E C T. IV.

*A like Detail of the other Islands dependent upon it, their Situation, Commodities, Tribute, Advantages and Disadvantages, with the Manner in which their Inhabitants are treated, and their Obedience secured by the Spaniards, notwithstanding the small Force they have in this Part of the World, and the many Errors and Imperfections in their Government, which have more than once brought it to the Brink of Ruin.*

*A succinct account of the rest of the Philippine Islands, in their natural order.*

THE easiest, most natural, and useful manner, of describing the small islands in the immediate vicinity of *Luzon*, or *Luzon*, is to speak of them, as they lie along the chanel thro' which the galleon always passes in her voyage to *New Spain*, first; and then of those that lie south, west, and north, of that island. The nearest of these is *Capul*, three leagues in compass, the soil fruitful, pleasant, and commodious, for the *Indians*, who live after the manner of the *Bisayas*. A few leagues north-west from the mouth of the streight lies *Ticao*, eight leagues in compass, inhabited by free *Indians*, or, as the *Spaniards* style them, savages. There is in it a good port, with the conveniency of fresh water and wood, and it is therefore the last land touched at by the galleons<sup>1</sup>. Four leagues west of *Ticao* is *Burias*, five miles in compass. It has but few tributary *Indians*, who are comprised in the parish of *Masbate*, which is another larger island south of it, and not far distant from *Ticao*. This island of *Masbate* is thirty leagues in compass, eight in breadth, and proportionably long. Its ports are commodious for their ships to take in water. Here are about two hundred and fifty *Indian* families, who pay tribute in wax, salt, and civet. But those that dwell in the mountains, and originally came from other parts, are numerous. The gold mines produced formerly considerable quantities of that metal, twenty carats fine<sup>2</sup>: they do not at present work in these mines. As for the *Indians*, if they have but a dish of rice, they never mind that metal; and if ever they gather any in the rivers, it is when they are pressed for their tribute, and then they gather just as much as serves to pay it. The shores of these islands are often enriched with amber-

<sup>1</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. iii. p. 90, 91.  
<sup>2</sup> GEMELLI CARREI, Tour du Monde, P. v. b. i. cap. 8.

grise, cast up by the current of the chanel's that run upon them<sup>a</sup>.

LEAVING *Ticao*, *Masbate*, and *Burias*, behind, and hold-<sup>The islands</sup> ing on the same way, is the island of *Marinduque*, fifteen leagues from *Manila*. It is eighteen leagues in compass, high, and abounding in cocoa and other fruit-trees, on which the inhabitants live, because there is but little rice. There is a great deal of pitch made, but little wax. *Mindoro* is about eight leagues from *Manila*, and five from *Marinduque*; fifteen leagues long, eight in breadth, and seventy in compass. The broadest part of it is that which looks towards the south, where, together with another high and round small island called *Ebin*, it makes a streight between it and *Panay*, which they call *Potol*. There is another known by the name of *Cabalite*, between it and *Luban*. The land of *Mindoro* is high and mountainous, abounding in cocoa and all sorts of fruit-trees; but rice grows only in some parts. Along its chanel's, and the mouths of its rivers, there dwell those Indians who pay tribute; and on the east, north-east, and on the side opposite to *Manila*, are *Tagalians*, and so towards *Panay* and *Bisay*. Up the country live the *Manghiani*, who, tho' differing in language, agree in having no form of government; they go naked, only covering their privities; and change their habitations according to the season of the year, because they live upon wild fruit. Though they are not far from *Manila*, they have not yet lost their simplicity, exchanging the wax of their mountains for nails, knives, needles, rags, and other baubles<sup>b</sup>.

*BACO* is the metropolis of the island, where the Alcaide, or governor, resides: not far from *Baco* is a place they call *Old Mindoro*, from which all the island took its name. *Cape Varadero* stretches out towards *Tal*, a village on the coast of *Manila*, between the two bays of *Bombon* and *Batangas*; and a small island called *Verde*, or *Green Island*, lying between them. The chanel for the ships going to and from *Cavité* is not above a mile over; and this narrowness is the cause of the whirlpools and currents, which endanger ships when they have not a fair wind and current at their entering the chanel. In *Mindoro* and *Luban* they reckon there are one thousand seven hundred inhabitants, who pay tribute in wax and black hemp which the cocoa-trees produce, and serves to make cables for the king's ships, *Luban* is a small low island, five leagues in compass; near it is the little isle of *Ambil*, in which

<sup>a</sup> Relac. delas Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. <sup>b</sup> GEMELLI CARRERI, Tour du Monde, P. v. l. i. c. 8.

is a high round mountain, seen at a great distance, by reason of the flames it throws out. On the other side *Luban*, northwards, there is no island of note; only beyond *Cape Bajador*, opposite to *New Segovia*, at eight leagues distance from it, are the low little islands of *Babuyanes*, stretching out towards the islands *Föringsa* and *Lequios* (X). In the nearest, which is conquered, there are about five hundred natives that pay tribute. It produces wax, ebony, botatas, cocoas, plantanes, and other things for the maintenance of the inhabitants. Fourteen or fifteen leagues south-west of *Luban* are the *Calamines*, a province made up of seventeen islands, all subdued, besides many others not yet reduced; among the first of which is a great

(X) It was to the eastward of these islands, but in a latitude not determined with any certainty, that towards the beginning, and even to the middle, of the seventeenth century, the Spaniards and Portuguese sent several ships to find a small island called *Ricca doro* (27), the history of which, in few words, was this: A Portuguese vessel, bound from *Macao* to *Japan* (23), after a violent storm, put into a small unknown island for shelter; and, finding that the hearth was loose, they made use of a kind of red earth, which they found there, to form a sort of bed under it, and, as soon as it was possible, continued their voyage. In a few days they found the hearth loose again; and, when they examined it, perceived that the red earth was partly consumed, and the rest turned into a large plate of gold by the heat of the fire, whence they bestowed the name of *Ricca doro* upon this island; which could never after-

wards be discovered, by reason, as is generally believed, of the violent tempests to which ships are exposed in those seas (29). One of the last vessels employed for this purpose was sent by the viceroy of Mexico from *Acapulco*, under the command of one Captain *Sebastiao*; which being driven by a storm on the coast of *Japan*, the government in that island, either from the suspicion natural to their councils, or from the insinuations of other Europeans, took umbrage at this expedition, and persuaded themselves that this ship was sent to discover a safe port upon their coast, to which Spanish forces might be transported, was one of the principal causes of the general persecution raised against the Christians, and the total prohibition of any commerce with the Spaniards or Portuguese (30), of which we have already given an account in the foregoing chapter.

(27) What is here said is on the faith of an old Spanish chart. (28) *L'Amirante* D. Hierónimo de Bonifacio y Carillo, *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*, on the margin of his discourse, writes he also says he once met with a dreadful storm in the neighbourhood of that island. (29) Gemelli Carreri, *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. c. 6. But he says it was discovered by a galleon sailing from *Manila* to *Acapulco*, which would be more probable, if he did not confound the islands *Ricca doro* and *Ricca Plata* with the islands of *Solomon*. (30) *L'Amirante* D. Hierónimo de Bonifacio y Carillo, *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*.

one called *Paragua*, part belonging to the *Spaniards*, and part to the king of *Borneo*<sup>c</sup>.

THIS island of *Paragua* is the third in bigness among the *Philippines*. The compass of it about two hundred and fifty leagues, the length one hundred; but the breadth not above twelve in some places, and fourteen in others. The middle of it lies between nine and ten degrees of latitude: its furthest cape, called *Tagusau*, towards the south-west, is fifty leagues distant from *Borneo*, in which interval there are many low islands that almost join the two great ones. The inhabitants of the coasts of these islands, and of *Tagusau*, are subject to the *Mohammedan* king of *Borneo*<sup>d</sup>; but up the country are *Indians* unconquered, barbarous, subject to no king, and therefore all their care is not to be subdued by the *Borneans* or the *Spaniards*; half the lands of this island are in their possession. The *Spaniards* have in it about twelve hundred tributary *Indians*, blacks, like those of *Afric*, who range about from place to place, without any certain abode (Y).

They

<sup>c</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI, NAVARRETTE.

<sup>d</sup> Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. V. l. i. c. 8.

(Y) It may not be amiss to observe here, that no satisfactory account has been hitherto given of these two different races of blacks that inhabit most of the islands in this *Archipelago*; the one having flat noses, thick lips, and frizzled hair, like those from the coast of *Guinea*; and the other, handsome features, with long black hair flowing in natural curls. The first of these pretend to be the original inhabitants of these islands; and in *Luzon*, particularly, they have told the missionaries, that the *Tagalese*, or *Tagalians*, were their slaves. The *Spaniards* distinguish these blacks by the name of *Negrillos* and *Sambali*; but acknowledge themselves at a loss to account for the distinction between them, or how either of

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these nations came into these islands. As to the *Negrillos*, it is most probable that they came from that country which has been so long, and yet is so little, known by the *Europeans*, and to which, from its being intirely inhabited by these people, they have given the name of *New Guinea*; and this is so much the more probable, because that *Archipelago*, composed of innumerable islands, discovered in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and called the *New Philippines*, lies in a sort of semicircle, between *New Guinea* and *Mindanao*, the most southern of the *Philippines*, and in which the number of these *Negrillos* is much greater than in any of the rest. On the other hand, the *Sambali*, or *Zambales*, are most

E c

numerous



They are very faithful to the *Spaniards*, who keep a garrison there of two hundred men, part *Spaniards*, and part *Indians*, with an alcaide, or governor, whose residence is at *Taytay*, on the opposite point to *Borneo*, or, as the *Spaniards* call it, *Bornei*, where there is a fort. The lampuan, or governor for the king of *Borneo*, resides at *Lavo*. The island is almost all very high land, and full of trees and wild beasts, and produces abundance of wax on the mountains, but very little rice <sup>c</sup>.

AT a small distance from the northern cape of *Paragua*, and west from *Manila*, are three islands, called *Calamianes*, which give their name to a province or government. These, and nine others near them, are comprehended in the same province, but are all small, and inhabited by peaceable *Indians*. In some of them there are one hundred and fifty, that pay tribute, in others fewer. The chief product of their mountains is wax, which they gather twice a year. In the rocks over the sea, are found those so much esteemed and high-prized birds-nests <sup>f</sup>; and on their coasts also are very fine pearls <sup>e</sup>.

*The small islands of Cuyo, and the fine, fruitful, and populous island of Panay.* BEYOND the *Calamianes*, in sight of the high mountain of *Mondoro*, are the five islands of *Cuyo*, not far distant from one another. In them there are about five hundred tributary families, still more civilized, and better affected to the *Spaniards*, than those of *Calamianes* and *Paragua*. They are very laborious, and therefore gather abundance of rice, grain, and fruit. The mountains abound in all sorts of beasts and fowls. At these islands ends the province of *Calamianes*, and begins that of *Panay*, the first land whereof is *Potol*. As *Paragua* is the biggest next to *Manila* and *Mindanao*, so *Panay* is the best peopled, and most fruitful in all the archipelago <sup>h</sup>. Its shape is triangular, and its compass one hundred leagues. The names of its principal capes are *Potol*, *Naso*, and *Bulacabi*. The coast from *Bulacabi* to *Potol*, lies east and west; from *Potol* to *Naso*, north and south; from *Bulacabi*

<sup>e</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas. NAVARETTE, LUYTS. <sup>f</sup> See a description of these birds-nests in the 7th chapter. <sup>g</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas. GEMELLI CARRERI, NAVARETTE. <sup>h</sup> Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. V. l. i. c. 8. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. iii. p. 228.

most numerous in the northern likely, that they came from the islands; and therefore it is continent of *Asia* (31).

(31) The same nation under different names, or the same name differently written.

to *Iloilo*, another cape, less than the great ones, is also north and south; from *Iloilo* to Cape *Naso*, east and west. The middle of the island is in the latitude of ten degrees. On the north side, almost in the middle between the two capes of *Potol* and *Bulacabi*, the famous river *Panay* falls into the sea; and, the mouth of the harbour covered by a small island, called *Lutaya*, in which port the *Spaniards* had a safe retreat, before they discovered and conquered *Manila* and *Cavité*. The fertility of *Panay* is caused by the many rivers that water it; for there is no travelling a league without meeting a river, but more particularly by the *Panay*, which gives its name to the island, and runs forty leagues<sup>1</sup>.

THE island, for the better administering of justice, is divided into jurisdictions; the first, called *Panay*, contains all that lies between Cape *Potol* and *Bulacabi*; the rest of the island is subject to the alcaide of *Otton*, who resides at *Iloilo*, a point of land running out into the sea, on the south side, between the two rivers of *Tig Bavan* and *Jaro*, and, with the island *Imaras*, forms a straight not above half a league over, or rather an open harbour. On this point, the governor Don *Gonzalo Ronquillo* caused a fort to be built, in the year 1681. The island contains about sixteen thousand three hundred and sixty tributary *Indians*, partly belonging to the king, and partly to particular encomienderos, or lords; but they all pay in rice, the island producing one hundred thousand bushels, *Spanish* measure, and but little other grain<sup>2</sup>. The inhabitants are stout, lusty, and industrious farmers, and expert hunters, the country being full of wild boars and deer. The women make cloth of several colours. There are in the island fourteen parishes, belonging to the fathers of the order of St. *Augustin*, three benefices of secular priests, and one college of the society of *Jesús*, where they administer the sacraments to the garrison of *Iloilo*. Besides the tributary *Indians*, there are here those blacks the *Spaniards* call *Negrillos*, who were the first inhabitants of the island, and afterwards drove into the thick woods by the *Bisayas*, who conquered it<sup>1</sup>. Their hair is not so stiff curled, nor are they so stout and strong, as the *Guiney* blacks. They live in the most uncouth parts of the mountains, with their wives and children, all naked like beasts. They are so swift, that they often overtake wild boars and deer. They stay about the dead beast as long as it lasts; for they have no other subsistence but what they reap with their

<sup>1</sup> MENDOZA, CORONEL, LUYTS.  
Filipinas. GEMELLI CARRERI.

<sup>2</sup> Relac de las Islas  
MENDOZA, NAVARETTE,

GEMELLI CARRERI.

bow and arrows. They fly from the *Spaniards*, not so much through hatred, as from fear. Among the islands about *Panay* lies *Inararas*, opposite to *Iloilo*, and about a quarter of a league distant. It is long, and low, ten leagues in compass, and three in length, the soil fertile, abounding in salsaparilla, and exceeding good water. On the mountains there are wild boats, deer, and good timber. It has also in it the port of *St. Anne*, three leagues from *Iloilo*<sup>m</sup>.

*An account of some other islands, and their inhabitants, lying near this of Panay.* TEN or twelve leagues to the northward of the point of *Bulacabi*, is an island, called *Sibuyan*, of the same sort with the last. Two leagues to the northward, are *Romblon* and *Batan*, and then the island of *Tablas*, larger than any of the others, and five leagues distant from the point of *Potol*. In it there are many *Indians*, who speak the same language, and are little different from those of *Panay* in other respects. These are all the lesser islands that lie close to the great island of *Manila*, let us next proceed to those which are beyond, and at a greater distance<sup>n</sup>.

*Of the island of Samar, and the ports, bays, and streight, which are in and near it.* BETWEEN the two great islands of *Luçon*, or *Manila*, and *Mindanao*, the former the most northern, the latter the most southern, of this *Archipelago*, are those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Bohol*, which, one after another, enter into that large semicircle, which is formed by them all together. The first of the three, and nearest to *Manila*, is called *Samar*, on the side which looks towards the isles, and *Ibabao*, on that side next the ocean. It is like the trunk of a man's body, without head or legs. Its greatest length, from *Cape Baliquaton*, which, with the point of *Manila*, makes the streight of *St. Bernardino* (Z), in thirteen degrees and thirty minutes of north latitude,

<sup>m</sup> MENDOZA, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.  
<sup>n</sup> las Islas Filipinas.

<sup>a</sup> Relac de

(Z) This is one of the most famous streights in the known world; and, as the difficulty of passing it is, in some measure, beneficial to the city of *Manila*, as it would scarce be practicable for a squadron to sail through it, without having a pilot from the shore, so it is not a little troublesome and dangerous in its passage to the *Spaniards* themselves, as the reader will perceive from the description in the text, which is copied very

exactly from an author who passed it himself, and who had the assistance of several *Spanish* accounts of the *Philippines*, of which he made very good use. The little island of *St. Bernard* lies in the latitude of twelve degrees forty-five minutes north, and the *Cape of the Holy Gbys* is in the latitude of twelve degrees forty minutes. In most of the *Spanish* maps it is called *Embocadero de St. Bernardino*; in some it is called *Estrecho de Manila*.

latitude, extends to that of *Guignan*, in eleven degrees, towards the south. The other two points, making the greatest breadth of the island, are *Cabo de Spiritu Santo*, or *Cape of the Holy Ghost*, the high mountains of which are the first discovered by ships from *New Spain*; and that which lying opposite to *Leyte* westward, makes another freight, scarce a stone's-throw over, and yet a galleon, called *St. Juanillo*, or *The Little St. John*, coming from *New Spain*, passed through it°. The whole compass of the island is about one hundred and thirty leagues. Between *Guignan* and *Cape Spiritu Santo*, is the port of *Borongan*; and not far from thence, those of *Palapa* and *Catubig*, and the little island of *Bin* and the coast of *Zatarman*. Vessels from countries not yet discovered are very frequently cast away on the before-mentioned coast of *Palapa*. Within the freights of *St. Bernardini*, and beyond *Baliquaton*, is the coast of *Samar*, on which are the villages of *Ibatan*, *Bangabon*, *Cathalogan*, *Paranos*, and *Calviga*. Then follows the freight of *St. Juanillo*, without which, standing eastward, appears the point and little island of *Guignan*, where the compass of the island ends. It is mountainous and craggy, but fruitful in the few plains there are. The fruits there, are much the same as that of *Leyte*; but there is one peculiar fort, called by the *Spaniards* *Chicoy*, and by the *Chinese*, who put a great value on it, *Seyzu*, without kernels°.

° NAVARETTE, CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI. P Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

*Manila*, that is, *The Streight of Manila*, to distinguish it from the other freight, which is likewise to be passed, before they reach the port of *Cavité*, which is called *Estricho de Mindoro*, the whole passage being incumbered with small islands, that render it very difficult and dangerous (32). It has sometimes happened, that the annual ship from *Acapulco* could not enter the freight of *St. Bernard* for want of a wind, and then they are forced to put into the port of *Lampon*, on the east side of the island of *Luçon*, from whence the cargo has been carried by parcels upon mens backs; and this has cost the lives of a thousand *Indians* at a time. Sometimes the annual ship has put into *New Segovia*, in the north part of the island, which being at a greater distance from *Manila*, twice the number of *Indians* have been killed, in conveying the cargo thither; and this through their not sailing early enough from *New Spain* (33).

(32) Gemelli Carreri *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. cap. 1, 2, 3. *The Spanish, Dutch, and English charts have been also consulted.* (33) D. F. Navarette *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*.

Of the  
island of  
Leyte,  
and its si-  
tuation, in  
respect to  
the rest of  
this Archi-  
pelago.

THE island of *Leyte* takes this appellation from a village called *Gleyte*, seated on a bay opposite to *Panamao*. From the point of this bay, northwards, one side of the island runs as far as the strait of *St. Juanillo*, twenty leagues in length. Then turning down from north to south, is the island of *Panaban*, at about thirty leagues distance, where there are two points three leagues asunder; the first called *Cabalian*, the other *Motavan*, a name taken from a rock directly opposite, now called *Sogor*. *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, the first discoverer of these islands, in 1521, entered through this strait of *Panaban*. He who gave him the best reception, was the lord of the little island of *Dimassavan*, who conducted and guided him to *Cebu*, and there was baptized, together with the king of that island<sup>1</sup>. From *Dimassavan*, or *Sogor*, westward, there are forty leagues to the point of *Leyte*, and so ends its compass of ninety or one hundred leagues.

Enjoys an  
excellent  
air, and  
has some-  
thing pe-  
culiar in  
its seasons,  
which are  
very re-  
markable.

IT is well peopled on the east side, that is, from the strait of *Panamao* to that of *Panaban*, on account of the fruitful plains; but there are vast high mountains, which cut it almost through the middle, and occasion so great an alteration in the air, that when it is winter on the north side, at the same time, as with us in *Europe*, it is summer on the southern coast. Thus, when one half of the island reaps, the other sows, and they have two plentiful harvests in a year, to which several rivers running down from the mountains not a little contribute. These mountains abound in game, as deer, wild cows, and boars, and several sorts of fowl. The earth produces great store of roots, on which the inhabitants feed as much as upon bread, grain, cocoa-trees; and good timber to build ships. Nor is the sea inferior to the land, yielding plenty of good fish. The island contains about nine thousand *Indians*, that pay tribute in rice, wax, and quilts. The people are susceptible of any learning; and have two good customs; the first, to entertain each other interchangeably, when they travel; the second, never to alter the price of provisions upon any dearth, and this under severe penalties<sup>1</sup>.

Its produce  
and reve-  
nue.

THE air is fresher in *Leyte* and *Samar* than at *Manila*, and consequently these islands are more pleasant. On the side of *Bay-bay* and *Ogmua*, *Leyte* is next to *Bohol*, the third island, under the care of the fathers of the society, that is, the Jesuits. Its length, from north to south, is sixteen leagues, its breadth eight or ten, and its compass forty. The south coast, looking

<sup>1</sup> FIGAFETTA, ARGENSOLA, CORONEL.  
CARRERI Tour du Monde, P. v. l. i. c. ix.

<sup>1</sup> GEMELLI

towards *Mindanao*, is the best peopled; that is, from *Lobog*, the metropolis, to the little island or peninsula of *Panglao*. There are three others, with fewer inhabitants, but, in all, they do not make above twelve hundred, that pay tribute. The soil does not produce rice, but is rich in gold mines, and yields a vast abundance of cocoas, batatas, and several sorts of roots, which serve instead of rice. There are multitudes of cattle in the mountains, and fish in the sea, which the natives exchange, with those of the neighbouring islands, for cotton. The people speak the *Bisayan* language; but are whiter, and have better countenances, than those of *Leyte*, *Samar*, and *Panay*, and are bolder men, both at sea and on shore. Their haughtiness appears by his surname who commanded them before the coming of the *Spaniards*, which was *Baray Tupueng*, that is, *Incomparable*, or *Nonfuch*. But their pride was humbled by the *Ternates*, *Portuguese*, and *Spaniards*, successively; and this was foretold them by a *Baylona*, or priestess, of theirs, called *Cariapa*, in a lamentable tone, and in no less melancholy verses, as themselves report; and, indeed, all the annals or histories they have throughout the *Philippines*, are a kind of ballads, or poetical chronicles.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Island of Cebu, the First Seat of the Spanish Government. The Passage between Lima and that Island shorter, and more commodious, than between Manila and Acapulco. The Island of Mindanao, rich Commodities thereof, and the present State of the Inhabitants; as also of Xolo, with the Reasons why the Spaniards have not been able to extend their Authority farther, or make the Revenue of these Islands turn to a better Account.*

**C**EBU, *Sogbu*, *Sibu*, or *Zebu*, is but small, not extending above fifteen or twenty leagues, the breadth eight, and island of the circumference forty-eight. The chief point towards the Cebu, in south-east is called *Burulague*; and hence its two coasts run, which was the one, from north-east to south-west, to the streight of the capital *Tanay*; and the other, from north to south, to the island of the Spanish *Matta*, four leagues in compass, and the city of the holy settlements before *Luçon* name was reduced.

\* Relac de las Islas Filipinas.

E e 4

name of *JESUS*. This is seated on a point, in the latitude of ten degrees, almost in the middle of the island, and distant from the isle of *Matta* a musket-shot on the east, and a cannon-shot on the west; where *Magellan* was killed, with his father-in-law, the chief pilot, and Captain *John Serrano*. Between these two lands lies a port, sheltered from all winds, and with two entrances; that is, one from the east, and one from the west; but there are shoals at both. Here *Magellan* found many vessels, of several nations, at anchor; and the king of that place demanding of him the duties for merchandize and anchorage, he excused himself; alleging, the greatness of the *Spanish* monarch, and that ships of war paid none (A). There were, at that time, in *Zebu* three thousand

\* Tour du Monde, GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.

(A) In the neighbourhood of *Zebu*, there are some small islands, called *Pintados*, from their inhabitants, to whom the *Spaniards* gave the same name, because many of them had their bodies painted, in a very extraordinary manner. These people are blacks; and there are still many of them, in the adjacent islands, that are not under subjection to the *Spaniards*. This painting was performed by incision and burning. Some were painted all over, others only on the breast, the hips, the back, or the arms, with a great variety of figures, such as snakes, dragons, or birds of prey. This was the finery of these naked people, a kind of herald's coat, by which their great actions were declared, since all those figures were emblematical, and consequently not impressed till the person who wore them had achieved such enterprises as these figures denoted (34). A strange way, at least to us, of conferring honour, but a sure one amongst themselves; because, at first sight, they could read upon the body of a person of distinction, how he became so. It is plain, from the number of ships that *Magellan* found here, there was a great commerce carried on amongst the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, before they were visited by the *Europeans*; and it is to be regretted, that the first *Spanish* discoverers did not leave us more distinct accounts of the state in which they found the countries they discovered, from whence many things might have been known, about which we are now wholly in the dark. One thing, however, is very certain, that, since the settling of the *Europeans* in these parts, the navigation of the natives has rather declined than increased; and even the *Chinese*, who used to visit most of these islands with numerous squadrons, content themselves now with their trade to *Manila*, and their junks are seldom if ever seen in any of the islands to the south (35).

(34) *Relac de las Islas Filipinas*. (35) It appears, from the *Travels of Marco Polo*, that the *Chinese* were formerly acquainted with the country of *New Guinea*; and it is highly likely, that they were better seamen then, than they are now.

families of warlike people; and in it was afterwards founded the first town of *Spaniards*, with all magistrates of note <sup>u</sup>.

IN 1598, the king made it a city, sending F. *Peter de At what*  
*Agurto*, of the order of St. *Augustin*, to be the first bishop. <sup>time it</sup>  
 It was then permitted to *Zebu* to send ships into *New Spain*, as, <sup>was erect-</sup>  
 at this time, only *Manila* can send two; and, for certain reasons <sup>ed into a</sup>  
 that will be hereafter given, they now content themselves with <sup>bishop's</sup>  
 one. In process of time, as the trade of that island increased, <sup>see; and</sup>  
 and more especially, from the grant of annual ships, the com- <sup>how it has</sup>  
 merce of *Zebu* gradually sunk; insomuch, that the chief <sup>since fallen</sup>  
 town, though it still remains a bishop's see, is long ago be- <sup>to decay.</sup>  
 come very little better than a village <sup>w</sup>. There are yet remain-  
 ing, however, some vestiges of its antient grandeur, such as  
 the cathedral, two or three monasteries, and a triangular stone  
 fort, built for the protection of the harbour, and in which  
 there are still kept two companies of *Spanish* foot. There are  
 likewise in its neighbourhood two villages, which were for-  
 merly suburbs to the city; one of these is called *Parian*,  
 where the *Chinese* merchants and artificers formerly dwelt,  
 and in which some still remain; and the other inhabited by  
*Indians*, who are free from tribute, in consequence of their  
 original agreement with the *Spaniards*, to whom they were  
 the first that submitted, and were of very great use to them,  
 in discovering and subduing the rest of the islands. It has  
 been computed, that there are in *Zebu* about five thousand  
 families, warmly attached to the *Spaniards*, in consequence  
 of their being converted to Christianity. The only kind of  
 grain in this island is what they call *Borona*, inferior not  
 only to our corn, but even to rice; in colour it comes nearest  
 to millet, but is much smaller, and of a different taste <sup>x</sup>.  
 There is also abundance of that kind of plant called *Abaca*,  
 which, when dressed in the same manner with flax, affords  
 a finer and a coarser kind of thread. Of the former they  
 make cloth, which serves for various uses, and, though not  
 very beautiful, is, however, strong and serviceable; and of  
 the latter they make cordage and cables, which are reported  
 to be excellent, as they are not subject to rot, by lying in the  
 water, which is the fault of the black cordage made from the  
 cocoa-trees. They have likewise in this island great quan-  
 tities of cotton, which they manufacture into very fine quilts;  
 and, with a woof of cocoa-thread, and a warp of cotton,

<sup>u</sup> CORONEL, ARGENSOLA, GEMELLI CARRERI. <sup>w</sup> MEN-  
 DOZA. *Tour du Monde*, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i.  
 c. 9. LUYTS. <sup>x</sup> *Tour du Monde*, par GEMELLI CAR-  
 RERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.



they make a sort of cloth, which serves for many uses. As for more valuable commodities, they have not many; yet some they have, such as, a kind of drug resembling asphaltida, wax in great quantities, and very good, with some civet <sup>y</sup>.

*The communication between Lima and Zebu easier and shorter than that between Acapulco and Manila.* BEFORE we quit this island, it is necessary to inform the reader of some particulars, of which he will not meet with any account elsewhere. We find very intelligent writers expressing their amazement, that the *Spaniards*, in their traversing the *Atlantic* ocean from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, and from *New Spain* to the *Philippines*, should discover so little, and should never be able to find again those islands that were met with in their first voyages. Now, the true cause of this may be very easily explained. The commerce between the *Spanish* dominions in *Asia* and *America*, while it remained fixed at *Zebu*, did not lie between that island and *New Spain*, but to *Peru*, the voyage being made from *Calao* to *Zebu*, and from *Zebu* to the same port. This being almost a direct passage, was much easier and shorter than that between *Manila* and *Acapulco*. Ships have come from *Calao* in two months, and have returned thither in three; and hardly any passage was made, without discovering some new islands, either on the south, or on the north, of the equator. In one of these voyages, as some accounts say, in the year 1567, the islands of *Solomon* were discovered, which were reported to be richer than any countries that had been found before that time <sup>z</sup>.

*Discoveries in that passage.* THIS induced the licentiate *Castro*, when he was governor of *Peru*, to send a fleet, in 1579, under the command of *Don Alvaro Mendoza* and *Don Pedro Sarmiento*, to complete that discovery. They sailing from the port of *Calao* eight hundred leagues west, found certain islands, in eleven degrees of south latitude, inhabited by people of a tawny complexion, who had in their huts cloves, ginger, and cinnamon. The first island in which they landed they called *Isabella*, where they fitted up a pinnace, with which, and their ship's boat, they discovered eleven great islands, between nine and fifteen degrees of south latitude, all of them rich, well peopled, and abounding with spices, of which they brought back with them a considerable quantity. But *Sir Francis Drake* coming through the streights of *Magellan* into the *South Seas*, very soon after this, orders came from *Spain*, forbidding any farther search after these islands. However, in 1595, the then vice-

<sup>y</sup> MENDOZA, GEMELLI CARRERI, LUYTS.  
CHAS's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1432, 1447.

<sup>z</sup> PUR-

roy of *Peru* equipped another fleet, or rather squadron, consisting of four sail, under the command of *Alvaro de Mandana*, who, missing the islands of *Solomon*, discovered, between nine and ten degrees of south latitude, several islands, in which, chiefly through their own fault, the *Spaniards* were very roughly handled, lost two of their ships, and the other two, with the greatest difficulty, arrived one of them at *Mindanao*, and the other at *Manila* \*. This is a distinct and clear account of the several attempts made to recover these famous islands, and will fully convince the intelligent reader, that the *Spaniards* have been no great gainers by the alteration of their rout to the *Philippines* (B). Let us now describe the remaining part of this *Archipelago*.

THE

\* History of Navigation, prefixed to the first volume of CHURCHILL's Voyages, p. 74. P. CHARLEVOIX Faîtes Chronologiques du Noveau Monde, tom. i. p. 33.

(B) There have been frequent applications made to the court of *Spain*, to open a direct communication through the streights of *Magellan*, between that kingdom and the country of *Chili*, and, at the same time, a direct communication also between *Chili* and the *Philippines*. It has been shewn, that both these voyages might be performed in nine months, whereas the people in the *Philippines* are now sometimes six years before they receive any answer to the memorials they send to *Spain* (36). It has been also shewn, that, by this navigation, the richest commodities of the *East* and *West Indies* might be annually brought to *Spain*, with more ease, greater safety, and beyond comparison higher profit, than she has hitherto derived from her colonies in either *Indies*. But, notwithstanding

all this, the *Spanish* ministers have been content to hear the same advice often repeated, without ever doing any thing towards carrying it into practice (37). This has been attributed to two causes. First, the danger and difficulty of passing the streights of *Magellan*; and yet those streights, when they were first discovered, were passed in three weeks (38), and have been very often passed since, with little difficulty, and without any danger. The second is, that another rout has been long since settled, and constantly used, and which, according to a maxim that prevails in the *Spanish* councils, ought not to be changed, tho' they are well enough apprised of the many and great inconveniences that attend it. It may be, however, that there is a third cause, not hitherto

(36) Gemelli Carreri Tour du Monde, P. iv. l. i. c. 5. (37) Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, y de las Misiones y Ministerias que exercita la Compania de Jesus, por Alonso de Ovalle, Roma 1646. fol. l. ii. c. 4. (38) Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. 1. p. 35.

suspected,

Of the  
islands in  
the vicinity  
of  
Zebu, and  
more particularly  
that of  
Negroes.

THE islands lying next to Zebu are on the north-east, near *Cape Buruloque*, *Bantayan*, a small isle, encompassed by four or five less, in all which, there are only three hundred *Indians* that pay tribute; and, for the most part, employ themselves in fishing, and making cotton cloth and hose. Between Zebu and the coast of *Ogmach* and *Leyte*, are other islands, called *Camotes*, the chief of which is *Poro*, dependent on Zebu. In it the point of *Tanion* stretches out to the island of *Negroes*, one hundred leagues in compass, and is separated from it by a small channel, a league over, but dangerous, because of the current. This island extends

suspected, and which, it is very probable, is the true one, as being more weighty, and founded upon much better reasons, than the other two. This may be the sense that the council of the *Indies* have of the truth of these suggestions, and the apprehensions they are under, that, if they should accept this proposal, and carry it into execution with success, other nations might pursue the same course, the consequences of which might be fatal to their possessions, both in the *East Indies* and in the *West*. That the thing is really very practicable, may be inferred from the general consent of the ablest seamen of all nations, who have considered this point with attention, and more especially those who wrote from experience. A *Dutch* writer long ago observed, that the passage to *Batavia* through the *South Seas*, was, in many respects, preferable to that by the *Cape of Good Hope*. First, because, with all advantages of wind and weather allowed to each, it is the shortest by two months at least. Secondly, because it is attended with infinitely fewer difficulties with re-

spect to winds, which are in all seasons fair through the *South Seas*; whereas by the *Cape of Good Hope*, ships have been fifteen or sixteen months in going to *Java*, nay sometimes nineteen months; whereas, by the *South Seas*, they may proceed to the *Philippines*, which is much further, in nine months. Thirdly, on account of the healthiness, there being instances in some of those long voyages before-mentioned, of upwards of one hundred and sixty dying out of two hundred; whereas, by the *South Seas*, the voyage to the *Indies* has been performed without the loss of a single man. Fourthly, because very important discoveries may be reasonably hoped one way; whereas none at all can be expected in the other. Yet, in the course of one hundred and fifty years, the *Dutch* have not altered their notions in this respect, or made above one attempt of this kind, though that succeeded perfectly well, in every one of the particulars before-mentioned (39). Our famous seaman *Dampier* has said the same thing (40).

(39) *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. ix. p. 37. 50.

(40) See his *expeditions in Harris's Voyages*.

northward

northward from nine to ten degrees and a half. It is fruitful in rice, in which the inhabitants pay tribute; and it supplies *Zebu*, and other adjacent parts. The mountains are inhabited by blacks with curled hair, who, by reason of their numbers, gave their name to the island, and who live in a kind of brutal liberty, like their forefathers. The land is divided among them, some living on the tops of mountains, others on the sides; but they fight fiercely among themselves, if one party attempts to go into the territory of the other. This happens very often; for it is their custom, that those above can have but one wife, and her they must take by force from them below; and so, on the contrary, those below from those above; consequently, every day there is bloodshed, and some or other killed, commonly with poisoned arrows. These are headed either with iron, flint, bone, or wood hardened in the fire <sup>b</sup>.

AT the mouths of the rivers dwell a third sort of blacks, *Various* who have no commerce with the other two, and are such *circum-* enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they give them no quarter. *stances re-* Nevertheless, if the island happen to be invaded by pirates of *Mindanao* or *Xolo*, they run with their arms to defend it, *lating to* and this done, they retire to the mountains. They behave *the dis-* in this manner, as looking upon themselves to be the old *ferent in-* lords of the island. The *Bisays*, 'tis true, as an acknowledgement for having been permitted by them to settle here, supply them with rice, and the blacks requite them with wax. *habitants.* These *Bisays* live in the plain, and they are most numerous on the west side, under the direction of the fathers of the society. In the island there are about three thousand that pay tribute, governed by a corregidore and a military commander. There grows a great deal of cacao, originally brought to the *Phillippines* from *New Spain*, as also much rice, which the mountains produce without watering. The island *Fuegas*, otherwise called *Siquior*, is near this, and also to *Zebu*. Though small, it is inhabited by people of valour, and dreaded by those of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*. The island *Panamao* lies west, on the furthest coast of *Carigara*, and not above a musket-shot from *Leyte* <sup>c</sup>. It is sixteen leagues in circumference, the length four, and the breadth proportionable. It is very mountainous, and excellently watered by several rivers, and full of silver and quicksilver mines.

<sup>b</sup> Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>c</sup> MENDOZA, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

What particulars remain to be mentioned in reference to the Spanish empire in Asia.

THESE are what may be called the constituent parts of the Spanish empire in the *East Indies*; for, with regard to the smaller islands, some of which are inhabited, and others not, it would require a volume, to give even a succinct description of them. The inhabitants of each speak a different language; and, in some of the larger islands, where, as we have observed, different nations inhabit, there are of consequence as many languages as there are nations. However, many of these are but dialects, occasioned by a different pronunciation, so that they understand each another, at least in some measure, without making use of interpreters. There are besides, two languages which universally prevail; and the accounts we have of these are more than sufficient to satisfy an intelligent reader, that there must have been a time when these countries were in a better condition, their inhabitants more knowing, and much more polished, than at present <sup>d</sup> (C). We have now executed all that we proposed, with regard to the provinces under the jurisdiction of the *Spanish* viceroy of *Manila*. But there are two islands still remaining, of which

<sup>d</sup> ARGENSOLA, CORONEL, COMBES, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI. Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas. See also the subsequent sections of this chapter.

(C) These two languages are, the *Tagala* and the *Bisaya*. The latter of these is coarse, ungrammatical, and current only among the vulgar; whereas the former is not only regular and copious, but extremely elegant and smooth. It consists but of twelve consonants, and three vowels. They blend the *E* and the *I*, and the *O* and the *U*. They have characters for the consonants only, and distinguish the vowels by a single point, differently placed (41). The missionaries say, that this language has the dignity of the *Hebrew*, the precision of the *Greek*, the correctness of the *La-*

*tin*, and in its sound approaches the softness of the *Italian* (42). The people, in general, are better seamen than soldiers; and had, when the *Europeans* first visited them, many more, and some of them, which they called *Caracoras*, much larger vessels, than are now in use. With these, though they had not the use of the compass, they made long voyages; that is, through the whole extent of the *Archipelago* (43); and carried on a much larger commerce than they do at present. From whence it is very evident, that, if they were better treated, lived more at their ease, and were en-

(41) *Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas*. Argensola, Navarette. (42) From a memoir written by an ecclesiastic, who resided in these islands almost twenty years.

(43) *Comtes Historie de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adyacentes*.

which it is but fit we should say something; because though they have, long ago, thrown off the *Spanish* yoke; they are still considered as a part of the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, and are, beyond all dispute, of as much importance as any of those before-mentioned, that of *Luçon* only excepted; and, having done this, we will conclude this part of the subject, and proceed to those points which will best inform the reader of the motives that induced us to enter into such a copious detail of what relates to all these islands, the value of which has been hitherto very little understood.

*MINDANAO* is next to *Manila* in point of size. As to its shape, it appears almost triangular, ending in the three famous promontories of *Samboangan*, *Cape St. Augustin*, in six degrees north latitude, and *Cape Suliago*, in ten degrees thirty minutes. Between *Suliago* and the cape of *St. Augustin*, which lie north and south, is the province of the war-like nation of *Caragas*. Between *Suliago*, which points to the north-east, and *Samboangan*, is the province of *Illigan*, the jurisdiction of *Dapitan*, and the people called *Subanos*. *Samboangan* and *Cape St. Augustin* lie east and west; and the people of them on the one side and the other border upon the provinces of *Buhayen* and *Mindanao*. The circumference is about three hundred leagues; but this island has so many long points running out into the sea, and deep bays, that a man may go across it any-where in a day and a half. It lies south-east of *Manila*, at the distance of two hundred leagues. About it there are many islands, of different sizes. Among those that are inhabited is *Xolo*, thirty leagues distant from *Samboangan*; *Balisan*, divided by a streight of four leagues; *Sanguil*, the peninsula of *Santranguan*, and others\*. *Mindanao* being so far stretched out, and so much divided, enjoys, or participates at least of, several climates, and is encompassed by stormy seas, especially on the coast of *Caragas*.

\* *COMBES* Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adyacentes. Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, vol. vi. p. 48. *GMELLI CARRERI*.

couraged to exercise and exert their abilities, they might be made infinitely more useful subjects, without any danger of revolting: and this the missionaries, more especially the Dominicans, have continually represented (44), sometimes in very strong terms; but, hitherto, with very little effect.

(44) *Argensola, Navarette. Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.*

That

That part which is subject to the government of *Samboangan* is most temperate, the winds pleasant, seldom annoyed by storms, and still less by rain. The provinces of *Mindanao* and *Buhayen*, subject to two *Moorish* kings, are very marshy, and, the plain country especially, in a manner uninhabitable, by reason of the gnats<sup>f</sup>. There are, throughout the whole extent of this island, about twenty navigable rivers, and above two hundred rivulets. The most remarkable of the former are *Buhayen* and *Butuan*, both flowing from the same spring, but the first runs towards the coast of *Mindanao*, the other towards the north, and falls into the sea, in sight of *Bahol* and *Leyte*. The third river, called *Sibuguey*, rises near *Dapitan*, and divides the territory of *Mindanao* from that of *Samboangan*. There are also two lakes here, one called *Mindanao*, which, in that language, signifies a man of a lake, and gives its name to all the country, which is very large, and covered with a sort of herbs they call *Tanson*, that spread themselves over the water. The other, being eight leagues in compass, is on the opposite side of the island, and known by the name of *Malanao*. All the country, except upon the sea coast, is mountainous; yet abounds in rice, and produces very nourishing roots, as batatas, ubis gaves, aperes, and others. There are infinite numbers of that sort of palm-trees which are called *Sagu*, of the pith of which, reduced to meal, they make bread and bisket throughout all the island of *Alindanao*<sup>g</sup>, but especially on the coast of *Caragas*, near the river *Butuan* (D).

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<sup>f</sup> Relac de las Islas Filipinas. LUYTS, DAMPIER.  
NELLI CARRERI Tour du Monde, P. v. l. ii. c. 6.

<sup>g</sup> GE-

(D) What we have delivered in the text, is supported by the authority of such writers as attest what they saw; but a distinct and accurate account of *Sagu*, or *Sagon*, for so it is pronounced, makes a large and curious article in natural history. Without pretending to enter into this matter fully, we will endeavour to give the reader competent satisfaction, in as few words as possible. The *Sagu* is one of the most numerous species of palms, grows in most of the *Molucca*

islands, as also in the island of *Borneo*, which is held to produce the best. It seems designed by providence to supply mankind with food, in countries where no kind of grain can be cultivated to any degree of perfection. The soil most proper for it is a low marshy ground, where it rises to the height of twenty-five, and sometimes thirty feet, and is as thick as a man can compass with both his arms. The trunk is smooth, for all the leaves rise from the head. They spring at first upright,

*MINDANAO* produces all the sorts of fruit that are to be found in other islands of this *Archipelago*; but the cinna-  
*mon-tree*  
 mon

upright and pointed, of the thickness, at the bottom, of a man's arm; by degrees they open, and decline their points, till they become as long as the tree is high. They are thick and strong, and are employed to cover houses, which they do much better than thatch; and for other uses. On the back of the leaf there are strong sharp prickles, that defend them from being eaten by beasts, and more especially by wild hogs, which feed on them greedily, when, as they grow old, these prickles fall off. As new leaves shoot, the old ones decay. The *Sagu* grows thirty years before it produces fruit; and then, instead of new leaves, there shoots out at the top a firm piece of wood, of the size of a man's arm, from whence are produced flowers and fruit. In the latter, which is of the size of a pigeon's egg, is contained a small nut, of a black colour, and sharp sour taste. It bears but once; after which the tree gradually decays. But there are very few of these trees that are permitted to bear fruit, since it is from the body of the tree they procure that meal which is of so great use. They judge of the proper time for cutting it down from its leaves, which grow white and dry, and are easily rubbed to powder when the heart of the tree is in the best condition. As soon as it is cut down they bark it, and what is thus taken off is about two fingers thick; then they cut it into pieces of five feet long, and split each of these through

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the middle. Some say the meal is made from the pith; which others deny, affirming that it comes from the body of the tree; and yet this is no more than a dispute about words, since, in fact, the body of the tree is composed of different substances, that is, of a soft spongy matter intermixed with ligneous fibres. The former is carefully separated from the latter; then mixed, tempered, and rubbed, in water, till it is reduced to a flour, in which form it settles to the bottom of the vessels; and then, the water being poured off, is carefully dried, and becomes fit for use. Of this, while it is fresh, they make various kinds of food, grateful enough to *Indian* palates, though but insipid to *Europeans*, who, notwithstanding, by the help of lemon-juice, sugar, and spices, render it very pleasant. The bread made of *Sagu* is baked between earthen pans, in the form of square tablets, six inches long, four broad, and about a finger thick. What is intended to be kept longer, the *Indians* have a method of graining, and it may be then preserved for many years. The flour of *Sagu* is very light of digestion, nourishing and wholesome, exactly suited to the climate in which it is used, and therefore in those countries there is a vast consumption of it; and the *Dutch* transport great quantities to their remote settlements, where their soldiers make it their principal food. Of late years considerable quantities have been brought to *England*

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mon is a tree peculiar to this of *Mindanao*, grows on the mountains without any improvement, and has no owner but him that finds it; for this reason, whoever is so lucky as to meet first with such a valuable tree, falls immediately to making his utmost advantage of it; and, with this view, takes off the bark before it is ripe; and so, though at first it be strong, like that of *Ceylon*, yet in a small time, and at farthest in two years, it loses all taste and virtue. It is gathered in twenty-five villages, and about as many rivers, of the coast of *Samboangan*, towards *Dapitan*, on high and craggy mountains, and in one village of the province of *Cagayan*. The inhabitants of *Mindanao* find very good gold by digging deep into the ground; as also in the rivers, making trenches before the floods. There is sulphur enough for all sort of uses, and which may be easily collected in the burning mountains, the oldest of which is *Sanxil*, in the territory of *Mindanao*. In 1640 a high mountain broke out into flames, and so clouded the air, land, and sea, with its ashes, that it looked like the day of judgment. In the sea, between this island and that of *Xolo*, there are very large pearls taken <sup>a</sup>.

An account  
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island of  
*Xolo*, its  
climate,  
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and depen-  
dencies.

THIRTY leagues south-west of *Mindanao* is the famous island of *Xolo*, or *Gilolo*, governed by a king of its own. All the ships of *Borneo* touch there, and it may well be called the general mart of all the *Moorish* kingdoms. The air is wholesome and fresh, from the frequent rains falling there, which make the land fruitful in rice. This, as is generally reported, is the only island of all the *Philippines* which breeds elephants; and, as the islanders do not tame them as the manner is in *Siam* and *Camboya*, they are mightily increased: there are also goats with spotted skins like leopards<sup>i</sup>. Among the birds, that which builds a nest like a sparrow, which is boiled, and eaten as a restorative, which bird is called *Salangan*, is the most esteemed. For fruit, it produces the *Durion*; abundance of pepper, which they gather green; and a peculiar sort of fruit called *Of paradise*, and by the *Spaniards* *The king's fruit*, because it is found no-where but in his garden. It is as big as

<sup>a</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, DAMPIER.  
Monde, GEMELLI CARERI, P. v. b. ii. c. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Tour de

and *Holland*, where experience shews that it is a great restorative, and very fit for weak stomachs, which it strengthens

by degrees, and in time recovers the lost appetite, and helps digestion (45).

(45) From the information of a Dutch gentleman who visited these islands, and resided some time in the Moluccas.

a common apple, of a purple colour, and has little white kernels like cloves of garlick inclosed in a thick shell like a piece of leather, and is of a delicious taste. The island of *Basilan* is three leagues from *Mindanao*, and twelve in compass. Being opposite to *Samboangan*, it may be called the garden that furnishes it with plantanes, sugar-canes, and other kind of fruit with which it abounds<sup>k</sup> (E).

THERE are five nations in *Mindanao*, which are the *Min-danaos*, *Caragas*, *Lutaos*, *Subanos*, and *Dapitans*. The *Caragas* are very brave, when employed either by sea or land. The *Mindanaos* faithless, lazy, and cruel. The *Lutaos*, a new nation in all the three islands of *Mindanao*, *Xolo*, and *Basilan*, live in houses built on the tops of trees, at the mouths of rivers, which at flood, cannot be forded; for *Lutao*, in their language, signifies a man that swims on the water. These men are such enemies to land, that they take no pains in sowing or reaping, but live the best they can upon fishing, wandering about the seas of *Mindanao*, *Xolo*, and *Basilan*: yet they are cunning traders, and wear turbants, and use the same weapons the *Moors* do, as holding correspondence, and being

<sup>k</sup> COMBES, *Tour du Monde*, par GEMELLI CARRERI.

(E) Before the *Chinese* corresponded with the *Dutch* at *Batavia*, they had most, if not all, their cinnamon from *Manila*, which the *Spaniards* procured by their commerce with *Mindanao*. There is no doubt that, if this spice was properly cultivated, it might be brought to as great perfection there as in *Ceylon*; but the *Moorish* princes are afraid of every thing of this kind, from an apprehension of drawing upon them the *Spaniards* or the *Dutch*, who, by treating them as if they thought they were born only to be their slaves, discourage all improvements; and, by grasping at more than they can manage, lose much of what, without either danger or difficulty, they

might possess (46). It is reported, that in this very island some excellent clove trees were discovered; of which the king being informed, he ordered them to be plucked up by the roots, giving this remarkable reason for it, *It is better for us to do it than the Dutch* (47). In this he shewed himself a sound politician, preferring the safety of himself and of his subjects to any temporary profit that might have accrued from so valuable a commodity. As for sugar-canes, they were brought into these islands from *America* by the *Spaniards*, where they have long ago thriven so well, that sugar is there at a very low price, and is exceeding good in its kind (48).

(46) Extracted from a MS. memoir of a person who resided many years in the East Indies. (47) *Dampier's Voyages*, in Harris's Collection. (48) *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, vol. ii col. 191.

in amity, with those of *Borneo*. The *Subanos*, that is, dwellers on rivers, for *Suba* signifies a river, are the lowest in esteem of any people in the island, as being base and treacherous in a supreme degree. They never depart from the rivers, where they build upon long timbers so high, that there is no reaching their dwelling with a pike : they climb up at night by a pole fastened to it for that purpose. They are as it were vassals to the *Lutaos*. The *Dapitans* exceed all the nations before-mentioned for courage and wisdom, and were very assisting to the *Spaniards* in conquering the islands<sup>1</sup>.

The barbarous highlanders in Mindanao, and their unaccountable passion for liberty.

THE inland part of *Mindanao* is subject to the mountain people, who, fond of sloth and liberty, keep there without any inclination to visit the sea, or maintain themselves by tillage ; and, being thus grown wild for want of commerce, gave strangers an opportunity of possessing themselves of the forsaken shore and rivers. There are also, besides these nations, in *Mindanao*, some blacks like *Ethiopians*, who own no superior, any more than those on the island, or in the mountains of *Manila* ; but live like beasts, conversing amicably with none, and doing harm to all they can reach. They have no settled place of abode, and in the worst of weather have no other shelter than the trees. Their cloaths are such as nature gave them, for they never cover so much even as that which ought to be hid. Their weapons are bows and arrows ; and they reap no other fruit of their barbarity but an useless liberty<sup>2</sup>.

Of the Moham-medans in these islands, and the meanness of their pretensions to that religion.

THE generality of the inhabitants of these islands are heathens ; but from *Sanxil* to *Samboangan* the people along the coast are *Mohammedans*, more especially in the islands of these *Basilan* and *Xolo*, which are the metropolis of that superstition, and the *Mecca* of the *Archipelago*, because the first teacher of it is buried there, of whom the giddy-headed *Casikes* tell a thousand fables. The *Spaniards*, at their coming, destroyed his tomb. However, to say no more than the truth, they are generally atheists ; and those that have any religion, forcerers<sup>a</sup> (F). The *Mohammedans* know nothing of

<sup>1</sup> COMBES, GEMELLI CARRERI. DAMPIER.  
MEELLI CARRERI, DAMPIER.

<sup>2</sup> GE-  
<sup>a</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas.

(F) This we say from the authority of the *Spanish* writers, and the judicious reader will understand it in its true sense. It is certain that most of the missionaries give us very dark and absurd accounts of the religious

opinions of the natives ; of which, in all the eastern countries, the people make a great secret, and that from a very plain and good reason, that what they esteem sacred may not be exposed to the ridicule of those

of their superstition besides eating no swine's flesh, being circumcised, and keeping many wives; though they all agree in giving their minds to superstitious omens and auguries upon every accident. They are very temperate, contenting themselves with a little boiled rice, and, where that is not to be had, with roots of trees, without making use of any spice; and this, whatever their condition be, and whether they are rich or poor. The better sort, when they have a deer, goat, or fish, never use any seasoning but salt and water. Their cloaths are plain; for, being enemies to society, every man is his own taylor. One and the same garment serves for breeches, waistcoat, and shirt. By their side they wear daggers after their fashion, with gilt hilts. Over their breeches they bind about them a piece of their own country stuff, so broad, that it hangs down to their knees; and on their heads they wear a *Moorish* turbant<sup>o</sup>. The women, in the day-time, wear a sack instead of a petticoat, which at night serves for sheet, blanket, and quilt, upon a very scurvy mat; yet they wear rich bracelets on their arms. Their little wooden houses are covered with mats, the ground is their only seat, the leaves of trees serve them for plates and dishes, the canes for large vessels, and the cocoa-nuts for drinking-cups. As to manners, they are more barbarous than other *Mohammedans*; for, if the father lays out any money for his son, or ransoms him out of slavery, he keeps him as his slave; and, which is more unnatural, the son does the same by his father. For any little kindness they do, they deprive him that receives it of his liberty; and their laws, for the crime of one man,

◦ Tour du Monde, par GEMELLI CARERI, P. v. b. li. c. 6.

those who are of a contrary opinion. However, if this was a proper place, we could, from the inquiries of a learned and judicious writer (49), give a large detail of the religious notions of these people, which would effectually clear them from the imputation of atheism, but would at the same time prove that they are wonderfully weak and superstitious. Their priests did indeed pretend to conferences with evil spirits, and instituted a multitude of silly sacrifices, which made them intentionally forcerers, tho' in reality they were groundless delusions, and mere acts of enthusiastic folly. The *Spaniards*, in this respect, have been very useful to them; for, since the introduction of the Christian religion amongst them, even those who do not embrace it have improved their sentiments, and in a great measure not only disuse, but despise, their former superstitions.

(49) *Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.*

make slaves of all the kindred. They do much wrong to strangers that deal with them, and the purse pays for all. They abhor theft: incest in the first degree is punished with death, that is, by casting the criminal into the sea in a sack. Law-suits are soon decided without many formalities, either in civil or criminal cases. The king of *Xolo*, for the administration of justice, has a prime minister whom they call *Zarabandal*, which is the supreme honour in that court. The great ones oppress the poor, because the king has not a proper degree of power. There are degrees of nobility, as of *Tuam*, that is, great lord; *Orancayas*, or rich men, lords of vassals. In *Mindanao* the princes of the blood royal are called *Caciles*, or, as pronounced, *Cachiles*, the same style that is used in the *Moluccas*. In time of war these people have shewn great courage, both by land and sea; against the *Spaniards*, whom they have sometimes grievously distressed by their piracies, and repeated descents upon their coasts; to which they could never have been exposed, if, as they have often been advised, their governors would have built and maintained a small squadron of gallies, which might have been done at a moderate expence.

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A GREAT part of *Mindanao* was formerly subject to his Catholic Majesty, which however cost a great deal of trouble in reducing, and was with much difficulty kept. Afterwards they made peace with the *Moorish* sultan, which gave them an opportunity of lessening their garrisons, and depending rather upon the zeal of their missionaries in converting the *Indians*, who, when they become Christians, attached themselves firmly to the *Spanish* government; and, as they lie at a distance from *Munila*, are less exposed to oppression. The city of *Mindanao*, standing upon a river of the same name, and built upon high posts, like the capital of the kingdom of *Siam*, is a place of considerable trade, and where there are large quantities of gold stirring. Captain *Dampier* informs us, that, when he was there, the sultan and his subjects manifested a great liking to the *English*, and would willingly have allowed them a settlement; which in his judgment was a thing very practicable, provided ships were sent thither thro' the south seas; by which course, if they left *England* in *August*, they might arrive there in *February*. The reasons he offers in support of his opinion, that an advantageous settlement might

P COMBES, GEMELLI CARRERI, DAMPIER.      ARGEN-  
SOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas.      L'Amirante D'HIE-  
RONIMO DE BANVELO Y CARRILLO Relac. de las Islas Fili-  
pinas,      Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI.

be fixed here, are very plausible, being taken chiefly from the advantageous situation of the place, the rich commodities with which it abounds, and the trade that might be opened with the neighbouring countries' (G). But when,

ON

\* DAMPIER'S Voyages, in Harris's Collection, as below.

(G) At the time Captain *William Dampier* was here, which was in July 1686, he was on board a buccaneer vessel commanded by Captain *Swan*; the account he gives of the island and the city, which, as we have observed in the text, have both the same name, is conceived in the following terms (50): "Some of the old people of both sexes can speak *Spanish*, because the *Spaniards* had formerly divers forts in this island; and would without question have brought it under subjection, had not the fear they were in of being attacked by the *Chinese* at *Manila* obliged them to withdraw their troops thence; which opportunity the present sultan's father laid hold on to make himself master of their forts, and to expel them from the isle. But at this time, as they are most afraid of the *Dutch*, so they have often invited the *English* to make a settlement there, believing them not so incroaching as either of the before-mentioned nations. The chief trades in this city are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, and shipwrights, for they build good ships both for trade and war. Their chief commodities exported are gold, bees-wax, and tobacco. The two first they

" purchase from the mountain-cers, and the last grows all over the isle in vast plenty. These they exchange for calicoes, muslins, and *China* silks. The *Mindanao* tobacco is reckoned not at all inferior to that of *Manila*; yet you may buy ten or twelve pounds of it for a rial." What he says as to an *English* establishment runs thus in his own words, "Raja *Laut*, and one of the sultan's sons, came aboard us, and demanded, in *Spanish*, who we were; and, being told that we were *English*, they asked whether we were come to settle among them, of which they had had some promise before, and were now in hopes to see it effected, and to serve them for a protection against the *Dutch*, whom they very much dreaded. Truly, had we considered the matter, it would have been much for our advantage to have done so, considering the commodious situation of the isle of *Mindanao* betwixt the *Spice Islands*; the three isles of *Meangis*, abounding in spice and cloves, being scarce twenty leagues hence, and the *Philippins*; neither did we want any thing requisite for such a settlement, being provided with all sorts of artificers, as carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, taylors, &c. as also

on the other hand, we consider the rights of our exclusive companies, which are utterly irreconcilable to such a project, our constant complaisance to the powers that might take offence at our making such a settlement, and the decay of that enterprising spirit which can alone support undertakings of this kind, there is no great reason to expect that any attempt of this sort will be made, at least in our times.

Not impossible, but some of the new projects for an East India trade may extend to these islands.

YET if, amongst the variety of projects formed by those powers that are endeavouring to raise a naval strength, they should ever fall upon a scheme for traversing the fourth seas, and entering this way into the *Indies* (which is far enough from being improbable), we shall quickly be convinced, that the politics of the *Spaniards*, *English*, and *Dutch*, in neglecting and discouraging that route, are but indifferently founded, and that the profits of an *East India* trade carried on this way, would very much surpass those, that arise from that which is now in use. These may at present be considered as mere speculations; but the time may, and certainly will come, when posterity shall be satisfied that the *Indies* are but half discovered; and that countries may still be found, abounding in as valuable commodities as any that have been hitherto brought to *Europe*, which the inhabitants would be glad to part with for our manufactures, and which commerce would be free from that popular objection of carrying out silver; though, if this could be accomplished, there is little reason to believe that it would become more plenty in *Europe*, because this would lessen the demand, and consequently we should not receive so much from *America*."

" See PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1422.

" with convenient tools, arms, guns great and small, and ammunition sufficient for such a beginning: and, notwithstanding the great distance of this island from *England*, we needed not have been without hopes of reasonable supplies thence, provided the ships set out the latter end of *August*, and, passing round *Terra del Fuego*, stretched over towards *Mindanao*; or else they might coast down the *American* shore

" as far as it was found requisite, and then direct their course for this isle, to avoid the *Dutch* settlements, and to have the advantage of the east trade wind, after they were past *Terra del Fuego*; by which means this voyage might be performed in six or seven, which, passing thither by the *Cape of Good Hope*, would at least require eight or nine months."

## S E C T. VI.

*The peculiar Circumstances of the Spanish Viceroy in the Philippines, and the singular Policy by which a Check is put on his almost boundless Authority, and how this has sometimes operated. The State of the Commerce between Spanish Asia and Spanish America; the Objections raised against this Commerce, and the Regulations that have been devised, in order to render it more suitable to the public Interest.*

AS we have now described the principal islands in the possession of the *Spaniards*, we will next examine the general state of things, and shew of how great worth and consequence the *Philippines* are. The governor-general, in point of rank, is at least equal, if not superior, to the viceroy of the *Indies*. His salary, in that capacity, is upwards of five thousand pieces of eight *per annum*, which, together with his appointments, as president of the royal audience, or supreme court of justice, and commander in chief of the forces, make up, in the whole, thirteen thousand pieces of eight, which, however, is but an inconsiderable part of his income\*. His power is almost without bounds, except such as are assigned by his own discretion. He has all military preferments in his gift; disposes of most of the civil employments when they become vacant; has the power of making twenty-two Alcaldes, or governors of provinces; puts in a governor of the *Marianne* islands, upon a demise, till his Catholic Majesty's pleasure is known; and names the general, so the chief officer is called on board the annual ship; which being a post worth fifty thousand pieces of eight, he does not bestow it, or indeed any thing else, for nothing†. All the *Encomiendas*, when they fall, are in his gift: he makes the *Indians* captains, majors, and colonels, in their militia; of which titles as they are very fond, so they are not unpolite to such a degree as not to express their gratitude properly to him from whom they received these honours. In fine, he has very little less than sovereign authority, with a prodigious revenue; and all this he enjoys for eight years without controul. But, as there is no condition in this life totally free

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, GEMELLI CARRERI. † NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, and HAMILTON's Account of the East Indies.



from inconvenience, so there is one unlucky circumstance that attends this high office, and which renders it the less desirable: The *Spanish* court, considering that he is but a man; that power is apt to corrupt, and that the desire of wealth is a strong temptation, leave him, when he goes out of his government, in some measure at the mercy of the people<sup>v</sup> (H).

Severe  
trial to  
which he  
is exposed,  
before he  
can quit

WHEN his commission is superseded, he cannot quit the island before his conduct has stood the test of a rigorous examination. His successor is commonly appointed his judge by a special commission; and, public notice having been given through all the islands, the people in general are allowed sixty

v *Tour du Monde*, par GEMELLI CARRERI, P. v. liv. i. c. 5.

(H) It was a custom amongst the antient *Egyptians*, that, before their kings were interred, the priests went out, and made a long discourse to the people of the wisdom, piety, and virtues, of the prince deceased; which if they approved and applauded, the rest of the funeral was performed with all imaginable splendor and magnificence: but if the people testified their dislike of the priest's panegyric, and, instead of commendations, uttered complaints, he broke off in the midst of his discourse, there were no further thoughts of a public spectacle; but the body, being privately carried out, was interred with all the silence and secrecy imaginable (51). The same custom as, the Scriptures shew, obtained among the people of *Judea*; so that according to the manner in which the monarch discharged his office, he was either privately interred, or his body with much magnificence deposited in the royal sepulchre of *David* (52). The state of *Venice* practises the

like method upon the demise of a doge; the whole series of his conduct being strictly examined, and the funeral honours proportioned to the result of that inquiry (53). In the present case it is highly probable that this examination was instituted to prevent the carrying away with him that fortune which the governor might acquire by oppression; and, from the consideration of his being obliged to restore, to deter him from making a bad use of his power. In case of his death, his conduct undergoes the like examination; and the first member of the royal audience, who succeeds in the administration till a new governor is appointed, is subjected to the like inquiry upon the determination of his authority; only he is not obliged to remain in the island till his trial is over, but, upon appointing an attorney, and giving security to abide the decision of the court, he is permitted to embark for *New Spain*, if he thinks fit (54).

(51) *Diodorus Siculus*, l. i. cap. 6.

xxviii. 27. *Prideaux's Connection*, vol. i. p. 21.

vol. i. p. 151, 152. *Amelot de la Housaye, Examen de la liberté de Venise*.

(54) *Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde*, P. v. b. i. c. 5.

rs, to come and make their complaints, and are allowed *the Philip-*  
 rty more to produce their proofs. In some matters of a pines.  
 gh and extraordinary nature the judge is only at liberty to  
 mine and record the evidence, which, together with his  
 inion, he transmits home to the council of the *Indies*; but  
 things of smaller moment he pronounces judgment<sup>2</sup>, and this  
 affists usually of two parts, restitution to the person injured,  
 d a fine to the king (1). In former times this inquisition was

very

<sup>2</sup> NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

(1) Amongst the governors of  
*the Philippines*, who, by a tyrannical  
 abuse of their power, have  
 suffered severely by this trial,  
 one of the most remarkable was  
 Don *Sebastian Hurtado de Cor-*  
*uerra*, who had the supreme  
 power there in 1646. He un-  
 dertook several great enterprises,  
 such as the reduction of the  
 islands of *Mindanao* and *Xolo*, in  
 which he met with no great  
 success: he quarrelled with the  
 archbishop of *Manila*, and ban-  
 nished him the island; he was  
 more arbitrary in all respects  
 than any of his predecessors, and  
 is reported to have been the first  
 inventor of that tax or imposi-  
 tion called the *Vaudalas* (55).  
 This consists in valuing the rice  
 or corn upon the estate of an  
*Indian*, and ordering him to  
 bring it into the public maga-  
 zines, for the king's use, at a low  
 price, to be paid nobody knows  
 when. These, one would think,  
 were hardships enough, and yet  
 they are not the greatest with  
 which this tax is attended; for  
 very often those who assess the  
 grounds suppose that they will  
 produce more than they really  
 can, and then the owner is  
 to purchase the rest with ready

money. All these things made  
 him very odious, so that his  
 successor kept him in prison  
 five years; but at last he was  
 sent home to *Spain*, where he  
 was acquitted by the council of  
 the *Indies*. The people of *Ma-*  
*nila* said they had three suffi-  
 cient witnesses against him; the  
 squadron lost on the *Marianne*  
 islands; the warehouse of rich  
 effects burnt at *Acapulco* by  
 lightning; the treasures that  
 were seized belonging to him at  
*Burgos*; each of which was  
 more than he could have got  
 honestly in his government, and  
 yet he had enough left to pur-  
 chase friends and a good estate  
 (56). His successor Don *Jaques*  
*Faxardo Chancon*, who had im-  
 prisoned him, was in his turn  
 confined in the castle of *St. James*  
 almost as long; and his successor  
 Don *Saviniano Manriquez de*  
*Lara* was so terrified by the  
 violence with which the people  
 prosecuted him, that he could  
 not help inquiring every mo-  
 ment of the pilot of the annual  
 ship on board which he was  
 embarked, whether it was pos-  
 sible they should be driven back  
 to *Manila*, which he dreaded  
 more than death, and shewed

(55) D. F. Navarette *Tratados Históricos de la Monarquía de China*.  
 (56) *Coronel*. D. F. Navarette *Tratados Históricos de la Monarquía de China*.  
 vi. cap. 4.

very much dreaded; for, if the accusations were many and weighty, the governor was sent to prison; and there has been an instance of one that lay there five years, and others have died of the fright<sup>a</sup>. Of late, it is said a present of 100,000 pieces of eight to the successor has been found to furnish an effectual answer to most accusations; which has so provoked the people, that now-and-then they have taken the affair into their own hands, without waiting for the judge; which tho' it be not a very justifiable action, is however a good precedent, and teaches governors, that it is dangerous to forget their duty, for fear those who suffer by it should follow their example, and forget their obedience. Thus, as in most other cases, an extreme mischief produces its own cure.

*Insurrection, in which the governor and his son were both put to death by the people.*

AN instance of this kind happened in 1719, when the viceroy, who then governed, after going as far in oppression as any of his predecessors, bethought himself of a new expedient, which was, to prosecute the merchants for fraudulent entries; and, that he might not do things by halves, he not only suborned witnesses, but erected a court of his own creatures, who, he was sure, would believe them<sup>b</sup>. So many were suddenly undone, that all the rest of the traders resolved to get out of his reach; and, having deposited their money in several convents, shipped themselves for different parts of the *Indies* till his time should be expired. But the governor went on with his prosecutions; and, having condemned the absent merchants in what sums he pleased, demanded their effects from the convents, threatening, in case of refusal, to take them by force. Upon this the archbishop of *Manila*, attended by all his clergy, went to the palace, and expostulated with the viceroy; telling him in plain terms, that his own avarice was the sole cause of these disorders, and that he flattered himself in vain with impunity in case he violated the immunities of the church, which were originally intended, and in the present case were actually employed, for the public good. The governor, deaf to this good advice, ordered them immediately to depart; which they did: but an *Augustine* friar, provoked at the usage the archbishop had met with, and perceiving the people in the streets well armed, took

<sup>a</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarquia de China*, b. vi. c. 4.      <sup>b</sup> HAMILTON'S *Account of the East Indies*, vol. ii. p. 293.

the most extravagant transports absolutely go to *New Spain* or of joy on being told they must to the bottom (57).

(57) *Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde*, P. v. b. i. cap. 5.

a large

a large silver crucifix, laid it upon his left shoulder, and bid all true catholics follow him. Seeing himself well attended, he returned again to the palace, where the governor, tho' he had but few persons about him, had the imprudence to order them to fire; which so irritated the people, that they presently stormed the place, and killed him upon the spot. His son, on the first news of the tumult, marched with the garrison from the citadel to his relief, and the people advanced to receive him. Their standard-bearer made him a short speech, in which he told him, that they were good subjects of his Catholic Majesty, and that they had punished one who was not so; that with respect to him the people of *Manila* had no ground of complaint, and that therefore he would do well to return to his post: but he, persisting in his resolution to revenge his father's death, met his own, the soldiers deserting him, and retiring back to the fortrefs. Upon the arrival of the new governor all things were brought to a strict examination; the merchants were declared-innocent, and invited to return; and, out of a million and a half of pieces of eight that were found in the deceased governor's coffers, full restitution made to such as had been wronged. On the other hand, there have been governors who have acted with such integrity as to be continued in this government after the first term was expired, and this notwithstanding seventy thousand pieces of eight had been paid into the royal treasury by the person nominated to succeed them; which nomination, at the request of the people of *Manila*, was recalled, and the money paid back. This governor, in his first term, discharged all the debts due to the *Indians* honourably, defrayed the public expences out of the stated revenue, paid in a balance to the public treasury of four hundred thousand pieces of eight, and raised the annual income more than one fourth part of that sum, with the blessings of the people; and yet he saved an immense fortune by a decent frugality, a great part of which he directed to be laid out, by his will, in useful charities<sup>c</sup> (K).

<sup>c</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*, b. vi.

(K) The name of this excellent governor was Don *Fausto Cruzat y Gongora*, knight of the order of St. *Jago*, descended from the antient kings of *Navarre*. He did not either court the people, or fear them; and they, on the contrary, both loved and feared him more than any of his predecessors. In one respect only he was unfortunate, which was, that two galleons were lost during his government, by which the inhabitants of *Manila* were very much impoverished (58).

(58) *Gemelli Carreri, Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. i. c. 5.

It

*The commerce of Manila, as it stands at present in respect to the East Indies.*

IT is very clear from this account, that experience, as well as reason, demonstrates these islands are very capable of producing more than enough to defray the expence of keeping them; and yet it is generally agreed, that the public revenue does not discharge above two thirds of the annual expence. The remainder, which amounts to about two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, is every year sent in silver from Mexico; which has been all along complained of as a most heavy grievance, because, as the *Spaniards* will have it, this silver is never seen again; but some very wise men believe that the governors, and other great officers, transport at least an equivalent in gold and jewels, of which a great deal goes by the way of Mexico, and a great deal finds its way to Spain by some other route. This leads us to speak of the commerce of these islands, which, though nothing near so great as it might be, yet is very considerable, since the *European* and other inhabitants have between four and five hundred vessels of different sizes, with which they trade, amongst the islands, to several parts of the continent of India, to the *Portuguese* settlement at Macao in China, and elsewhere<sup>d</sup>. Besides this, Manila is a kind of magazine of East and West India commodities; and at the same time is in some degree a free port, where the ships of all nations, except the *Dutch*, are welcome. The *English* trade thither either under *Portuguese* colours, or the colours of some *Indian* nation, and of late the *Danes* have come thither in the same manner. While the inhabitants of Goa were able to carry on any trade, they sent abundance of ships thither, though there are still many that carry *Portuguese* colours, yet most of them belong to other nations; and those that actually come from Goa are not freighted by the *Portuguese*, but the *Canarins*; so low is that nation fallen through luxury and indolence, who, while they had courage and industry, were masters of the *Indies*! A shrewd lesson this to such as esteem themselves so in these times.

*Some account of the commodities and manufactures of the Philippines.*

As to the commodities of the *Philippines*, they have not many fit for foreign trade: what they have, are, gold, but in no great quantity; civet, excellent in its kind, and of which they have a great deal; deer-skins, drugs, dyeing woods, wax, honey, and provisions. Besides these, they have several sorts of coarse and strong cloths, and other manufactures made by the *Indians*; but what chiefly attracts the foreigners

<sup>d</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMEILI CAR-  
RERI.

<sup>e</sup> Dictionnaire universel de Commerce, tom. ii.  
col. 889.

are the commodities and manufactures of *China*, such as wrought and raw silks, gold and silver tissues, rich cabinets, and other lacquered wares, with a numberless variety of other curiosities, brought thither by that ingenious and industrious nation, who, though they are without doubt the principal gainers by this traffic, yet it is impossible it should be carried on at *Manila* without considerable profit to the inhabitants, who are vastly increased within these few years, and who, if they were free from some restraints, and affairs were administered with more regard to public than to private advantage, might be in far better circumstances than they are, more especially in times of peace, though even in war they are not often disturbed, and are no longer in any danger of being attacked or invaded in their own islands<sup>†</sup>. But, after all, it is the commerce between these islands and *New Spain* that is principally to be considered, because this renders them of such consequence to his Catholic Majesty, preserves the trade with *China*, furnishes honourable and beneficial employments to men of great birth and small fortunes; and, which is of the greatest consequence of all, defends the south seas, and the *Spanish* dominions that lie along the coasts of them, from being exposed to any danger on this side; to which, if these islands were possessed by any other nation, they would be infallibly exposed; and therefore those ministers, who have been for ~~for~~ depressing the inhabitants of the *Philippines*, and of which the race is not extinct at this day, are either not well acquainted with the importance of these countries, and the vast advantages that might be derived from them, or are carried away by prejudices that are the result of narrow and partial views<sup>‡</sup>.

WE have observed, that, when these islands were first *Their* settled, the seat of government was at *Zebu*, from whence *trade*, the commerce was carried on to *Calao*, which is the port of *when first* *Lima*, and was very different in many respects from what it *settled, not* afterwards became; for in those early days the natives readily *limited in* employed themselves in searching for gold, of which the *any respect,* *Spaniards* had much greater quantities than in succeeding times, *tho' it was* because very probably they used them better; they had also *more con-* no small share in the spice trade, so that the cargoes they *siderable* sent to *Peru* were very acceptable. After the conquest of *than now,* *Luçon*, and the building the city of *Manila*, when the *Chinese* trade began, in 1572, it was found requisite to make

<sup>†</sup> GEMELLI CARRERI, Dictionnaire de Commerce, HAMILTON'S Account of the East Indies.      <sup>‡</sup> DON JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c.

various alterations; for the voyage from thence to *Callas* proved very tedious and troublesome, and therefore the course was changed; and, because the vessels were obliged to steer east-north-east, to have the benefit of a proper wind, the port of *Acapulco* was fixed upon, as in many respects the most proper for this correspondence, by which the voyage to *America* was shortened by near one half<sup>b</sup>. The trade, however, remained perfectly free and open, as it had been from the beginning, by which the new colony flourished extremely for about thirty years. The fleet from *Peru* coming constantly to *Acapulco* pretty near the time that the galleons arrived from *Manila* in order to take their share of the commodities that they brought; and thus the mutual intercourse between the *Spanish* subjects in the *East* and *West Indies* was carried on to the general satisfaction of all parties, notwithstanding that the returns to *Manila* were chiefly made in silver, and that to a much greater amount than they are at this time<sup>i</sup> (L).

BUT

<sup>a</sup> HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 442.      <sup>i</sup> L'Amirante D. HIERONIMO DE BANVELOs Y CARILLO, Relaciones de las Islas Filipinas.

(L) It was within this period that the *Manila* ship was taken by Captain *Cavendish*, with effects to an immense value; and considering that the annual allowance for the protection of the *Moluccas* amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand pieces of eight, the sums that were then transported from *New Spain* must have been near double what they are now; and yet it was for want of sufficient remittances that the *Spaniards* were obliged to abandon the defence of those islands, by which they fell into the hands of the *Dutch*, who owe the establishment of their *East India* company, and the immense profits that have resulted therefrom, to the wealth that immediately accrued from

the valuable cargoes they brought from thence (59). A *Spanish* historian ascribes this to *Queen Elizabeth*, who, as he says, persuaded the *Dutch*, by her ministers, to attempt the conquest of the *Moluccas*, as the most effectual means of weakening the common enemy (60). It is, however, infinitely more probable that the *Dutch* undertook this of themselves, in pursuit of their own interest, and in emulation of what *Drake* and *Cavendish* had already performed; the latter coming home with a complete suit of silk sails, made out of the rich goods he took in the *Manila* ship, though he burnt in her five hundred ton of merchandize, and took out only the most valuable, with one hundred

(59) *Memoire dressé par l'Amiral C. Matelief, au sujet de l'état et du commerce des Indes.*

(60) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Molucas, lib. i.*

BUT about the beginning of the seventeenth century his Catholic Majesty's ministers in *Old and New Spain* fell into great apprehensions of the consequences of the *Manila* trade, which they believed tended to the impoverishment of both those countries, and to the enriching chiefly of the *Chinese*, so much that it was commonly said at *Mexico*, that the emperor of *China* might be able to build a palace with the bars of silver transported from that country. Yet the true cause of the sending such immense sums to the *Philippines* arose, at least in a great measure, from a thing of quite another nature: *Philip* the second, being master of the *Portuguese East Indies*, was very desirous of preserving the *Spice Islands*, the loss of which it was very justly foreseen would draw after it that of the *Portuguese* dominions in those parts; and therefore the *Moluccas* were put under the protection of the *Philippines*, but with this unlucky circumstance, that the *Portuguese* drew from them all their spice to maintain their *India* trade, while the whole weight of the war lay upon the *Philippines*. This increased the annual expence to near eight hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, while the public income did not much exceed two hundred thousand <sup>l.</sup>

BUT, notwithstanding all this was over and over remonstrated, the clamour against these islands grew so strong, that in 1604 the trade was limited, that is to say, the people of *Manila* were allowed to ship goods to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, and were to carry back no more than five hundred thousand. Sometime after the commerce between *Peru* and *Mexico* was interrupted upon the same principles; and, as we have before remarked, there

\* Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALGON Justification de la Conservation y Comercio de las Islas Filipinas, &c.

seventy-two thousand pezo's of gold, which was in those days accounted an immense treasure (61). He afterwards sailed to the *Philippines*, remained some days at the island of *Capul*, and there hanged the *Spanish* pilot, by whom his ship had been navigated from *Acapulco*, for writing a letter to excite his countrymen to come and attack them, setting forth the weakness of their condition, and with how much ease they might be taken (62). This voyage it was that furnished the *Dutch* with some of the best pilots in their service; and from thence, very likely, the *Spaniards* conceived that *Queen Elizabeth*, to whom they willingly ascribed all the mischiefs they met with, put the *Dutch* upon sending squadrons into the *East Indies*.

(61) Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 65. p. 819.

(62) Hackluyt's *Voyages*, tom. iii.



wanted not some who were for pushing things to the utmost, and abandoning the *Philippines* intirely, in hopes that this would have occasioned sending more silver to *Europe*; a thing that would certainly have facilitated the ambitious views of the court of *Madrid*, which had embarrassed her with all her neighbours. We have already shewn how this stroke was prevented; and it will be sufficient for our purpose here to observe, that for the next thirty years there was nothing but uneasiness and complaints, references to the councils of the *Indies*, and such-like, followed by all the bad consequences that usually attend such litigious controversies; some insisting on the necessity of farther restrictions; and others alleging, that the continuance even of those was more than sufficient to prove the utter ruin of the *Philippines*, where, however the people were by this time doubled, and though few or none of the merchants were rich, yet they had wherewithal to subsist, and carry on trade; which they would have also extended, if they had not been with-held by their governors, in obedience to the instructions that from time to time they received from the ministers at *Madrid*; to whom, however, such as were really concerned for the welfare of the *Spanish* nation, where-ever settled, made repeated applications for some alterations, or that at least the commodities of the growth of those islands, and the manufactures of their inhabitants, might be exported without restriction <sup>1</sup> (M).

WHAT

<sup>1</sup> All these particulars are taken from the memorials from time to time presented to the *Spanish* court.

(M) The principles upon which these memorials from the agents for the *Philippines* are founded regard every nation that has plantations, as well as *Spain*. In them it is laid down, that the king's maxims, and those of his ministers, are diametrically opposite; so that it is impossible to carry the point on one side but at the expence of the other. That the king valued all his plantations from a supposition that they contributed to extend the profession of the gospel, to increase the number of his subjects, and to augment his power by spreading his

authority over nations formerly unknown to the rest of mankind; that the views of ministers were to provide for such as were sent governors, admirals, or judges, and to find their account in providing for them: that these men minded nothing but getting a great and a rapid fortune; that, in order to this, it was necessary to make the people slaves, and prevent to the utmost their either knowing or pursuing their own interest; that, having by such means answered their end abroad, they were bound, in case they returned, to preach up this false doctrine.

WHAT informations we have with respect to the issue of *The cargo* these disputes are very far from being explicit or distinct for *of the annual ship* the last hundred years. All we know with certainty is, that the inhabitants of *Manila* have been long in possession of a right to send two galleons to *Acapulco*, for each of which *at length enlarged to six hundred thousand* they pay to the king seventy-five thousand pieces of eight. Of these, one ought to be a ship of trade, and the other of force; but, to save expence, they send one very large ship, which they croud with goods and people to such a degree, that her lower tier of guns can never be used in her passage to *Acapulco*, till, by the consumption of provision, they are at liberty to raise them out of the hold, when they draw near the coast of *America*. These great ships are built at *Bagatao*, not far from *Manila*, where there is a fine arsenal, and all other conveniencies. The timber they make use of is excellent, their sails and cordage not inferior to it; and these, and every thing else that are used about it, are of their own produce, except iron, which comes from *China*, and is not very dear<sup>m</sup>. These ships are of very different sizes,

<sup>m</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. c. 31.

trine too, and were often so lucky to have that taken for sage experience which was in reality hardened impenitence; they insisted that the laws and declarations made by the kings of *Spain*, from time to time, fully proved the truth of what they advanced; as, on the other hand, the conduct of the governors, and great officers, with the complaints that were continually transmitted, afforded sufficient evidence as to the latter part of their doctrine. To all this they added, that the specious pretence of consulting the interest of the crown was only an impudent attempt to colour tyranny and oppression, exercised by subjects for their private advantage, with the lustre of royal authority, which it was apparently calculated to destroy;

since a viceroy, behaving like a tyrant, is guilty of the foulest species of treason, as not only acting against his master, by breaking his laws; but traducing likewise his character, by presuming to do this when considered as his master's representative: that slavish tenures, high taxes, severe laws, standing troops, and a confined trade, might be fit instruments for ambitious and avaricious men, who meant to prey upon their fellow subjects; but that rational liberty, mild laws, light impositions, a military spirit in the people, and all imaginable encouragement to industry, was the way to render a country populous, the people rich and happy, and their monarch great and glorious (63).

(63) D. Hieronimo de B. *navelos y Carrillo, Coronel, Grau y Montfalcon, Navarrete*, &c.

from twelve hundred to two thousand ton ; but, of whatever size the vessel be, the merchandize ought to consist of fifteen hundred equal bales, a great proportion of which belongs to the convents, that is to say, they have a right to send such a number of these bales, which they commonly sell to the merchants ; and, in case they want money to provide a cargo, the convent furnishes them with that too upon bottomry. But, in all this matter, there is prodigious corruption ; for, instead of fifteen hundred, the ship often carries two thousand, and even two thousand five hundred bales, and, notwithstanding the magistrates and inspectors come on board, and clear the ship of these supernumerary bales, yet, in her passage through the streights of *Manila*, they are all put on board again, and, to make room for them, they break their water-jars, and scarce leave the room necessary for working the ship". This is the true reason that they are so long before they get clear of the land, and run the hazard of so many dangerous delays in their passage from *Manila* to the *Embocadero* of *St. Bernard*, which takes up sometimes five, sometimes six weeks, or even two months (N).

WITH

• GEMELLI CARERI, *Tour du Monde*, P. v. b. ii. cap. 10.

(N) One of the largest and best accounts we have of the passage through the streights of *Manila* is that given us by Dr. Gemelli, from whence it appears, that though the ship, on which he was embarked, sailed from the port of *Cavité* on *Friday* the twenty-ninth of *June* ; yet it was *Thursday* the ninth of *August* before they were clear of the land, that is, forty-two days in the whole : the latter part of his journal is worthy of the reader's notice (64). " There is no getting out at the *Embocadero*, or mouth of the chanel, where the currents are always impetuous, without a wind that is stronger than they. The *Embocadero*, or freight, is eight leagues in length, and four or five, and in some places six, over.

" It is inclosed like the court or yard of a house on one side, with the coast of the island of *Manila* ; by the islands of *Borlas*, *Ticas*, and *Masbate* ; by the six little islands of *los Narayos*, or of the orange-trees, which are desert ; by the fruitful island of *Capul*, by the Indians called *Awa* ; by the *Aluporis* ; and, lastly, by the west coast of *Palapa* ; and, on the other, by the island of *Maripisa*, inhabited by *Talaxians*, *Tegapola*, *Mongol*, *Kamanda*, and *Limbanquayan* ; which, all together, render the passage towards *America* very difficult, what way soever a man goes." It is from his account that we collect much of this delay is owing to the pernicious practice of putting on board the

WITH respect to the cargo, it consists in part of the commodities and manufactures of the *Philippines*, the latter being very convenient for the wear of the meaner sort of people in *America*, as they are, though coarse, both lasting and cheap. But still the bulk of the cargo consists of foreign commodities, such as china, wrought and raw silks in prodigious quantities, of which we may form some computation from the number of stockings that are sent, of which there are commonly fifty thousand pair. Piece goods is another considerable article; to which if we add spices, and large quantities of goldsmiths work and toys, the reader will be pretty well informed of the contents of an outward-bound ship. She is accounted the king's ship from the very moment that she is put in commission, and she is manned and officered accordingly. The commander in chief has the lofty title of general; and has a captain under him, who makes forty thousand pieces of eight by the voyage; the pilot makes about twenty thousand, and each of his mates about half that sum. Those that go in quality of factors have nine *per cent.* upon the goods they sell; and every common seaman receives three hundred and fifty pieces of eight for his voyage out and home, which is performed within a year; but then he has only seventy-five paid him when he embarks at *Cavité*, and the other two hundred and seventy-five when he returns; which is a very wise provision, since otherwise their homeward-bound ships would be but meanly provided. The whole number of persons, passengers included, on board one of these ships, is from three hundred and fifty to six hundred; and, notwithstanding they are so many, they might be in all respects very well accommodated, if they would set any bounds to their avarice, and be content to send this vessel with a reasonable lading; and there are many of opinion, that it would answer their purpose better if they sent two vessels, as they did formerly, because so unwieldy a ship is not only subject to many inconveniencies, but is also often in danger; whereas if she was of a moderate size, there would be no hazard at all. But it has been found a vain thing to preach to men who are

*What the cargo consists in, the manner in which the ship is manned, and the vast profit of the voyage.*

\* D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados históricos de la Monarchia de China*, l. vi. cap. 31.

galleon a third part more goods than are registered; which not only renders her slow in sailing, and leaves the passengers hardly room to stir, but, in case either of tempests at sea, or being attacked by enemies, put it out of the power of the crew to exert themselves as they ought for her safety or their own defence.

wholly governed by their passions, who desire to be rich at once; and who are content to expose themselves to the greatest miseries, in hopes of obtaining wherewithal to live voluptuously the rest of their days, in which, however, they are often deceived.

## S E C T. VII.

*An Account of this wonderful Voyage annually performed by the stated, licensed, and measured Galleon, from Manila to Acapulco; a Computation of the Value of the homeward-bound Lading, the common Contrivances for deceiving the Government, and defeating all their Regulations; the immense Profits which arise from this illicit Commerce; the many Dangers that arise from thence, and how often these annual Acapulco Ships have been taken. Observations on the foregoing Facts; and a farther Inquiry into the prevailing Opinion, that this Commerce is highly detrimental to Spanish America and to Old Spain.*

*What time the outward-bound Manila ship sails, and her course to Acapulco.*

THE ship, having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cavité about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. When they have got through the passage, and are clear of the islands, they commonly stand away east-north-east, in order to get into the latitude of more than thirty degrees, where they expect to meet westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California. It is very remarkable, that, by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, or even a tolerable road, found betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that, from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity; and therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandize, and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it deserves a very particular recital.

<sup>P</sup> TEIXEIRA's Travels, cap. 1.  
round the World, 8vo, p. 332, 333.

<sup>q</sup> Lord ANSON's Voyage

THEIR water, as we have observed, is preserved on ship-board, not in casks, but in earthen jars, which resemble the large oil jars in *Europe*. When the *Manila* ship first puts to sea, they take on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung about the shrouds and stays; and though it is one convenience of their jars, they are more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken, yet it is obvious that a six, or even a three, months store of water could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore, without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed; which indeed they have: but the reliance upon it, at first sight, seems so extremely precarious, that it is wonderful such numbers should risque perishing by the most dreadful of all deaths, on the expectation of so casual a circumstance. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the rains which they meet with between the latitudes of thirty and forty degrees north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which they place slopingly against the gunwale; whenever the rain descends, these mats extend from one end of the ship to the other, and their lower edges rest on a large split bamboe, so that all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboe, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar; and this method of supplying their water, however extraordinary it may at first sight appear, hath never been known to fail; so that it is common for them, when their voyage is a little longer than usual, to fill all the water jars several times over. However, though their distresses for fresh water are short of what might be expected in so tedious a navigation, yet there are other inconveniences generally attendant upon a long continuance at sea, from which they are not exempted<sup>r</sup>. The principal of these is the scurvy, which sometimes rages with extreme violence, and destroys great numbers of the people; but at other times their passage to *Acapulco* is performed with little loss<sup>s</sup> (O).

THE

<sup>r</sup> TEIXEIRA, GEMELLI CARRERI. *Filipinas.*

<sup>s</sup> Relac. de las Islas

(O) There is a considerable sum allowed out of the public treasury at *Manila* to furnish sweetmeats, wine, chocolate, and other refreshments, for the sick; but the person to whose care they are intrusted commonly embezzles and consumes them at his own table, which enables him to get the better price from those

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THE time employed in this passage, so much beyond any other navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskillfulness of the *Spanish* sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution for so rich a vessel; for it is said that they never set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by. And indeed the instructions given to their captains seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of a strong gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of thirty degrees, if possible; and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is necessary for the getting a westerly wind<sup>t</sup>. This appears to able navigators an absurd restriction, since it can scarce be doubted that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are steadier and brisker than in the latitude of thirty degrees. So that the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to great censure; for if, instead of steering east-north-east into the latitude of thirty odd degrees, they at first stood north-east, or even still more northerly into the latitude of forty or forty-five degrees, in which course the trade winds would greatly assist them, they might considerably shorten their voyage, perhaps perform it in half the time now allotted for it (P). For in their journals of these voyages it appears, that

<sup>t</sup> Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 334.

those who eat with him: yet the natural temperance of the *Spaniards*; their having, generally speaking, a full allowance for fresh water (which might be had in most long voyages, if the same care was taken as on board the galleon); their eating frequently fresh fish caught at sea, abstaining from spirituous liquors, and keeping up their spirits by many diversions; defends them in a great measure from those diseases with which the seamen of other nations are afflicted in voyages of a much shorter duration; notwithstanding all which, gene-

rally speaking, a considerable number die in this passage (65).

(P) In support of what is advanced in the text, it may not be amiss to observe, that a *French* ship in 1721 ran from the coast of *China* by keeping in much higher latitudes, to the valley of *Vanderas*, on the coast of *Mexico*, in fifty days, that is, in as little time, or at least but a few days more than the *Manila* ship spends in getting clear of the land; but then it is said that she suffered so prodigiously by the scurvy in her passage, that she had not above four or five men left when she arrived in

(65) *Teixeira, Gemelli Carreri.*

*America.*

that they are often a month or six weeks, after leaving the land, before they get into the latitude of thirty degrees; whereas steering a more northerly course it might be done in a fourth part of the time; and, when they were once well advanced northward, the westerly winds would soon blow them to the coast of *California*, and they would be freed also from other embarrassments to which they are now subjected at the expence of a rough sea, and a stiff gale <sup>u</sup>.

The *Manila* ship, having stood so far to the northward as *The manner in* to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of *California*; and, when she has run into the longitude of ninety-six degrees from *Cape Espiritu Santo*, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, *which she prosecutes* called *Porra* by the *Spaniards*, being a species of sea-leek. *her voyage to the coasts* On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves near the *of California and* *Californian* shore, and immediately stand to the southward; *Mexico.*

<sup>u</sup> HAKLUYT'S Voyages, tom. iii. p. 445. Lord ANSON'S Voyage, p. 334.

*America* (66). We may from hence form some judgment of the advantages that would follow from the discovery of a north-west passage, since it shews in how very short a time that passage might be reached from *China*; and, by the use of proper precautions, no doubt seamen might be defended from these dangerous effects of the scurvy. We have in a very early, but withal a very excellent, collection of voyages, that which is supposed to have been the first from *Acapulco* to *Manila* (67). This was by *Francisco de Gualle*, a *Spanish* captain, who sailed on the 5th of *March* 1582, and, arriving safely in the *Philippines*, he proceeded from thence to *Macao* in *China*. From this port he sailed again for *Acapulco*, and appears to have run into a high northern latitude, though he does not specify the degree; but he affirms,

that running east, and east and by north, three hundred leagues from *Japan*, he found a very hollow water with the stream running out of the north and north-west, through which he ran about seven hundred leagues, meeting with whales, tunnyes, and other kinds of fish, which, as he observed, delight in a sharp rapid water; till, falling down to the latitude of thirty-seven degrees and a half, within two hundred leagues of the coast of *New Spain*, he lost that hollow sea, and began to meet with those floating greens which the *Spaniards* call the signs, and happily completed his voyage in the year 1584. This shews, that, in those early days, the *Spanish* officers were both bolder and better seamen than they are now; as also, that these observations do not flow from conjecture or fancy, but are really founded in facts.

(66) *The track of this voyage is marked in De Lisle's Maps. Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, p. 334.* (67) *Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 442.*



relying so much on this circumstance, that, on the first discovery of the plant, the whole ship's company chaunt a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties of their passage at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without coming within sight of land \*. After falling in with these signs, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, not at all endeavouring to fall in with the coast till they have run into a lower latitude; for, as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to *California*, the caution of the *Spanish* navigators makes them very apprehensive of engaging with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to hale in for the sake of making *Cape St. Lucas*, to ascertain their reckoning; and to receive intelligence from the *Indian* inhabitants, whether there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance is a particular article in the captain's instructions, for, by them, the captain of the galleon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of *Cape St. Lucas*, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and, on discovering these fires, the captain is to send his launch on shore, with twenty men well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at *Manila* to the *Californian* missionaries; and are to bring back the refreshments prepared for them, and likewise intelligence whether there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for *Cape St. Lucas*, and thence to *Cape Corientes*, after which he is to coast it along for the port of *Acapulco* \* (Q).

IN

\* HAKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. iii. p. 446. GEMELLI CARERI Tour du Monde, P. v. l. iii. c. 6. LORD ANSON'S Voyage.

\* Relac. de las Islas Filipinas. LORD ANSON'S Voyage.

(Q) The Jesuits have of late years established a regular mission in *California*, which is supported by a large legacy left them for that purpose by the Marquis de Valero. Their principal settlement lies just within *Cape St. Lucas*, where they have drawn together a great number of the natives, whom they have taught the doctrines of their church, and have reduced to order and civility, engaging them likewise to practise mechanic arts and agriculture, which has freed them intirely from those wants to which they were formerly exposed in a state of savage idleness. Nay, so far have these people, instructed by the fathers of the mission, proceeded, as to plant and cultivate vines with success, and actually make a wine that, in some de-

gree

IN obedience to these instructions all the officers on board act precisely as they are directed ; from whence if in some respects their safety is the better secured, they are in others more exposed ; for, in all cases of this nature, it is infinitely better to be careful in the choice of the person to whom so great a charge is intrusted, and then to leave things to his discretion, than to prescribe what he is to do, and perhaps tie him down thereby to do what otherwise he might not have done, and what it may be very improper for him to do. Besides, these rules were originally the produce of experience ; but as experience is always increasing, so the value of those instructions must decrease ; and, whatever the *Spaniards* may fancy, they are in effect little better than a contrivance to prevent the galleons from reaping any profit from modern discoveries, and restraining the art of navigation with more industry than other nations strive to improve it. Add to all this, that, unless the instructions could reach the wind and weather, it is hardly possible they should do much good ; but they may and do occasion a great deal of delay and danger, and are the real causes that the *Spanish* seamen are less knowing and less active than the *English* or the *Dutch*. We need not wonder, therefore, that they are six or seven months in making this long run, and that they very seldom reach the port of *Acapulco* before the feast of *Epiphany*, so that they are from six-and-twenty to thirty or one-and-thirty weeks at sea. In this space they are exposed, as we may easily conceive, to great hardships, and a variety of diseases. Their biscuit grows extremely full of maggots, all kind of food becomes corrupted ; and, if it was not for sweetmeats, chocolate, fresh water, and the fish that is caught after they meet with *the Signs*, they would be reduced to great distress. The maladies under which they suffer are chiefly two ; first, the *Berben*, which is a kind of dropy that gradually destroys the patient, with a series of

gree resembling *Madeira*, begins to be esteemed thro' the whole kingdom of *Mexico* (68). It is to the care of these missionaries that the making proper signals for the *Manila* ship, when it arrives upon the coast, is committed ; and, out of regard to their brethren at *Manila*, who are so deeply interested in the cargo of the annual ship, they are parti-

cularly attentive to whatever may contribute to its security. There may be perhaps too great a mixture of secular views in these precautions on both sides ; but, however that may be, the *Spanish* government is certainly in the right to avail themselves of this disposition in the Jesuits for the advantage of the community.

so mild symptoms, that he commonly dies talking, and without having the least suspicion of being near his end. The other is our *Sea Scurvy*, which is too common to be described. But, after all, it must be confessed, as we have already hinted, that the crew of a *Manila* ship are rather more than less healthy than might be expected, considering the number of people crowded together in a little room, and breathing nothing but sea-air for six or seven months together, and that air still more corrupted between decks by the noxious steams of the sick<sup>1</sup>.

*Manner in which things are disposed, on the arrival of the Manila ship, in the haven of Acapulco.*

THE port of *Acapulco* is the safest and the most commodious in the *Pacific Ocean*; the galleon enters it on the east side, the ships from *Peru*, on the west. As soon as the vessel is moored, they begin to unload the cargo; and the town of *Acapulco*, and country round it, which a little before was a desert, becomes of a sudden a place of prodigious resort, and continues so till the sale is over; and then, all things being adjusted, they begin without delay to provide for their return. It is to be observed, that as the outward-bound *Manila* ship commonly meets with that homeward-bound upon the coast of the *Philippines* before her departure, so the utmost precautions are employed that every thing may be put in such order as that the galleon may return within the year, which is of great consequence, that they may arrive at a proper season to have a fair wind through the streights of *Manila*. In the space of four months that they lie in the harbour of *Acapulco*, they are sure to lose a part of the ship's crew through the unwholsomeness of the air, which is indeed so great, that nothing but the love of riches could tempt men to venture into it; and to speak the fair truth, they take care to be well paid that do<sup>2</sup>. But this mortality does not hinder their going back with more people than they brought thither, which is occasioned by the number of merchants, and other passengers, who are desirous of going to *Manila*; yet, notwithstanding this increase of people, they are not so much crowded as in their outward-bound passage, because their cargo, being mostly silver, takes up less room, and this enables them to ship a company or two of soldiers for recruiting their garrisons in the *East Indies*; neither are people so much afraid of making this voyage, because it is safer, shorter, and more pleasant. But, before we enter upon the homeward-bound voyage of the *Manila* ship, it will be requisite to say somewhat of the cargo which she carries back, in order to form some notion of

<sup>1</sup> GEMELLI CARRERI *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. cap. 6.

<sup>2</sup> NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI, CORONEL.

the profits of this trade ; which will enable us the better to judge of the great question, whether it be so detrimental to the inhabitants of *New Spain*, or lessens the exportation to *Old Spain*, so much as is commonly imagined <sup>a</sup>.

WE have already specified what are the goods that are sent from *Manila*, and these may be well enough reduced to four different sorts ; under the first head may be ranged gold-dust, jewels, and rich toys, which, though in themselves neither necessary or expedient to life, yet must be allowed to have an intrinsic value, because, amongst all polite nations, the general opinion of mankind stamps such a value upon them. The next are the coarse goods which are worn by the meaner sort of people, and these are necessaries. The third are raw silks, which make a considerable part in the cargo ; and it is said that several thousands of people are maintained by the various manufactures in which they are employed. Under the last head we may bring rich silks, fine stockings, chintzes, most kinds of piece goods, spice, and perfumes, which are luxuries : all these are paid for in a great measure with silver. As to the rest of the cargo, it is made up of cochineal, sweet-meats, *Spanish* wines, and millinery ware from *Europe*, for the use of the ladies at *Manila*, and throughout the *Philippines*. In order to make an estimate of the quantity of silver that returns in the *Manila* ship, there seems to be no better method than to take the old proportions, for they seldom vary ; and therefore, if, when the trade was limited to two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight, the return amounted to half a million, now the trade is extended to six hundred thousand pieces of eight, the return will be one million two hundred thousand of the same pieces ; which, with two hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight annually remitted to make good the deficiency in the revenues of the *Philippines*, makes, in the whole, one million four hundred and fifty thousand pieces of eight ; and whoever will compare this with the sums taken in the *Manila* ship, will find that there is not much ground to question this calculation <sup>b</sup>.

THE next thing to be considered is, how far this in reality affects *New or Old Spain*. With regard to the former, silver is in fact no more than a commodity, with which the inhabitants of the new world go to market ; and, to speak impartially, it is of no great consequence to them, if they part

<sup>a</sup> What is said in the text is taken chiefly from the Spanish memorials. <sup>b</sup> HAKLUYT, PURCHAS, DAMPIER, COOKE, and Lord ANSON's Voyages.

between  
New and  
Old Spain.

with their silver, whether it is carried east or west into *Asia*, or into *Europe*, for in both cases they see no more of it; and even they, who complain most of this traffick, acknowledge that they have as much, or more, from *Manila*, than they could have from *Europe* for the same sum. So that it is not easy to see what reason the inhabitants of *New Spain* should have to complain; and in fact they do not complain, but others complain for them; which brings us to the second question, and that is, What loss the people of *Old Spain* suffer by this commerce? And, so far as we can discern, that amounts to little more than the value of the silks, which, it is supposed, if they did not come this way, must come from *Europe*, and consequently the value of them be returned thither in silver; and to this indeed it is not easy to give any other answer than this: That the crown of *Spain* is best judge of the value of the *Philippines*, and whether the addition of that quantity of silver to her revenue would be an equivalent for the loss of those islands; which must necessarily ensue, if this commerce should be prohibited, as has been over and over demonstrated, when this point has been debated in the council of the *Indies* (R).

THE

\* Taken from the memorials in justification of the Spanish inhabitants in the Philippines.

(R) Amongst other answers given by the advocates for the *Philippines* to this objection continually thrown in their teeth, that most of the silver they receive passes speedily into *China*, from whence it is never to be recovered, there is one to which the *Spanish* ministers never could frame any reply. Admitting, say they, the fact to be exactly as it is stated, that the subjects of the emperor of *China* reap all, or the best part of, the profits of our commerce, what mischief follows from thence to *Spain*? The emperor of *China* never attacks the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, forms no pretensions to their prejudice, nor ever shews the least favour or

countenance to their enemies. But, with respect to the silver that is sent from *New* to *Old Spain*, it remains not long there, any more than that which is sent to the *Manila's*. Whither, then, does it pass? Into the hands of the irreconcilable enemies of his Catholic Majesty, by whom it is employed in paying armies, and equipping fleets, for the ruin of his countries, and the destruction of his subjects. By which commerce, then, does *Spain* suffer most, by that which carries a valuable commodity into the dominions of a prince whose subjects furnish at least something in exchange, or by that which furnishes the enemies of the *Spanish* crown with the

means

THE galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, *An account of the homeward bound galleon's passage from Acapulco to Manila.* on leaving the port of *Acapulco*, steers for the latitude of thirteen or fourteen degrees, and runs on that parallel till he gets sight of the island of *Guam*, one of the *Ladrones*. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of *St. Bartholomew*, and of the island of *Gasparico*. He is also told in his instructions, that, to prevent his passing the *Ladrones* in the dark, there are orders given, that thro' all the month of *June* fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of *Guam* and *Rota*, and kept in till the morning<sup>d</sup>. At *Guam* there is a small *Spanish* garrison, intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at *Guam* is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two; but, getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for *Cape Espritu Santo*, on the island of *Samal*. Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told, that centinels will be posted not only on that cape, but likewise in *Catanduanas*, *Butusan*, *Birriborongo*, and on the island of *Batan*. These centinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship; which the captain is carefully to observe: for if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is to endeavour to speak with the centinel on shore, and to procure from him more particulars of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and, in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of *Manila* of all that passes. But if after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the centinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to

<sup>d</sup> Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARERI.

means of becoming rich themselves, while they keep her in a state of distress and necessity (69)?

(69) *Dr. Juan Grav y Montalvon, Justification, &c.*

fear;

fear ; and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to *Cavité*, which is the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to *Acapulco* \* (S).

*It was reasonable to treat it more largely, as it is very singular and important.*

WE have dwelt the longer upon all the circumstances of this intercourse between the *Philippines* and *New Spain*, as it is in many respects the most extraordinary and the most important, as well as the longest, navigation on the globe, and upon which therefore many curious observations may be made. In the first place, it is the highest and most decisive proof in regard to the superiority of the moderns in maritime skill, since the antients could neither have comprehended the possibility of such a thing from the state of geography in their times ; and must have believed it impracticable upon their principles, even if the possibility of it had been rendered ever so plain. It is no objection to this, that *Ptolemy* is supposed by some of the moderns to have mentioned these islands ; for, granting this supposition to be true, which is more than can be supposed, yet that would have given him no light in reference to that passage to them of which we

\* Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, p. 340.

(S) In some of the *Spanish* memorials it is suggested, that the principal cause why they rely so much upon keeping their officers to strict obedience, and bend all their care to foresee accidents, and, as near as may be, to provide against them by proper precautions, is the knowledge they have of the hasty and haughty disposition of such as rise by degrees to the post of general of the galleon ; who, if they were left in any degree at liberty, would, from a variety of motives, venture upon many things dangerous, at least, if not destructive, of the vessel intrusted to their charge. It is further said, in support of these notions, that hardly any of the galleons have been lost or taken but by the neglect of the instructions :

which it is very probable may be true, and yet it is not at all impossible that there may be another reason for their adhering so steadily to this conduct, which they may not be willing to disclose, and that is, the employments in the galleon being all purchased ; so that men are not raised to their offices from an opinion of their abilities, or out of regard to their services, but for their money ; and, as the royal audience cannot prevent this, the only remedy they have left, is to prescribe them their duty as punctually, and to tie them to the strict performance of it as far, as they are able ; taking care at the same time to give them all the assistance possible (70).

(70) *Relac. de las Islas Filipinas, Navarrete, Gemelli Carveri.*

have

have been speaking <sup>f</sup>. But if we admit farther, that the possibility of such a passage might have occurred to any of the antients, as it actually did to *Columbus*, they could never have judged it within the power of man to execute, considering that a voyage not only for many days, but for many months, without sight of land, was a thing of which they neither had or could have any idea. This notion, as we have observed, first entered into the imagination of *Columbus*; and yet there is great reason to presume, that if he could possibly have made a right calculation, and had understood that two hundred and thirty degrees of longitude must be traversed in sailing westward from the coasts of *Spain* to the *East Indies*, it would have appeared even to him a matter extremely doubtful, if not utterly impossible. But in a series of years, and that a very short one; since, from the first voyage of *Columbus* to that of *Magellan*<sup>s</sup>, there scarce intervened thirty; this was conceived, undertaken, and executed; and consequently incomparably greater improvement was made in this art of navigation, than in the many hundreds, and even thousands, of years preceding. Of such consequence it is to keep men in action, to excite their faculties, and to inflame their courage, by emulation, and to make one discovery a step to another. It was by means like these, that so much was done in so small a time; and, by the neglect of these means, that so little has been done ever since.

BUT, before we part with this subject, it will be expected *An exact* that we should inform the reader exactly how great the run *computation* from *Manila* to *Acapulco* one way, and that from *Acapulco* to *Manila* the other, really is; because authors differ very much *of the distance* upon this subject, as well those, who, from their great skill in *failed by* the mathematics, may be presumed to be good judges, and *the outward* even those who have made the voyage, and therefore might *ward and* put in their claim to be still better (T). But, as these variations *homeward bound ship.*

<sup>f</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China.*

<sup>s</sup> RAMUSIO, HERRERA, ARGENSOLA.

(T) It will be proper to give the reader some few instances of the different accounts that have been given of this matter even by the best writers. *Varenius*, who is justly esteemed for his judicious system of geography,

delivers himself thus (71): "General winds are found only between the tropics round the earth, except in some places where they are seven degrees beyond the tropics; and they are ever from the

(71) *Complete System of General Geography*, p. 492, 493.



tions plainly prove, this is a point not easily, and at the same time accurately, to be decided. In the passage from *Manila*

to

“ east, or from collateral points,  
 “ as south-east and north-east,  
 “ and that the whole year  
 “ round, yet not always with  
 “ the same degree of force in  
 “ all those places; but they  
 “ are hindered in some places  
 “ more, in others less. They  
 “ are most constant in the *Paci-*  
 “ *fic Sea*, viz. that part of it  
 “ which lies between the trop-  
 “ ics; so that the ships which  
 “ come from *Acapulco*, a port  
 “ in *New Spain* in *America*, to  
 “ the *Philippine Islands*, that  
 “ is, from east to west, often  
 “ sail three months without ever  
 “ changing or shifting their  
 “ sails, having a constant east  
 “ or north-east wind; nor did  
 “ ever any ship yet perish in  
 “ that vast voyage of one thou-  
 “ sand six hundred and twenty  
 “ miles: and therefore the sail-  
 “ ors think they may sleep there  
 “ securely; nor is there any  
 “ need of taking care of the  
 “ ship, when that general wind  
 “ carries them strait to their  
 “ desired port, the *Philippine*  
 “ *Isles*; near to which, indeed,  
 “ there are some other winds,  
 “ that come against the general  
 “ wind.” Dr. *Gemelli*, who  
 “ made the voyage from *Manila*  
 “ to *Acapulco* in 1698, reports  
 “ things very differently (72): “ In-  
 “ quiring, says he, of the pilots,  
 “ how many leagues and de-  
 “ grees we had sailed; I found  
 “ them of several opinions, and  
 “ this because we had not  
 “ kept our course, but plyed  
 “ backward and forward to no  
 “ purpose. *Peter Fernandez*, a  
 “ *Portuguese*, born in the island  
 “ of *Madeira*, the chief pilot,  
 “ said we had run one hundred  
 “ twenty-five degrees, and two  
 “ thousand five hundred *Spanish*  
 “ leagues. But *Isidore Menis*  
 “ *de Oca*, of *Seville*, his mate,  
 “ would have it to be one hun-  
 “ dred and thirty degrees, and  
 “ about three thousand leagues.  
 “ In sailing from *Acapulco* to  
 “ *Manila*, it is certain there is  
 “ none of this needless com-  
 “ pass taken, as has been ob-  
 “ served before; for, having  
 “ fallen down from bare seven-  
 “ teen degrees to thirteen, they  
 “ then run upon one and the  
 “ same parallel quite to *Ma-*  
 “ *nila*, right afore the wind,  
 “ which carries them in two  
 “ months and a half, or three  
 “ at furthest, without any storm,  
 “ and therefore they run thro’  
 “ only one hundred and eigh-  
 “ teen degrees; which being  
 “ from east to west, it is hard to  
 “ measure the leagues; but the  
 “ pilots guess them to be about  
 “ two thousand two hundred  
 “ *Spanish*. Another way may  
 “ be taken, which is from *Aca-*  
 “ *pulco* north-west as far as  
 “ *Cape Mendocino*, and then to  
 “ steer for the *Marian Islands*  
 “ and *Manila*; and then they  
 “ say the whole run is one hun-  
 “ dred and seventeen degrees;  
 “ and, allowing seventeen *Span-*  
 “ *ish* leagues to every degree,  
 “ they are two thousand one hun-  
 “ dred and fifty-nine leagues.  
 “ In the account we have of Lord

to *Acapulco*, a vessel is obliged to steer, when clear of the land, into twenty degrees higher latitude, to obtain a wind; and, when she is near the coast of *America*, to descend again towards the equator almost as much; which is one cause that renders this voyage so tedious, as it evidently makes it the longer<sup>h</sup>. However, supposing the *Manila* ship to get into the latitude of thirty-five degrees as soon as possible, and to keep as near as may be under that parallel, till she meets with the sea-weeds mentioned in the foregoing description, her course will then be about three thousand leagues, very little more or less. In returning from *Acapulco* to *Manila* they generally get as near as may be into the latitude of the last-mentioned place, and so run strait before the wind, which makes their course about two thousand five hundred leagues; which, being plainly shorter, incumbered with much fewer difficulties, and the ship having a smaller cargo on board, enables them to perform this run in half the time that is spent in the outward-bound passage. On the whole, therefore, the galleon sails from *Manila* towards the end of *June*, or the beginning of *July*; reaches *Acapulco* about the beginning, the middle, or the end, of *January*; is ready to sail again by the beginning of *April*; and enters the port of *Cavite* about the same time that she left it the year before, where the seamen receive the remaining two hundred seventy-five pieces of eight as soon as the treasure is landed<sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> HAKLUYT, PURCHAS, NAVARETTE.  
CARRERI, *Tour du Monde*, P. v. l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>i</sup> GEMELLI

*Anson's* voyage (73), this subject is thus treated: "In the infancy of this trade it was carried on from the port of *Callao* to the city of *Manila*, in which voyage the trade wind continually favoured them so, that, notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months." When the reader has perused these passages, he cannot but be convinced of the truth of what is said in the text: yet, in regard

to *Varenius*, we must observe, that his are probably *German* miles, of which there are fifteen in a degree, and consequently he makes the distance two thousand two hundred leagues. The pilots on board *Dr. Gemelli's* ship seem to have been very skilful and prudent men; and as to the last computation, it is spoken only in general, for the calculation given above corresponds with the *Spanish* chart printed in that voyage, which is by very much the best that was ever published.

(73) *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 324, 325.

*W'by the Spaniards between Asia and America the name of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, infomuch that they make use of very rude methods of sailing, without meeting many untoward accidents; but they are misled, who, from these accounts, infer that these annual ships are little exposed to danger, since it is very certain that many of them have perished, as well in their homeward as in their outward-bound voyages; and have been swallowed up in this ocean, as well as wrecked upon the coasts of the Philippines, though there are more instances of the latter. The Spaniards have another reason for calling it the Pacific Ocean, which is, that it is seldom navigated by any other ships than their own, and consequently the horrors of war are but little known therein<sup>k</sup>.*

THE Spaniards give this immense collection of water between Asia and America the title of the *Pacific Ocean*, because it is generally speaking smooth and calm along the coasts of the name of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, infomuch that they make use of very rude methods of sailing, without meeting many untoward accidents; but they are misled, who, from these accounts, infer that these annual ships are little exposed to danger, since it is very certain that many of them have perished, as well in their homeward as in their outward-bound voyages; and have been swallowed up in this ocean, as well as wrecked upon the coasts of the *Philippines*, though there are more instances of the latter. The *Spaniards* have another reason for calling it the *Pacific Ocean*, which is, that it is seldom navigated by any other ships than their own, and consequently the horrors of war are but little known therein<sup>k</sup>.

*How often this annual ship has been taken by the English, and when.*

YET with respect to this there must be some restrictions made, for the peace of these seas has been often interrupted since the *Spaniards* became masters of the new world; and these annual ships, in particular, have been often attacked, and sometimes taken. As for instance, that great and very fortunate English seaman Captain *Thomas Cavendish*, took an outward-bound *Manila* ship as she was going into the port of *Acapulco*, November the fourth, 1587, which was within a short time after this correspondence was fixed<sup>l</sup>. He afterwards visited and alarmed the *Philippines*; neither ought we to omit that he made his passage thither in a surprising short space of time, leaving the coast of *America* on the 19th of *November*, and arriving before the streights of *Manila* on the fourteenth of *January* following<sup>m</sup>. On the twenty-second of *December* 1709 one of the outward-bound annual ships was taken near *Acapulco* by Commodore *Rogers*, with his little Squadron consisting of the *Duke*, the *Duchess*, and the *Marquis*; and they afterwards attacked the larger ship, but, for want of ammunition and men, were not able to carry her<sup>n</sup>; and, on the twentieth of *June* 1743 an homeward bound *Manila* ship was taken by Commodore *Anson*, for this, and other great services, created afterwards a peer of this realm<sup>o</sup>. It is not requisite to detain the reader with an account of unsuccessful attempts; amongst which may be reckoned that of Captain *Dampier*, who attacked the *Manila* ship *December* the

<sup>k</sup> HERRERA, OVIEDO, ARGENSOLA, &c.

<sup>l</sup> HAKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. iii. p. 816.

<sup>m</sup> PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S Naval Tracts.

<sup>n</sup> COCKE'S Voyage to the South Sea, in Harris's Collection.

<sup>o</sup> Lord ANSON'S Voyage, p. 503.

sixth, 1705, with great advantage; and had certainly taken her, if he had boarded in time: but his cannon, being five pounders only, could not do her much mischief; and when, after two hours fight, she began to return his fire with twenty-four pounders, it is a much greater wonder that he was not taken, than that he should retire in his leaky and rotten ship from a dispute that was so very unequal. And with these instances of *British* courage, in which we have not been so much as rivalled by other nations, we will put an end to the historical part of this subject, in which the reader may see at one view all that we have been able to collect from a multitude of authors who have written before us upon this subject.

## S E C T. VIII.

*An Inquiry into the real Importance of these Islands, the unquestionable Excellence of their Situation, the Causes why they have not been hitherto so beneficial as they might be to the Crown of Spain, the Improvements of which they are capable. Facility of making, and Certainty of their Success; always neglected, misrepresented, and misunderstood, by the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty, though no Part of his Dominions more valuable, or of greater Consequence.*

WHAT we have already said is sufficient to shew what an *the shew* interest the *Spaniards* have in the *East* as well as in *ing what* the *West Indies*; and how the communication between colonies *might be* so remote from each other, as well as at so great a distance *reaped* from their mother country, has been maintained for near two *from the* hundred years<sup>P</sup>. But to render this chapter complete, it will *Philippines, a* be very expedient, we might perhaps say absolutely necessary, *necessary* to join a representation of what it may be; the rather, because *part of* we have copious materials in our hands for that subject, that *this sec-* have not hitherto seen the light, and, being at once both new *tion.* and instructive, cannot but be acceptable to the judicious and inquisitive reader. Some of the ablest of the *Portuguese* statemen have attributed the decline of their commerce and naval affairs to the want of establishing, in due time, a full and free communication between their *East India* settlements and those of *Brazil*, which they saw, when it was too late, would have

<sup>P</sup> Dictionnaire universel de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 889.

increased their shipping, and have enabled them to have defended both countries, at the beginning of the last century, much better than they did. But, in excuse of this, they plead, and may with justice plead, that they were but a province to *Spain*; and that all the force that had been raised by the invincible courage, and indefatigable industry, of their countrymen in *Asia* and *America*, was in part wasted by, and in part exposed to ruin in, the cause of another nation: so that when, by a great and glorious effort, they raised the present royal family of *Bragança* to the throne, and thereby recovered their independency, they found their strength too far exhausted to maintain all their acquisitions; and therefore were obliged to submit to great losses in the *Indies*, that they might preserve, as well as recover, their possessions in *Brazil*<sup>1</sup>. This may serve as a lesson to the *Spaniards*, the only *European* nation, except the *Portuguese*, that have colonies, both in the *East* and *West Indies*, so situated, as to admit of a regular and constant intercourse, and which, if *Spain* would exert itself, might unquestionably be made the basis of a maritime power, equal, if not superior, to that which was sacrificed, by *Philip* the second, to the fond pursuit of universal monarchy.

*Reasons  
why these  
islands are  
of so little  
benefit, tho'  
so happily  
situated.*

IF we consider the nature and condition of those islands, together with the strength and influence of the *Spaniards* in the *Philippines*, it is impossible not to perceive that they are capable of being put in a very short time in so flourishing a state, as to raise them above the apprehensions of suffering from any enemy, how formidable soever. There is nothing requisite to this, but the reforming some errors in point of government, and raising none to the supreme power unless they have passed thro' the intermediate offices, such as alcaide, admiral, and member of the royal audience. The releasing the Christian natives, at least the *Tagalians*, and some other nations, from personal services, and that subjection which borders upon slavery; the making a prudent reduction of the number of *Chinese* that reside in *Luçon*, and the rest of the islands; and inviting, as well as permitting, other strangers, upon whose fidelity they might depend, not only to trade, but to reside there<sup>2</sup>; these are points that have been often recommended, but hitherto have not been well received. Yet the introduction of these would intirely change the face of affairs, would repress the luxury of the *Spaniards*, and revive the industry of the natives; for, while any number of people are vested with a power that enables them to tyrannise,

<sup>1</sup> See our History of the Portuguese Settlements in America.  
<sup>2</sup> Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON Justification, &c.

they will never have any thing in view but pleasure, which is a gentle word for the gratification of their lusts; and, while the far greater part of the people are rendered slaves, to support these petty tyrants, they will be as idle as they can; for industry is produced by hope, and a slave, having nothing to hope, will not exert his strength, or employ his faculties, beyond what is extorted from him by fear: no regulations, therefore, can possibly render people under such a constitution great or rich, in any considerable degree.

BUT in such a country as the *Philippines*, where provisions are to be had in the greatest plenty, if oeconomy was rendered necessary to the *Spaniards*, and property secured to the natives, all things would thrive apace. The latter would no longer make a secret of their riches, but endeavour to procure as much gold as they did when the *Spaniards* came first thither, and how much that was may be guessed from what Captain *Cavendish* found in the *Manila* ship, which amounted to one hundred and twenty-two thousand *Pezos* \*. All their manufactures would increase; and, having traders amongst them, timber in the greatest plenty, and many good ports, those manufactures would be carried to markets, and these would be quickly found amongst nations that go almost naked, and would be glad to get cloaths if they were sure to keep them; and this they might do if they were civilized; a task the missionaries would find it easy to perform, if, to their promises of infinite happiness in the next world, they could add procuring them a moderate share of it in this. It must be granted that these islands are not so populous as they were, but there are still ten times as many people as are necessary to render them as flourishing as any colonies in the world; and it appears plainly from the best accounts, that the greatest part of these might be reclaimed, since it is not subjection, but slavery, that they abhor (U).

THE

\* HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 816.  
NAVARETTE, GEMELLI CARRERI.

\* CORONEL,

(U) Father *Navarette* assures us, that in his time the *Indians* shewed their confessors very rich pieces of ore, and, on their promise of secrecy, acquainted them where they were to be had; which secret they religiously kept, for otherwise the *Spanish* governors would have employed these poor people in the mines, in the same manner as they do in the woods, that is, till they were consumed by hard labour; and therefore the missionaries, as themselves profess, never disclose any accounts that they receive, for fear it should be made a reason to impose greater hardships

What a  
vast com-  
merce from  
all parts of  
the Indies  
might be  
attracted  
to the Phi-  
lippines.

THE situation of these islands is beyond comparison the properest for universal commerce, as the reader must long ago be sensible, from the accounts that have been given him, of their vicinity to *Japan, China, Cochín-China, Cambodia, Siam, Borneo, Celebes*, and the *Spice Islands*, besides those countries and islands that are so little known about *New Guiney*, which there is good reason to believe are as rich as any yet discovered. If any insuperable difficulty should be found, from the great force and as great prudence of the *Dutch* in covering *Banda* and *Amböyna*, the free commerce with those countries might be easily dispensed with, by encouraging the cultivation of spices in *Mindanao*, where it is certain they have a great deal of cinnamon; and where it is as certain they might have cloves and nutmegs, if they were sure of protection<sup>u</sup>; and this in the space of a very few years the *Spaniards* in the *Philippines* might afford them, against the whole world, could they once persuade themselves of the truth of a maxim which hitherto they have not relished, *that commerce is a stronger tie than conquest*; and that a brave people, such as the inhabitants of that island and *Xolo* naturally are, *prove*

▪ Dictionnaire universel de Commerce, DAMPIER, HAMILTON.

ships on these miserable people than those they suffer already (74). It appears from the accounts transmitted to *Spain* above a century ago, that the gold then brought in was very considerable, and few or none of the *Indians* were without ornaments of that metal; but now they do not either gather or wear it, at least not commonly. Yet that the great have ways and means of coming at it, is highly probable, since *Captain Rogers* was told by a person he met with in *Holland*, who had resided in the *Philippines*, and was on board the largest ship when *Captain Rogers* attacked her, that they had a considerable quantity, and

yet were not near so richly laden as those ships sometimes are (75). It is also agreed amongst the best writers, that not only *Luçon* and *Mindanao*, but all the rest of the *Philippine Islands*, have gold in them (76); and that it is chiefly found by the blacks that live in the mountains, who sometimes purchase necessities therewith from the *Indians* subject to the *Spaniards*, and with whom, if they were better treated, an advantageous traffick might be established. Tyranny ever defeats its own purposes, and, by endeavouring unjustly to grasp all, actually destroys all.

(74) D. F. Navarrete *Tratados Históricos de la Monarquía de China*, l. vi. cap. 6. (75) *Cooke's Voyage to the South Seas*, in Harris. (76) *L'Amirante D. Hieronimo de Bauvelos y Carillo Relac. de las Islas Filipinas*. Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 820.

more useful as allies than as subjects, because they then serve as guards to those, who, in the other situation, would be obliged to keep up great garrisons, in order to guard against them. As the domestic affairs of these countries mended, they would infallibly become the mart and magazine of all the rich commodities of the east; to this they were destined by nature, from this they are withheld by the *Spaniards*; if they would remove that severity which has hitherto kept them in a mean condition, and trust the rest to Providence, they might in a manner sit still, and see their empire in a short space exceed their most sanguine expectations, and, if possible, their wishes. They would then have no need of the silver from *America*, unless it was to assist the circulation of their commerce; and very possibly the crown of *Spain* might find it requisite to compel an annual ship to proceed to *Acapulco*, instead of permitting it as a favour; unless they should be wise enough to leave the commerce of their colonies without restriction, which would be attended with greater advantages than can result from all the laws and regulations in the world (X). All this, the

(X) The maxim of the *Spanish* court has always been to make their possessions in the *Indies* beneficial to the crown, rather than to the nation; and this is the true cause that they have been much less serviceable than they might have been, to both. The want of a free commerce has checked their navigation, hindered the increase of shipping, and kept them poor and weak in the midst of riches. It may be suggested, that, if they were ever so much inclined to encourage the commerce, of which we have been speaking, it could never come to much, because the length of the voyages would deter private men from trading from the *West Indies* to the *East*, and from the *East Indies* to the *West*, in their own bottoms (77). In answer to this we shall observe, that some private traders in *France*, in 1715, fitted out four or five ships for the south seas, where they arrived safely; and, after vending their cargo there, sailed from the coast of *Peru* to *China*, which is a longer voyage than to the *Philippines*, performed it successfully in less than four months, and returned from thence into *France* (78); which shews what the hopes of gain will produce, and what may be done, where people are sure of being rewarded for the risques they run, and the labours they endure. The only maxim, therefore, that can encourage trade, is, making every thing easy to those who are disposed to engage in it, and to let the profits of the government be the last thing to be considered; for which they will not be the less, since the monarch of a rich people

(77) This objection is stated in some of the memorials before cited. (78) *Nouveau Voyage au Tour du Monde*, par L. G. de la Barbinai, tom. ii. p. 251.



the reader must observe, is built on a supposition that the *Spaniards* in these islands may be brought to act for their own profit.

*How the  
intercourse  
with New  
Spain may  
be freed  
from all  
inconve-  
niences.*

AT first sight these propositions may appear very improbable; but if we reflect how much the article of goldsmiths work and rich toys might be increased by breeding the young *Indians* to those trades, instead of employing the *Chinese*; and remember, that the metal and labour of the subjects of *Spain*, in one quarter of the globe, is a just equivalent for the metal and labour of the subjects of the same crown in another; and that the raw silks and piece goods from *Caramandel* might be paid for in the commodities and manufactures of the *West Indies*; it will be no difficult matter to discern, that, without having recourse to severities, this trade might be gradually put into the best method the court of *Madrid* could desire; and, as the crown of *Spain* actually receives twelve *per cent.* by way of duty on the exports from both countries, if this trade were put into a right method, she would be no loser by it, \*. For though it be true, that the silver sent from *New Spain* into the *East Indies* never returns; yet it may be also affirmed with great truth, that the silver sent into *Old Spain* seldom remains there long, but is carried away by other nations that furnish the commodities and manufactures, in exchange for which the silver comes from *Mexico* and *Peru*; so that, at the bottom, it is not the silver which the *Spanish* politicians contest for, but the mere sight of the silver, which certainly ought not to be put in

\* Extracted from the memorials presented to the court of *Madrid* on the part of the inhabitants of the *Philippines*.

can never be poor; and the crown, where the people is poor, can never be long rich. These points one would have conceived well understood in *Spain* above twenty years ago, when upon a proposal for erecting a company for managing the trade of the *Philippines*, most points relative to this commerce were thoroughly examined, and the whole digested into a charter, granted for twenty years to Don *Emanuel de Arriaga*, and those who

should embark with him, upon the terms prescribed (79). But, whether the scheme was formed purely for stockjobbing, whether it failed for want of adventurers, or whether the season for mercantile improvements in the dominions of his Catholic Majesty was not yet come, it so fell out, that nothing farther ensued from this vast project, than barely letting the intelligent world see what might have been done.

(79) *Supplement au Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. 2. part 2. art. 244.*

competition with the ease and welfare of their subjects, or with the grandeur and security of the crown<sup>a</sup>. Neither is this argument overthrown by what has been suggested to his Catholic Majesty's ministers, as if the convents, and more especially the Jesuits at *Manila*, were the principal gainers by the trade there; since, if this be true, we must naturally imagine that the society have some secret ways of getting their wealth home; and, if that be so, it answers the aim of the court, and brings into *Spain* either the silver, or the value of the silver, that passes to *Manila*<sup>r</sup>. But, if the truth of this be suspected, the court have always a short and effectual remedy in their power, by giving the convents an equivalent for the concessions that have been made them in respect to the cargo of the annual ship, or the suppressing those allowances that are paid in ready money out of the king's treasury, if, when this affair is thoroughly examined, the services they perform, in keeping the *Indians* steady in their obedience, shall be thought too little to merit so large an income<sup>z</sup>.

BUT there are two points more, which, in reference to this subject, certainly merit great notice. The first is, the ease with which, in consequence of proper instructions from the court of *Spain*, the governor of the *Philippines*, without the *Spaniards* being compelled to industry, might make any convenient place the centre of commerce for the remotest nations of the east. Vessels from *China*, *Formosa*, *Corea*, and the islands dependent on *Japan*, if not from *Japan* itself, would infallibly resort thither in great numbers, in order to trade with each other, and with vessels from *Borneo*, *Celebes*, *Gilolo*, and even remoter parts of the *Indies*<sup>a</sup>. It may be, and indeed it very probably is, true, that something of this kind is done already, from whence the governor reaps a very large profit<sup>b</sup>. But this must be done clandestinely; and the larger the governor's profit, the heavier the oppression, and, of consequence, the more confined this trade; whereas if this protection was given them by his Catholic Majesty for a reasonable indulto, and that candidly levied, the resort of vessels would increase every year, more especially if magazines were erected at the public charge, and let upon easy terms<sup>c</sup>. This

<sup>a</sup> CORONEL Relac. de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas. <sup>r</sup> Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 327, 328, 329.

<sup>z</sup> This remedy is suggested in the memorials before-mentioned. <sup>a</sup> Histoire des Molucques, tom. iii. passim. SAVARY Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 889. Relations des Isles Philippines. <sup>b</sup> CORONEL, GEMELLI CARRERI Memoire sur la Commerce des Isles Philippines. <sup>c</sup> NAVARETTE, DON JUAN GRAU Y MONT-

FALCON, CORONEL.

for by all; when every year almost produces some new design; and when a variety of undertakings, thought desperate and chimerical in their beginnings, have been prosecuted with effect. There is therefore nothing more probable, than that the present age will see still greater alterations, and stranger revolutions, than have hitherto happened in this respect. To point out where and how, therefore, these may be brought about, when it can be done with propriety, and upon good grounds, is the most useful and necessary part of Universal History. It informs the understanding, it enlarges the capacity, it opens all the faculties of the mind, enables us to feel what we read, to judge of what is past, to reason on the present, and to foresee what is to come. Upon these motives we have been induced to treat the history of the *Philippines* so fully and so freely, that the reader might perceive not only what they are, but what they may be. To many, indeed, the latter part of the chapter will appear uncertain, and to some improbable; but by that time they have read the seventh, and have seriously reflected on the suddenness with which the *Dutch* made themselves masters of the *Spice Islands*, and, with the immense profits arising from that trade, laid the foundation of their empire in the *Indies*, they will very probably alter their opinions, and see as plainly as we do the importance of the *Philippines*, which are certainly, of all the countries in the *East Indies* (which it is possible for *Europeans* to possess), at once the richest in themselves, and the most capable of improvement, and will for that reason be sooner or later the object of much more attention than has been hitherto paid to them. But it is now time to leave these speculations to the judgment of the public, and to proceed with the course of our history.

## S E C T. IX.

*The Situation, Natural History, and Commodities of the Ladrões or Marianne Islands; their Discovery; Genius and Temper of their Inhabitants; their History, present State of those Islands; the Policy of the Spaniards, in respect to them; their great Importance; and some Conjectures as to the Causes of their being so much and so long neglected.*

THE islands which are to be the subject of this section, *The several* were originally discovered by Ferdinand Magellan, in the first attempt ever made to sail round the globe. He is said to have called them when first seen, *Las Islas de las Velas*; that is, *the Islands of Sails*; or *de las Velas latinas*, that is, *of triangular sails*; from their prows, in which the inhabitants stood out to sea upon the approach of his ship; but afterwards, *Las Islas de los Ladrones*, or, *the Islands of Thieves*; because the Indians, who came on board him, stole every thing that was made of iron within their reach<sup>a</sup>. It was not till the latter end of the last century that they obtained the name of *the Marianne Islands*, from the Queen of Spain, *Mary Anne of Austria*, the mother of *Charles* the second at whose expence missionaries were sent over thither, to propagate the *Christian* faith<sup>b</sup>. We hardly ever find them called by the name first-mention'd; except in the relations of *Magellan's voyage*. As to the second, it became their common appellation; and in all the old books of history and voyages, as well as in maps<sup>c</sup>, we find them stiled *the Ladrones*; notwithstanding which, the last-mentioned name has gradually gained ground, and prevails at present; so that they are now commonly stiled in

<sup>a</sup> Viaggio atorno il Mondo, Fatto & descritto, par M. ANTONIO PIGAFETTA Vicentino Cavalier di Rhodi, & da lui in trizzato, al Reverendissimo gran Mastro di Rhodi, M. Philippo di Villiers Lissedam, tradotto di lingua Francefca nella Italiana, ip. Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 352. <sup>b</sup> History of Travaile, by RICHARD EDEN, 4to. 1577. fol. 430. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in CHURCHILL's Collection. <sup>c</sup> LUYTS, Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. iii. c. 13. PERE LE GOBIEN, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 4. Du Bois, Geographie Moderne, P. II. chap. xiv. art. v. <sup>d</sup> PET. MART. Dec. v. lib. 6. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. b. II. ch. 2. p. 34. CLUVERII Introduct in univerfam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. xi.

most of the languages of *Europe, the Marianne*, or rather, tho' less correctly, *Marian Islands* (A).

*Their situation, number, order, size, and particular appellations.* THESE islands lie between thirteen degrees twenty-five minutes, and twenty-one degrees of north latitude, almost in a line from south to north, occupying the space of about four hundred and fifty miles, having the islands of *Japan* on the north, and the country of *New Guinea* on the south, on the verge of what is called, *the Pacific Ocean*, and at the distance of twelve hundred miles from the *Philippines*<sup>d</sup>. *Antonio Hertera* says, they are sixteen in number<sup>e</sup>. Modern geographers acknowledge but *fourteen*, and place them in the

<sup>d</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 376. LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam.

<sup>e</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA, Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii.

(A) An ill name once given, is long kept, however it might be originally founded. In the collections of voyages, histories, and books of geography, written in *Latin*, we find this little Archipelago, styled *Insula Latronum*, or sometimes, *Insula Furum* (1); in the *French* writers, *Isles des Larrones* (2); in our own language, *the Islands of Thieves*. The best authors differ much, as to their situation, and their names. *Herrera*, who is dignified with the title of Geographer Royal to the Crown of *Spain*, in his excellent Description of the *Indies*, which is dated from *Valladolid*, October 15, 1601, tells us (3), that they lie between the north latitude of twelve and seventeen degrees; the soil, says he, is sterile and miserable, without flocks, metals, or much provision, inhabited by a poor, naked, thievish people; and he makes them sixteen in

number. The most northern, he says, is called *La Inglesa*: next to that, *Ora*, *Mao*, *Cheembooa*, *Gregua*, *Agan* or *Pagan*, *Oromagan*, *Guguan*, *Charagan*, *Natan*, *Saepan*, *Botan* and *Volia*. *Luyts*, who, generally speaking, followed the best guides, divides them into the northern and southern islands (4), amongst the former he reckons *Desuria*, *Malabrigo*, *la Inglesa*, *Mano*, *Cetrofola*, *Guana*, *Pagan*, *Ariomagan*, *Guiga*; amongst the latter, he names *Cberiga*, *Sapan*, *Guabon*, it may be *Guban*; *Volia*, *Bataba*, and *Bacim*. It is of use to know these different names, more especially as they are very remote from those that are now in use. They still distinguish the nine northern islands from the rest, by the name of the islands of *Gani*; tho' sometimes they are also called *las Islas de las Dolcanes* (5), from the two burning mountains that are in them.

(1) *Pet. Mart. Dec. v. lib. 6. clement la Geographie*, tom. ii. p. 149.  
(3) *Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii.  
(4) *Luyts Introductio ad Geographiam*, sect. iii. cap. 13.  
(5) *Pero le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 306.

(2) *Robbe Methode pour apprendre facilement la Geographie*, tom. ii. p. 149.  
(3) *Antonio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii.  
(4) *Luyts Introductio ad Geographiam*, sect. iii. cap. 13.  
(5) *Pero le Gobien Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 306.

following order <sup>f</sup>. From south to north, viz. 1. *Guahan*, *Guam*, *Guan*, or, as the natives pronounce it, *Guahon*, or the island of *St. John*; 2. *Zarpana*, *Rota*, or the isle of *St. Anne*; 3. *Aguiguan*, or the island of the *Holy Angel*; 4. *Tinian*, or the island *Buena vista Mariana*; 5. *Saypan*, or the isle of *St. Joseph*; 6. *Anatajan*, or the island of *St. Joachim*; 7. *Sarigan*, or *St. Charles's* island; 8. *Guguan*, or the isle of *St. Philip*; 9. *Alamagan*, or the island of the *Conception*; 10. *Pagon*, or *St. Ignatius's* island; 11. *Agrigan*, or the isle of *St. Francis Xavier*; 12. *Affonsong*, or the island of the *Assumption*; 13. *Maug*, or *Tunas*, called also the island of *St. Lawrence*; 14. *Urrica*, or *Urac*, which is uninhabited.

*The islands of Guahan, the most southern, and the most considerable amongst them.*

THE island of *GUAHAN* or *Guam*, which is the most southern of these islands, lying in the latitude of thirteen degrees twenty-five minutes north, is about thirty-three English miles in length, twelve in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in circumference <sup>g</sup>. There is a chain of mountains runs from south to north, between which lie many pleasant and fruitful vallies, and the mountains, being covered with tall flourishing trees, look green and very chearful at a distance <sup>h</sup>. The coast is plain, and for the most part of an excellent soil, being watered, more especially on the west side, with abundance of pleasant streams, the verdant banks of which render the country very delightful. On this side of the island, there are two indifferent ports, *Hate* and *Umatay*, where the *Dutch* have sometimes careened their ships. On the east side of the island, there are also two reasonable good ports *Iris* and *Pigpug*, separated only by a point of land; but the best port of all, is that of *Agadna*, where the *Spanish* town and forts stand, and where, except in hurricanes, ships may ride in the utmost safety from all winds, from ten to eighteen fathom water; the bottom being perfectly sound and good <sup>i</sup>. There were formerly between thirty and forty villages in this isle, but they are now fewer; and, amongst

<sup>f</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*. ROBBE, *Methode pour apprendre facilement la Geographie*, tom. ii. p. 149. DU BOIS, *Geographie*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v. *Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales*. <sup>g</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, liv. iii. DU BOIS *Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL *Tour du Monde*, vol. i. p. 210. <sup>h</sup> Capt. COWLEY's *Voyage round the World*, p. 15. DAMPIER's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 291. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL, *Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 219. <sup>i</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 75. Capt. COWLEY's *Voyage round the World*, p. 20, 21.

those that are left, *Agadina* and *Umatay* are all that deserve the name of towns; the houses in them being tolerably well built, and having a considerable number of *Spaniards* inhabitants, as also churches, convents, and some other public edifices. As the climate, tho' warm, is equally pleasant and wholesome, as all the necessities of life are to be obtained here, with very little trouble, and that too in the greatest abundance; and, as they have all the materials for building houses, almost in every part of the isle, it is strange that they have not more and better settlements in it; and stranger still, that even those they have are far from being in a thriving condition \* (B). In the year 1684, the *Spaniards* built

a ship

\* *Giro del Mondo del Dottor, GIOVAN, FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARERI, PET. MART. Dec. v. lib. 6. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.*

(B) We shall, in its proper place, take notice of the policy pursued by the *Spaniards*, in their manner of trading to the *Mariane* islands, and the motives upon which they act. In this note we shall only observe, what the colour is they give to strangers, for a manner of proceeding that seems to be so repugnant to common sense. They always alledge, that these islands are a kind of honorary conquest, which his Catholic Majesty holds at a very large expence; not for the sake of any utility that results from them, but to shew the puissance of his crown, which parts not even with useless countries. It is said also to be done on a principle of religion, that so many thousand souls, as the missionaries have here gained from the empire of darkness, to the kingdom of light, may not fall again into the same desperate state (6). As flimsy and superficial as these coverings are, many have taken them for very serious truths, and have ridiculed, as a weakness in the *Spaniards*, what was in reality a much greater weakness in themselves (7). That this is a pretended reason only, and not the true one, appears manifestly from hence, that the *Spaniards* were for a long series of years in possession of these islands, before they took care to convert the *Indians* at all; and even now there is an evident contrariety between the pious disposition of his Catholic Majesty, and the political system of his ministers; since, without doubt, the missionaries would incline to preserve and protect their converts; whereas nothing is clearer, than that most of the governors of these islands have thought it their interest to lessen and destroy them (8). But, notwith-

(6) *Giro del Mondo del Dottor, Giovan, Francesco, Gemelli Careri, P. v.*  
 (7) *De la Barbisais le Geril Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 214.* (8) *L'Asie's Voyage. Book iii. chap. 1.*

a ship here, of the burthen of one hundred and sixty tons, for the *Manila* trade; but nothing of that kind has been done of late years. On the contrary, as will be hereafter shewn, they seem to make it a point of policy to preserve their present settlements, because they are absolutely necessary, without any thoughts of extending them. This is the only one of these islands in which any *Spaniards*, the missionaries only excepted, reside; tho' they send small detachments from their garrison to the adjacent islands, from time to time, to bring them refreshments; and it is here that the *Manila* ship touches in her passage, for the sake of fresh provisions and recruiting their sick, which is the principal reason that the crown of *Spain* has been at the expence of supporting a fortress, and maintaining a garrison, without drawing any thing from the produce of the island <sup>1</sup>.

*ZARPANA*, *Rota*, or the isle of *St. Anne*, lies at the distance of seven leagues from *Guam*, and is about forty-five miles in circumference, being in the latitude of fourteen degrees north. This is also a very pleasant and fertile island, finely diversified with rising grounds, covered with lofty trees, beautiful plains of a rich black soil, and extremely well watered. There are two excellent ports, one on the south, the other on the north-west side of the island. The latter was called in the language of the natives, *Socanrayo*, but the *Spaniards* call it *the Port of St. Peter*. This isle was extremely populous, when the *Spaniards* first came to *Guam*, and long after. Some of the missionaries suffered death in their endeavours to propagate the faith amongst them; at present the *Indians* are very few, in comparison of what they were, for reasons that will appear in the course of this section <sup>2</sup>.

*A succinct description of the island of Zarpana, or St. Anne.*

<sup>1</sup> *Giro del Mondo del Dottor, GIOVAN. FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARERI. De la BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 215. Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. chap. i.   Memoire du PIERRE LOUIS de Morales. PIERRE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 77. Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. chap. i.*

standing all this, there can be nothing more true and certain than the matter of fact here laid down, that the island of *Guam* might be cultivated to advantage, since it enjoys a fine air, a mild climate, a fertile soil, and is

subject to fewer inconveniences, than many of the other countries that have been cultivated to advantage by other *European* nations, and than some even of the *Spanish* plantations.



*The isle of Agui-guan, or of the Holy Angel, described.*

AGUIGUAN, or the island of the *Holy Angel*, lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees forty-three minutes, about forty miles from *Zarpana*<sup>a</sup>. It is but a small island, about nine miles in compass, mountainous, but pleasant, and formerly very well inhabited. This seems to have been the island that Captain *Funnel* touched at in 1730, when the people came off in their boats, and furnished him with fish, eggs, yams, potatoes, and other refreshments. They offered to have paid them in money, which they looked at, and refused, making signs that they would be better pleased with tobacco; which was given them. To one poor *Indian*, who went on board, they offered a glass of brandy, and he seeing them drink it freely, ventured to swallow some of it, but immediately tumbled down, as if he had been dead, staring and keeping his mouth open; upon which they put him on board his own prow, recommending him to the care of his countrymen, at the same time giving them to understand, he would come to himself in a little time ° (C).

<sup>a</sup> *Memoire du PIERRE LOUIS de Morales. PIERRE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 388. ° *FUNNEL's Voyage round the World*, in *Harris's Collection*, vol. i. p. 139.

(C) It is not absolutely certain that this was the island seen by Captain *Funnel*. But if it was any island of this *Archipelago*, as he seems to think it was, it must have been this; for he describes it to have been a small island, very high land, but flat and green at the top, adorned with beautiful trees, and looking at a distance wonderfully pleasant. It is true, he places his island of *Magon* in the latitude of thirteen degrees; which does not agree with this island at all. But then he says, that falling to the southward, they had sight of the island of *Guam*; from whence it is plain that he was mistaken in his former conjecture as to the latitude of this island, of which

he speaks only by guess, and that it lay in a higher situation, as it really does. When they were within less than a degree of the equinoctial, they found three islands not described in the charts, and they gave names to two of them, from particular accidents that befel them, calling one *the Island of Deceit*, and the other of *Disappointment*. These islands were exceedingly populous, in so much that there came out between forty and fifty prows, with about four or five hundred men on board them (9); and this is a strong confirmation of what the missionaries tell us concerning the great number of inhabitants in the *La Trone* or *Marianne* islands.

(9) *Funnel's Voyage round the World*, in *Norris's Collection*, vol. 1.

*TINIAN*, or the island *Buena Vista Mariana*, lies at one league distance from the island last mentioned, and is about forty-five miles in circumference. A *Manila* ship, called the *Conception*, was cast away upon this coast, in the year 1638, at which time, as the missionaries assert, one of the natives, whose name was *Taga*, saw in a vision, the Blessed Virgin, who exhorted him to become a *Christian*, informed him of the shipwreck, and directed him to succour the poor people who had escaped. This man went accordingly to the *Manila's*, where he was baptized; and it was on account of his vision, that the island received its *Spanish* name. Here it was, that the present Lord, then Commodore, *Anson*, touched in his passage to the *Philippines*; and in the history of his Voyage, we have a much better account of this island, than we are ever like to receive, of any of the rest; and for this reason, and as it will serve to give us a more certain and distinct notion, not of this only, but of these islands in general, we shall borrow from that account what may best answer this purpose.

THIS island lies in the latitude of fifteen degrees eight minutes north, and longitude from *Acapulco* one hundred and fourteen degrees fifty minutes west: its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about six, extending from the south south-west to north north-east. The soil is everywhere dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which is less disposed than other soils to a rank or luxuriant vegetation, is the reason that the meadows, and the bottoms of the woods, are therefore much neater and smoother than is common in hot climates. The land rises by easy slopes, from the very beach, to the middle of the island, though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted by gentle declivities, and pleasant vallies; and the inequalities that are formed by these gradual swellings of the ground, are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them worth notice, either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite even, and the bottom of the woods, in many places, clear of all under-woods; and the very

*Amore distinct view of Tinian, and its beautiful appearance.*

† *Memore du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 77. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701.* † Lord ANSON's Voyage, Book iii. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS's Journal of Commodore Anson's Voyage to the South Seas, p. 165.

woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular out-line; not broken or confused with straggling trees, but as uniform as if they had been laid out by art. There arise from hence a great variety of the most elegant and entertaining prospects, formed by the disposition of these woods and lawns, and their various intermixtures, as they spread themselves differently through the vallies, and over the slopes and declivities with which the place abounds.

*Of the cat-  
tle, poul-  
try, and of  
the wild  
hogs which  
the Spa-  
niards  
breed here.*

THE animals partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island. For the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants, yet the clamour of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and contribute thereby to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place. The cattle on the island are at least ten thousand; and there is no difficulty in getting near them, as they are not at all afraid of men. While powder is plenty, the shortest and easiest way is shooting; but if it is requisite to save your ammunition, your men may run them down with ease. Their flesh is extremely well tasted, and more easily digested, than any elsewhere to be met with. The fowls are exceedingly good, and may be also run down with little trouble; for they can scarce fly further than an hundred yards at once; and even that will fatigue them so much, that they cannot readily rise again. Besides the cattle and the poultry, here are abundance of wild hogs; these are most excellent food; but, as they are a very fierce animal, people are either obliged to shoot them or hunt them with large dogs, which the crew of the *Centurion* found upon the place, at their landing, and which belonged to the detachment then upon the island amassing provisions for the garrison of *Gum.* These dogs are trained to the killing of hogs, and have great spirit; but tho' they are a large and bold breed, the hogs fight with so much fury, that they frequently destroy them.

*The excel-  
lency of the  
fruits, and  
of those*

IT is not only the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, that recommends this island, but it is as much perhaps to be admired for its fruits, and vegetable productions; for in the woods there are inconceivable quantities of coco-

\* Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 415. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 165, 166. \* Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 147. Mr. THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 165, 166.

nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree. There are, *that are* besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of *peculiar* fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the *Indians RIMA*, *to these* but by us, the *Bread-fruit* (D), constantly eaten by the sea-*islands.* men instead of bread, and universally preferred to it. It grows upon a tree, which is somewhat lofty, and which, towards the top, divides into large and spreading branches. The

(D) This plenty of bread-fruit, is the distinguishing blessing of these islands; as, for any thing we know, there is no fruit of the like kind found anywhere else. The more intelligent writers tell us, that there are two sort of trees that bear bread-fruits. The first of these is the *Rima*, which bears a very large fruit, as big as a melon, with a rough prickly coat, and of the colour of a date; in the middle there is a large kernel, like a white nut. The other is the *Dudu*, the tree of which, in size, shape, and leaves, differs little from the former, but the fruit is long, and no bigger than a large pear. The pulp is white and soft, sticking to about fifteen kernels. These, as well as that of the *Rima*, when roasted, eat exactly like chestnuts (10). It appears from hence, that what is called the *Rima* in the text, was in reality the *Dudu*; but the other being the more common name amongst sea-men, and both being esteemed bread-fruits, the mistake was very easy. There are, it seems, besides these, some other sorts, to which the natives give the name of *Nica*, *Iffouni*, *Dago* (11), the fruit of which, when treated like that of the *Rima*,

that is, when baked in an oven, or roasted under embers, then, suffered to grow cold, and the black skin rasped off, tastes exactly like new bread, and is equally wholesome, nourishing, and pleasant. Some or other of these fruits are to be found in each of these islands, and from them they are all transplanted, and grow in different parts of the island of *Guam*. It is highly probable, that, as the natives had not the use of fire, the dried these fruits in the sun, and so laid them up for store, in that apartment in their house which was destined to that purpose. For in this state the fruit will keep four or five months; and for the other eight, they may be taken daily from the trees (12). By the way, it may not be amiss to observe, that the fruit of the *Bananas*, more especially of that kind to which the name of *Musa* is commonly given, ripen best, and are most agreeable to the stomach; when the fruit, which grows in clusters (13), is pulled at its full size, but still green from the tree, hung up and suffered gradually to become of a yellow colour in the open air (14).

(10) *Giro del Mondo del Dottor, Gioman, Francesco, Gemelli Careri, P. v.*

(11) *De la Barbinais le Gentil Tour du Monde, tom. i. p. 216.*

*le Gobien, Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 52.*

*in James's Dictionary*

(12) See the article *Musa*.

(13) From the information of persons who have lived

long in the Indies.

leaves of this tree are of a remarkable deep green, notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit grows indifferently on all parts of the branches. It is in shape rather like a large pear, than an apple, and is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long. Each grows singly on its stalk. This fruit is in the properest state to be used when it is full-grown, but still green; at which time its taste has some resemblance to that of an artichoke bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it grows softer, and of a yellow colour, and then contracts a luscious taste, and has an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but in this state it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes<sup>1</sup>. Besides the fruits already enumerated, there are many other vegetables: such as water-melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy-grass, and sorrel; all of them highly acceptable to men long cooped up at sea, and sinking under that loathsome disease the scurvy. There are plenty of fish upon the coast, but so luscious that they are thought unwholesome. But it must not be forgot, that near the center of the island, there are two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abound with ducks, teal, and curlew. The whistling-plover are also to be found there in prodigious plenty. These pieces of water, in conjunction with wells and springs, which are every-where to be found, or sunk with little difficulty, make some amends for the want of rivulets, which are so common in *Guam*, and which, with all its beauties and blessings, it must be owned, are not seen in *Tinian*<sup>2</sup>.

Some inconveniences and defects in this celebrated island.

It must however be admitted, that the having no such running streams, is in many respects, a very material defect; and there is another, which, tho' of less consequence, is rather more troublesome, and that is the swarms of musketoes, and other kinds of flies; and, which is yet worse, a sort of tick, which not only infest cattle, but will also thrust itself into the skins of men, and thereby create, if not a dangerous, yet a painful inflammation. The centipedes and scorpions have likewise been found there; and it is not impossible that there may be other venomous creatures<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Cook's Voyage round the World in Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 417, 418. <sup>2</sup> Lord Anson's Voyage round the World, p. 296. <sup>3</sup> DAMPIER'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 167. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS'S JOURNAL, &c. p. 167. Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 422. Mr. PASCOE THOMAS'S Journal, &c. p. 1.

BUT the most important and formidable exception to this place remains still to be mentioned; this is the inconvenience and the little security there is, at some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ships of burthen, is at the south-west end of the island. The bottom of this road is full of sharp-pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, renders it a very unsafe place to lie in (E). This is the season of the western monsoons; when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass; and seldom fails to blow with such fury, that the stoutest cables are not to be depended on: what adds to the danger at these times, is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the south-east, between this island and that of *Aguiguan*, a small island which we have already mentioned, near the southern extremity of *Tinian*. This tide

*The greatest is the want of a safe road in all seasons of the year.*

(E) The season described in the text, is that of the hurricanes, of which they have commonly one or two in a year, and sometimes more. Always violent, often terrible, and sometimes fatal. In the month of November 1680, there happened one which overturned almost every habitation in the island of *Guam*, which overwhelmed and destroyed part of a little isle lying near its coast, and which ruined most of their plantations (15). Such dismal events as these, however, are far from being frequent. Indeed the annual return of the hurricanes, is the greatest inconvenience to which these islands are subject. But then it is to be considered, that it is not only a cause of mischief and disorder, but also an instrument of singular advantage, and productive of great good. The violence of these

winds cleanse the air of all noxious vapours, and so thoroughly purify the climate, that it remains equally serene and wholesome during the remaining part of the year. Neither is this to be considered as an accident peculiar to these islands; on the contrary, it is common in the *West Indies* (16), and in other parts of the world, of which the reader will meet with a remarkable instance in a subsequent part of this work (17). On the whole, therefore, how alarming and dangerous soever these boisterous seasons may be; more especially to seamen, yet custom, and their salutary effects, render them less terrible than otherwise they would be to the inhabitants; who, as they can judge of the time of their approach, are able from thence to take such methods as are most expedient for their own security.

(15) *Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 283.

*Posthumous Works*, p. 364. P. Labat *Voyage de l'Amerique*, tom. ii.

p. 223.

(17) *Universal History* (Modern), vol. xi. p. 160.

runs at first with a vast head, and over-fall of water, and occasions such a hollow and over-grown sea, as is scarcely to be conceived. Those who lie here in this season must be under the dreadful apprehension of being pooped by it, though in a sixty-gun ship. In the remaining eight months of the year, that is, from the middle of *October* to the middle of *June*, there is a constant season of settled weather, when, if the cables are but well armed, there is scarcely any danger of their being so much as rubbed; so that during all that interval, it is as secure a road as could be wished for. To this it is proper to add, that the anchoring bank is very shelving, and stretches along the south-west end of the island; and that it is entirely free from shoals, except a reef of rocks, which is visible, and lies about half a mile from the shore, and affords a narrow passage into a small sandy bay, which is the only place where boats can possibly land <sup>2</sup>.

*The island of Saypan, or of St. Joseph* *SARPA*N, or the isle of *St. Joseph*, lies in the latitude of fifteen degrees twenty minutes, at the distance of nine or ten miles from *Tinian*, and is about twenty miles in circumference; on the west side of this island, at the bottom of a steep bay, well sheltered with wood, lies a safe and commodious port, called *Cantanhida*, as the *Spanish* writers inform us <sup>7</sup>. After *Guam*, this is the largest, and was formerly the best peopled of all these islands, and was not thoroughly subdued by the *Spaniards* till the beginning of the current century. The country is diversified with hills and plains, looks very green and pleasant at a distance, and is no less beautiful when examined more at leisure, as it affords all the necessaries of life in the utmost plenty, and is blessed with a fertile soil and a serene climate <sup>2</sup>.

*Description of the remaining part of the islands in this Archipelago.* *ANATAJAN*, or the island of *St. Joachim*, lies in the latitude of seventeen degrees twenty minutes, and is about thirty miles in compass. This is the first of those called the *Northern Isles*, and lies somewhat more than an hundred miles distant from *Saypan*<sup>2</sup>, *Sarigan* or *St. Charles's Island*, in the latitude of seventeen degrees thirty-five minutes, about twelve miles in compass, and about nine distant from the last-

<sup>2</sup> Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 423, 424. Mr. PASCOR THOMAS's Journal, &c. p. 163, 164. <sup>7</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 304. Du BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 701. <sup>2</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoires des Isles Mariannes, p. 387. <sup>\*</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. PERE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306.

mentioned island <sup>b</sup>, *Guguan*, or the isle of *St. Philip*, lies in the latitude of seventeen degrees forty-five minutes, eighteen miles distant from *Sarigan*, and about nine miles in compass <sup>c</sup>. *Alamagan*, or the island of the *Conception*, in the latitude of eighteen degrees ten minutes, about ten miles from *Guguan*, and eighteen miles in compass <sup>d</sup>. *Pagon*, or *St. Ignatius's* island, in the latitude of nineteen degrees, thirty miles from *Alamagan*, and about forty in compass <sup>e</sup>. *Agriagan*, or the isle of *St. Francis Xavier*, in the latitude of nineteen degrees four minutes, a large mountainous island, fifty miles in circumference, remarkable for its volcano <sup>f</sup> (F). We are informed

<sup>b</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. <sup>c</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne; p. 701. <sup>d</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. <sup>e</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306. <sup>f</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales.

(F) Those who are of opinion that islands have their rise from earthquakes, and that these again are caused by subterranean fires, look upon these islands as a very strong instance in favour of their hypothesis. They alledge, that through the whole Archipelago of *St. Lazarus*, volcanoes are frequent, as we know they are in the *Moluccas*, and in the *Philippines*, and some there are said to be in *New Guinea*; as, on the other hand, they are frequent enough to the northward of these islands, even as far as *Japan* (18). The form also of these islands, or at least most of them, is agreeable enough to this notion of their origin, inasmuch as they rise gradually from the shore on every side, swelling in the middle to a very great height; and others appear to be no more than a large mountain arising out of the

sea; whence those who defend this sentiment, will hold that these islands are of later origin than the rest of the world (19); and a very ingenious countryman of ours has suggested a method of discovering, or, at least, coming near, the age of such islands, by considering the depth of soil that is upon them; so that, according to his system, the southern islands should be more ancient than the northern, since the latter are many of them but bare rocks, or very little better at this day (20). It has been urged as a conclusive argument against this, that, being a point of fact, it ought to be proved from history rather than argument; but, if it be considered on one hand, that it may be positively proved that some islands have thus arisen out of the deep (21), so that the fact is not either impossible or

(18) *Observations Physique et Mathematique de l'Academie*, p. 223.

(19) *Hooke's Posthumous Works*, p. 422.

(20) *Memoire du Pere Louis de Morales*.

(21) *Kircheri, Mundus Subterraneus*.

improbable;



formed by an author of credit, that it is well inhabited, and that formerly the inhabitants of this, as well as of the rest of these islands, put to sea in their prows, in order to carry provisions and refreshments to any ships they could discern, but that an insolent *Spaniard*, having beat some of them, they never afterwards went out to meet the galleons <sup>e</sup>.

*The three  
most nor-  
thern  
Isles which  
are little  
known to  
the Spa-  
niards.*

*ASSONSONG*, or the island of *Assumption*, (in which there is also a vulcano) lies in the latitude of twenty degrees fifteen minutes: about eighteen miles in circumference, and lying twenty leagues north from *Agrigan* <sup>b</sup>. *Maug* or *Tunas*, called also the island of *St. Lawrence*, composed of three rocks, somewhat more than twenty miles in compass, lying in the latitude of twenty degrees thirty-five minutes, about fifteen miles from *Assonsong* <sup>i</sup>, and much about the same distance north, lies *Urraca*, or *Vrac*, the last of these islands, which it does not appear was ever inhabited, and of which therefore we meet with no particular description <sup>k</sup>.

*The cli-  
mate and  
soil of the  
Marianne  
islands in  
general.*

THESE islands lie in the torrid zone; and yet so much is the heat of the sun tempered by the humidity of the air, and by the breezes of the sea, that the climate is, generally speaking, equally serene, salubrious, and pleasant; only in some seasons of the year, as has been before observed, they are liable to hurricanes, which, tho' they do sometimes a great deal of mischief, yet, as we have already intimated, clear and refresh the air, in such a manner, that before they were visited by the *Europeans*, the people commonly lived beyond the age of a hundred, without being disturbed with sickness or infirmities <sup>l</sup>. For the most ancient *Spanish* writers, as we have already remarked, speak of these islands as mean, barren, contemptible places; and indeed it is apparent, that they would be understood to have thought them so, since, as they alledge, their government took near a century to consider whether they should keep them or not. In order to com-

<sup>e</sup> Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN. FRANCISCO, GEMELLI CARERI. P. v. <sup>b</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales: PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 306. <sup>i</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 701. <sup>k</sup> Memoire du PERE LOUIS de Morales. <sup>l</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 74.

improbable; and that, on the other hand, there is no evidence that can be brought to confute it, it is shewn to stand on a proper basis, and justly considered as a point about which men may think freely, and determine for themselves, as the rule of reason, assisted by the light of experience, shall guide them.

prehend this clearly, and to reconcile it with what has been already said, it is necessary to lay open the nakedness of these miserable isles, and to acknowledge, that, with the finest sun and the most fertile soil, they afford not either precious stones or metals. However, this mean barren country produced fruits, fallads, and a variety of wholesome herbs, and in the greatest plenty. Beasts indeed they had none, and but one kind of birds, not unlike the turtle dove <sup>m</sup>. There were indeed fish of many different kinds in their rivers, and upon their coasts; but whether they eat them or not is doubtful, the reason of which will appear hereafter.

THE inhabitants are a tall, robust, and very large-made people, but at the same time as active as it is possible to conceive them; of a dark colour, yet not quite so dark as the inhabitants of the *Phillippines*; coarse features, and rather hard-favoured. The men went entirely naked, the women only concealing, what natural modesty teaches should be concealed. Both sexes endowed by nature with strong parts, which, however, seldom taught them to correct their passions, which were also strong, but were rather employed in the indulging them. Quick in apprehension, not deficient in understanding; very ready and even eloquent in expressing their thoughts, but no less adroit in concealing them; of very lively imaginations, extremely fond of pleasure, not unacquainted with virtue, but very little inclined to practise it. Lust, Dissimulation, and revenge, as the missionaries say, were their prevailing vices; to gratify which they very seldom stuck at any thing. Yet, take them altogether, excluded from the rest of the world, and scarce having an idea of any other people than those in the adjacent islands, which were extremely populous, containing all together above one hundred thousand people, they were, these just allowances made, a very extraordinary nation, and as such, deserve to be better known than commonly they are; the rather, because, after having carefully reviewed and compared the accounts given of them, by writers of different nations, it seems not impossible to describe them with some tolerable degree of accuracy and truth <sup>n</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 44. GIRO del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARERI. <sup>n</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigation et Viaggi tom. i. fol. 355. b. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 43, 44. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

*Without religion, and yet exceedingly given to superstition.*

IN point of religion, they may be said to have none; and yet they were over-run with superstition. They had scarce any notion of the DEITY, but had a very distinct idea of the Devil. They very firmly believed the immortality of the soul; and, tho' they had no conceptions of rewards and punishments after death, yet they were thoroughly persuaded that there was a place of happiness, and another of torment. They had no proper name for the former, which they fancied to be under the earth, describing it as a delicious garden, full of lofty cocoa trees, abounding with rich fruits, and watered by pleasant rivers, running through flowery vales that exhale the richest odours. The latter they called *Zazarraguan*, or the house of *Chayfi*; that is, the demon who they believed afflicted the souls that fell into his power with variety of tortures. They did not ascribe this to the crimes they had committed, but imagined that every one who died a natural death went immediately to Paradise, and that such as were cut off by violence, were doomed to the house of *Chayfi*°. When their friends or relations were dying, they stood with a neat little basket on one side of them, and desired that the soul would be pleased to repose there whenever it came to make them a visit. Those of the better sort fill'd these baskets with fragrant herbs, and rubbed them with odoriferous oils, carrying them sometimes into pleasant places, and at others to the houses of their friends; and sometimes left them there, supposing that the souls might be delighted with this change of habitation. All these marks of respect did not proceed so much from reverence, and affection as from terror and apprehension; for they imagined that the *Anitis*, so in their language they stiled these departed spirits, appeared to, and mal-treated them, disturbing them, more especially in their dreams; and therefore at certain seasons they fasted, and took other methods to appease them<sup>p</sup>.

*Without government, and yet having a race of nobles excessively proud.*

As they are superstitious without religion, so no people in the world are so transported with notions of nobility of blood, without having either authority or government. There are amongst them three kinds of people; the *Chamorris*, or noblemen, the middle, and the common sort of men. The first of them have a kind of estates upon which they live; but they have no tenants, vassals, or domestics. They have great respect shewn them; in their public councils, their speeches are heard with silence and attention; but notwith-

° PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 65, 66.  
 P DU BOIS *Geographie Moderne*, p. 702. PERE LE GOBIEN  
*Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 67, 68.

standing this, every other man was likewise heard, and that advice was likewise followed which the majority thought best. A *Chamorris* has something elevated and noble, not only in his look and in his person, but in his behaviour and manner; for usage in all countries establishes politeness, and the usual compliment among them is *All Arinno*, "Suffer me to kiss your feet." They never converse with ordinary people; on the contrary, if such eat or drink in their houses, they look upon them as polluted \*. If at any time they are under a necessity of speaking to persons beneath them, they stand at a great distance, deliver themselves very succinctly, and with a loud voice. If a *Chamorris* marries into a common family, it is held such a dishonour to the whole body of the nobility, as can be atoned for only by his blood. Yet, with all this delicacy about marriage, their estates do not descend to their children, but to their nephews, either by their brothers or sisters. There is no form of rule amongst them, nor any kind of authority but what is acquired by persuasion, which goes as far, and lasts as long as superior eloquence can carry or maintain it. Whatever notion, therefore, these people may entertain of freedom, this is certain, that they carry practical liberty as far as it is possible †.

It is a point not hitherto decided, from whom these people are descended or whence they came; but, from the affinity of their language with the *Tagalese*, of which we have spoken in the former section, some have thought it probable, that they were of the same stock with the inhabitants of the *Philippines*; others, from their love of freedom, the haughtiness of their spirits, and their high notions of nobility, have inclined to think them a-kin to the *Japonese*. It is possible that the *Chamorris* may be of the one country, and the rest of the nation of the other. They have poets among them who are extremely admired, and who, in their songs, celebrate the great actions of their ancestors, and feed the poor people with fond notions, not only of their excellence in bodily strength and agility, for which there might be some colour, but also of their superiority in science, over all nations in the world ‡. They make them believe that the first man was formed out of the earth of the island of *Guam*; that he was afterwards turned into a stone, and this stone being broke to pieces, and scattered over the rest of the

\* Histoire des Îles Mariannes, p. 49. 50. † Du Bois Geographie, p. 703. PERRÉ LE GOBIEN Histoire des Îles Mariannes, p. 51. ‡ Relation des Îles Philippines, p. 13. PERRÉ LE GOBIEN Histoire des Îles Mariannes. p. 45, 46.

world, there sprung up from thence all the rest of mankind. "Hence, say they to their vain and credulous audience, being banished so long and so far from their native country, they have lost the use of speech, and understand not us or themselves; for though they utter sounds roughly, and out of their throats, that resemble words, yet they do it only like fools, or the birds that we teach, having but an imperfect notion of what they would express. The gift of language being reserved to us, their parents" They have another sort of people amongst them called *Macanas*, wise men, like the *Magi* amongst the *Persians*; they direct them in their superstitions; teach them how to sooth the *Amis*; know the virtues of different herbs, and practise a kind of surgery amongst them. But still all depends upon persuasion; so long as they can please and delight, so long they are obeyed; for every man, from the hour he can supply his own wants, is master of himself, and absolutely independent. Yet this very wise and knowing nation had not so much as the idea of fire, till they were taught it to their cost, by the *Spaniards* burning their houses, and then they took it for an animal that fed upon wood; and therefore, if before this time they lived on fish, as it is certain they caught them, they must have either eat them raw, or dried in the sun; concerning which however we have no distinct account (G).

De Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

(G) In all that we meet with relating to these people, there seems to be nothing so much out of the road of credibility, as their being utterly unacquainted with fire; and the rather, because, besides lightning, which they must have seen in their own island, they could hardly stir to any considerable distance at sea, without having a sight of some or other of the neighbouring vulcano's. Yet the fact is very positively affirmed by the *Spaniards* (22); and, which adds great weight to their testimony, the inhabitants of some other countries at no great distance, have been found by discoverers of other nations in the very same condition (23). But we shall perhaps be the less surprized at this, when we reflect that one of the most judicious writers of antiquity thought that mankind in general came to know the benefits resulting from this element, not so much from the help of reason, as from accident. Trees, says he (24), standing close in a wood, so that their boughs

(22) *Pere la Gohien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 44. *De Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. p. 73. (23) *Voyage for the Discovery of New Guinea and the Countries adjacent*. (24) *Vulcano lib. ii. cap. 1.*

IN these islands the women have all the graces of the sex *Their wo-*  
 in their persons and their manners. Their features are softer *men en-*  
 and more regular, their complexions much clearer, and they *downd*  
 have an easy address, a chearful humour, and are as much *with sur-*  
 devoted to ease and diversions as in the politest countries on *prizing*  
 the globe. They have their assemblies, as well as the men, *faculties,*  
 in which they amuse themselves with reciting the performances *which*  
 of their poets, in a manner perfectly peculiar to themselves, *gain them*  
 For casting themselves into a circle of ten or a dozen, they *a great*  
 speak, or rather chaunt, all at once, and yet so distinctly, *stant supe-*  
 with such harmony, and with so fine a cadence, as appears *riority*  
 equally surprizing and satisfactory, even to the Europeans. *over the*  
 On such occasions they are adorned after their manner, that *men.*  
 is, with little shells, and pieces of tortoise-shell hanging on  
 their foreheads, with girdles of the same shells interwoven  
 with flowers of different colours, and little cocoa-nuts neatly  
 engraven <sup>u</sup>. They commonly wear only a piece of mat for  
 modesty's sake, in which they surpass the men, who, as we  
 have already observed, go absolutely naked; but at these as-  
 semblies they wear an entire garment made of twigs and  
 roots, which disfigures them extremely; for it makes them  
 look as if each of them was in a cage, and yet they move  
 in them with agility enough; dance with shells between  
 their fingers, as the *Spaniards* do with castenets; and heighten  
 the poems they sing, with such a variety and such a propriety  
 of action, that they may be esteemed a kind, and not the worst  
 kind either, of pantomimes <sup>v</sup>. As their excelling in these  
 amusements render them esteemed and admired, they are the  
 chief objects of their thoughts; and it is from a continual  
 exercise, that they attain to such a wonderful perfection in  
 the conduct of their voice, and the graceful and becoming  
 management of their limbs <sup>x</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 58, 59.

<sup>v</sup> DU BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 702.

<sup>x</sup> PERE LE

GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 59.

were intermixed, being violently obtained fire by rubbing toge-  
 agitated by the wind, from the ther dry sticks. There is some-  
 friction took fire, which men thing in this very well imagined,  
 contemplating at first as a strange and not altogether destitute of  
 sight, but by degrees observing probability; more especially as  
 that its splendor diffused light many barbarous nations (25) re-  
 and warmth at the same time, tain this method of kindling  
 resolved to avail themselves of fire.  
 these blessings; and accordingly

(25) Capt. Woodes Roger's Voyage round the World in Harris's Collection.

*The unreasonable  
privileges  
the women  
enjoy in a  
state of  
marriage.*

IN consequence of these superior accomplishments, the sex have a more absolute dominion here, than almost any-where else. It is true a man may marry as many wives as he pleases, provided they are not relations; but this seeming privilege signifies little, since, as the effect of their labour would not produce a competent maintenance for more, they are glad to be content with one. We have before observed, that in these islands every man was master of himself, but not of any other man. From the moment he marries, half his little authority is taken away; for the wife commands every thing within doors, and her husband too, so long as he is there. If he gives her any reason to be jealous, she is at liberty to punish him in such a manner as to prevent any future suspicion. If he is lazy, passionate, or sullen, his wife takes the other married women in the neighbourhood to her assistance, who, armed with their husband's spears, come and punish the delinquent, by destroying his plantation, or perhaps his house; and even his person is not in safety, if he falls into the hands of these enraged females<sup>1</sup>. The wife is also at liberty, in case she is offended, to retire to her own relations, who are glad of such an opportunity of plundering their neighbour, under pretence of punishing him. If she is of a milder disposition, she may leave her husband without assigning any other cause than that she is weary of him. He may also leave her, or rather oblige her to quit him; but then she takes with her the best part of his substance and his children; so that a man by letting slip an hasty word, loses both family and fortune in an instant, and sees them perhaps conveyed to the house of his neighbour the next day. In case a woman is false to her husband's bed, he may revenge himself as he pleases on her lover, and even put him to death; but unless he has a mind to be left alone, he must take care not to express the least resentment towards her<sup>2</sup>.

*From the  
consideration  
of this, many re-  
frain from  
marriage,  
and lead a  
detached  
and profligate  
sort of life.*

FROM a sense of the trouble and inconveniency attending the married state under these circumstances, many of the young men ran into a profligate kind of life, from which they were seldom reclaimed. They corrupted young women by presents; or, if their parents were poor, bought them, while they were yet children, and placing these in a house common to themselves and their companions, preferred to a regular oeconomy these kind of public stews<sup>3</sup>. This dissolute sort of life prevailed very much before the Spaniards came

<sup>1</sup> Du Bois *Geographie Moderne*, p. 702.  
GORIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 61.  
*Geographie Moderne*, p. 702.

<sup>2</sup> PENSÉE  
<sup>3</sup> Du Bois

amongst them, by corrupting their minds, and enervating their strength, rendered them ripe for those calamities which afterwards fell upon them. It is true, by the wiser and better part of the nation (for there will be in all nations distinctions in point of morals, as well as from station or birth) these men were held in the greatest abhorrence. However, as their number was always great enough to furnish conversation amongst themselves; and as the genius of the people is strongly bent to pleasure, they were not to be restrained by any sense of shame: and in the more distant islands, and even in the mountains of the island of *Guam*, where the people still enjoy their liberty, these sort of associations are still frequent enough, and it is chiefly from the bad behaviour of these debauchees, that authors have represented the inhabitants of the *Marianne* islands, in general, in a worse point of view than they deserved <sup>b</sup>. For in reality, the vices to which these people become addicted, rendered them as despicable in the eyes of their countrymen as in those of the *Europeans*. But as there is no nation in which there are not bad men, so it is not from the actions of such, that we ought to take the character of a whole people; tho' there have been likewise some who have erred on the other side, and given much higher commendations to the natives than they deserved. The truth lying here, as well as in other places, in the mean between both, without diminishing their virtues, or exaggerating their vices and upon this principle we have hitherto, and shall hereafter endeavour to represent them impartially, and to exhibit their manners, such as they really were <sup>c</sup>.

THEIR houses were built with palm-trees, and such other timber as their respective islands afforded, and were, generally speaking, divided into four apartments, by a kind of *fes*, furnished, made of the filaments of leaves, roots, and twigs of trees, utensils, and the covering was commonly of the same materials, but of a coarser kind. Each of these apartments, was destined to a particular purpose; they slept in one, they eat in another, they laid up their fruit and provisions in the third, and they worked in the fourth. Their utensils were not many, but every thing they had was neat in its kind, and carried in it marks of genius, by which they supplied many things that more civilized nations derive

<sup>b</sup> PÈRE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 61, 62.  
<sup>c</sup> Capt. COWLEY's *Voyage round the World*, p. 17, 18. DAMPIER's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 297. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL *Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 241, 242.



from experience. As to defensive weapons, they had none; and as to offensive, they had no idea of bows, arrows, swords, or indeed of any other instrument of violence, but a lance or javelin, made of a tough strong wood, and pointed with human bones, which they rubbed till they became sharp, and even the slightest wounds with these were said to be in their own nature venomous and mortal <sup>d</sup>. There can be no doubt as to the fact, if the concurrent evidence of the writers of all nations may be esteemed sufficient authority (H). We may likewise add to these circumstances, that the reason seems pretty evident, for they had no kind of metals, nor were they furnished with the bones of any other animal that were strong enough to be applied to this use. These and stones were their only weapons; and tho' they had not, before been taught by the *Spaniards*, the use of slings, yet they threw them with great dexterity, and with such surprizing force, as to enter into the bodies of trees at a considerable distance <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> PURCHAS's Pilgrimage, p. 951. Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 19. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

<sup>e</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, CHURCHILL's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673.

(H) In respect to these savages arming their spears with human bones, the missionaries, and all the writers of voyage, ancient and modern concur (26). In one of our *English* writers, we have an account of the number of lances they make out of one man's bones, which were no fewer than eight. Of the leg bones they make two; of the thigh bones as many; and two out of the bones in each of his arms (27). These bones are not only made very sharp at the point, but are serrated or jagged from top to bottom. Some writers affirm, that from the natural venom in these weapons, wounds made by them are always mortal; others, that they prove so, if not cured in

seven days (28). The reason of this is not easily to be conceived. It may perhaps be chiefly owing to the jagged sides of their lances, which, being thrown with prodigious force, may so tear and lacerate the part, as to produce dreadful effects, without supposing any peculiar venom in the bones; tho' it is upon this that the missionaries, and indeed most writers, insist. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the natives of *California*, who in their persons and manners very much resemble the natives of these islands, use the very same kind of lances (29), except that they are made either of flint or agate, and sometimes of the bones of large fish.

(26) *Pi-gaseta* ap. Ramusio. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 739. Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 951. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673. Harris's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 690.

(27) Cowley's Voyage, p. 19. (28) Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703. Cowley's Voyage, p. 19. (29) Capt. Delout's Voyage. Harris, vol. i. p. 234.

As they had no policy of any kind, so every man revenged the wrongs, or what he took to be wrongs that he sustained, in what manner he thought fit, and in like manner the inhabitants of one district, if they conceived themselves injured by those of another, commenced hostilities, and continued them till they obtained satisfaction. In these wars fraud and cunning had a much greater share than courage or force. They laboured as much as in them lay to surprise or circumvent their enemies; and in the choice of ground, in making false attacks, and in laying ambuscades, they shewed equal address and patience, remaining sometimes for two whole days without provisions. But when they came to engage in earnest, their disputes were not either long or bloody. If one or two men were killed, or half-a score disabled, there was an end of the war; those who were defeated sending immediately ambassadors to make submission, and to settle terms of peace. In order to qualify themselves for martial exploits, the principal diversions amongst the men consisted in robust exercises, such as running, leaping, wrestling, pitching stones, and throwing lances at a mark.

*Their military disposition, manner of making war, and exercises.*

They were likewise very dextrous in swimming and diving, to which they enured their children, as soon as they were able to walk, and thereby rendered them not only hardy and robust, but so accustomed to and fearless of the water, that they were in a manner inhabitants of that element; at least in comparison of other men; and would bring up stones, or fish, or whatever else they could perceive in the sea, from a great depth. Their ingenuity and mechanic genius was most conspicuous in the invention of that singular vessel called by our seamen the *flying prow*, which has been commended and admired by all, but chiefly by those whose skill in naval architecture enabled them to judge of it best (I). In these vessels,

*Skill in mechanic arts, inventions, and application of them to the business of life.*

† Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 703.

(I) The flying prow, or proa, as some write it, is very justly considered as the most exact and finished piece of naval architecture, which hitherto the world has seen. When we say this, we must be understood to mean, in respect to the purposes which she is contrived to answer; since in this alone con-

sists the excellence of any vessel; and therefore this prow being the best adapted that can be imagined to the nature of the seas and winds, in and by which she is to sail, certainly merits that character, and would be considered as a master-piece of art, if made in the most civilized country, with the help

sels, before they had any acquaintance with the *Europeans*, they made considerable voyages from one island to another; and when overset, shewed great presence of mind in turning them,

of the best materials, and tools the most fitly adapted. But if we consider it as framed here under great defects, in regard to the former, and without the assistance, at least till the *Europeans* came hither, of any one instrument made with iron, it becomes truly wonderful (30). In order to give the reader the best idea of it that we can, we shall first describe it exactly, and then remark its particular advantages, more especially with regard to the navigation, in which it is principally employed, and then leave it to his judgment, whether the invention, construction, and management of so extraordinary a vessel, is not an incontestable proof of the genius, sagacity, and courage of these people (31). These prows are of different sizes, especially in point of length; however they may be taken at a medium at forty feet; but they are not above two feet in breadth. The body of this vessel is composed of two pieces, joined end-ways, and sewed together with bark, caulked, and otherwise secured by a natural bitumen, which is common in most of the islands. At the bottom the timber may be about two inches thick, which, in working her into shape, is reduced unto less than one. The depth at most about four feet. In the center stands a mast four and twenty feet

high, she carries a triangular sail, fixed to a yard and boom, above twenty-seven feet every way. As all other vessels have their stems and sterns of different constructions, the prow, on the contrary, has them both alike, so that each serves indifferently for stem or stern, as they steer on different tacks. But another vessel has both sides alike, the construction of the prow differs from them also in this respect; for tho' the windward bellies out like other boats, yet the lee side is perfectly flat. In order to carry so great a sail, without danger of oversetting, she has a frame laid out to windward, consisting commonly of three strong beams, which rests upon a log hollowed in the shape of a boat. This frame is about twelve feet in length, and the little boat about thirteen. We find this contrivance filed an *outleuger* or *outrigger*, and is well secured by two cross bars, and has also two braces from the head and stern to keep it steady. There is likewise a thin plank on the very same side of the vessel, upon which sometimes an *Indian* sits, and on which they likewise lay goods. One of these prows carries generally six or seven *Indians*, two placed at the head, two at the stern, who steer alternately with a paddle, according to the tack she goes upon, the rest being employed either in

(30) *History of Teyouyk*, by Richard Eden, 4to, 1577, fol. 430. (31) *Giro del Mondo*, del Dottor Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Carreri, P. v.

them, refitting, and getting again on board ; so that, taking all circumstances together, they might be esteemed none of the worst soldiers, and as brisk and bold seamen as any in this part of the world. They are likewise said to have planted and cultivated their ground ; but in what manner, or with what kind of seeds, does not appear ; for tho' they are now expert enough in this kind of cultivation, yet it manifestly appears that they have learned this from the *Spaniards*, and very possibly have thereby lost the remembrance of the practices of their ancestors, if there ever were any such, which cannot be affirmed with certainty. If one might

baling out the water, which she accidentally ships, or in feting and trimming the sails (32). The mast, yard, boom, and outrigger are made of bamboo, the sails of matting, and very neat. When they have a mind to tack, they bear away a little to bring her stern up to the wind ; then, by easing the halyard, and raising the yard, they lift it out of the socket in which it rested, and carry it round the lee-side till it falls into the socket at the other end of the boat ; and the boom being shifted into a contrary situation, that which was before the head becomes the stern of the vessel, and she is trimmed upon the other tack. As all the islands of this *Archipelago* lie nearly in a line from south to north, and are within the limits of the trade-wind, it is evident that these vessels, which sail excellently on a wind, can run from one island to another, and back again only by turning the sail, and without ever putting about (33). It is the smallness of their breadth and the flatness of the lee-side, which gives them this great ad-

vantage, which no vessel can have that goes large ; and this advantage consists in going with as great, and sometimes with greater velocity than the wind. This accounts in some measure for the very extraordinary things we are told by the *Spaniards*, of the prodigious degree of swiftness with which these vessels run ; and tho' as in all cases of this nature, some exaggeration may be suspected, yet a hundred miles in five hours with a brisk trade-wind, how strange soever it must seem, may not exceed the bounds of truth (34). The dexterity of the natives, in steering, trimming, and righting these vessels, in case they were overset, has been already mentioned, and occurs so frequently in the text, that there is no need of insisting on them here, where what has been already said will fully justify the commendations bestowed on these wonderful vessels, and the inferences made from thence, as to the natural abilities, skill, and application of these people.

(32) Lord Anson's *Voyage round the World*, p. 453-457.

Charl's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. b. ii. ch. ii. p. 34. Funnal's *Voyage round the World*.

*Du Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

(34) Capt. Woodes Rogers's *Voyages round the World* in Harris's *Collection*, vol. i. p. 175.

be indulged a conjecture, nature having given to these people bread upon trees, might be less bountiful to them in other respects; nor is this notion inconsistent with experience <sup>2</sup>.

*Some have  
laboured to  
justify  
them from  
the imputation  
of  
thieving.*

ACCORDING to some of the missionaries, *Magellan* did great wrong to these people, when he fixed upon their islands the appellation of *Ladrones*. The natives, say these missionaries, are so far from being of a thievish disposition, that they leave every thing open, without the least suspicion of each other, and without ever suffering by this seeming neglect <sup>1</sup>. It is however worth observing, that it is no conclusive proof these people were not thieves, because they had no conception of theft. Other barbarous nations, as well as they, have respected property amongst themselves, and yet made no scruple of taking whatever came within their reach from strangers. However *Magellan* was not so much to blame, since seamen of other nations, and in latter times, have given them much the character; and, which does them still less credit, have given very good reasons why they bestowed it upon them; so that an implicit belief is as little due to these modern writers, as any other; and if truth in this case be worth coming at, we must come at it in this, as in other cases, by reflection and comparison <sup>1</sup>.

*Improbable that  
they should  
be light,  
fickle, and  
of a volatile  
disposition,  
and yet subtle  
and deep  
dissemblers.*

THERE seems to be also some contradiction in what they report of the fickleness and mutability of the natives in their temper, eagerly seeking things one minute, and rejecting them the next, and representing them at the same time as very deep dissemblers, concealing their resentments even for years, and taking sudden and surprizing revenges as soon as suitable opportunities offered. Such descriptions are unnatural. Men of a fluttering and volatile disposition are very capable of duplicity, but not of studied dissimulation <sup>2</sup>. The missionaries very probably deceived themselves, by attributing to old resentments, and the recollection of past injuries, seemingly forgot, what in reality sprung from levity, or from some sudden, and, to them, unobserved cause of offence, which at the present opportunity excited these people to re-

<sup>1</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 298, 299, 300. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 52. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 453. <sup>2</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 62. <sup>3</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. PURCHAS's Pilgrimage, vol. i. B. ii. ch. iv. p. 66. <sup>4</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 57.

venge, who, if that had been wanting, might have buried it in oblivion<sup>1</sup>. These reverend authors, like all other historians, treat human nature from what they feel in themselves, and attribute facts done by others to such passions as would have led them to the commission of the like; which is not sound reasoning; for men uninstructed and undisciplined, have quick and violent passions, but know not how to stifle or restrain them. These, however bad, are the effects of reflection and education, and savages are no more capable of them than of logic and other sciences; a habit of thinking being equally requisite in both cases<sup>m</sup>.

THE missionaries are probably more in the right, in representing pleasure as the great object these people had in view; *the great* for that is the natural object of mankind in general, and the *object of* great use of reason is to distinguish rightly in the choice of *their de-* pleasures; and in adapting properly the means for their at- *sires. With* tainment. It is in this the great difference between uncivilized and civilized nations subsists. The former are less *some re-* capable of making a true judgment of appearances, and, by *marks on* hastily grasping at whatever they take to be pleasure, run *the dispo-* themselves upon those evils, which, if they saw them, they *sition of* would certainly avoid. This kind of ignorance, natural and consequently inseparable from savages, is what better disciplined people, when they either see it with astonishment, or feel it to their cost, term barbarity; and therefore the first step towards doing any good with such men, is to teach them to reason right; and, tho' this would be a much slower, it would be a much surer method of leading them to embrace the true religion; and it is certainly for want of this that so many of the missionaries, in these islands particularly, have become martyrs; for while they pleased themselves with making multitudes of converts, they in reality made very few *savages.* Christians. The reader will discern the use of these reflections hereafter; by seeing, that without having recourse to them, a great part of what we have yet to say would appear confused and embarrassed at least, if not ~~not~~ unintelligible. For this reason we hope to be excused for entering into a series of arguments that might otherwise be looked upon as a useless digression from that subject, which in reality could be no otherwise illustrated. History that conveys no instruction, differs little from fiction; and history falsely

<sup>1</sup> Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 18. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 301. SHELVOCK's Voyage round the World. \* PÈRE LE GOUËN Histoire des Îles Maritimes, p. 57.

written, is much worse. Truth alone gives it value ; and therefore too much care cannot be taken to render the Truth understood.

*The first  
discovery  
of these  
islands by  
Ferdinand  
Magellan,  
in his  
voyage  
round the  
world.*

WE come now to speak of the discovery of these islands, and to report the very few facts that constitute their history since they were discovered. *Ferdinand Magellan*, in that adventurous voyage in which he completed the design of the great *Columbus*, whose intention it was to reach the *East Indies* by a west course, arrived, after having been longer out of sight of any known land than ever any man had been before, amongst these islands, on the sixth day of *March*, 1521. He is said to have passed between an island lying towards the north-west and two others bearing south-west, one of which was higher and bigger than the other ; and there *Magellan* attempted to have gone on shore, but was prevented by a multitude of canoes, or *Indian* prows ; the people on board which, coming to the ships, stole every thing upon which they could lay their hand. Upon this he changed his purpose of bringing his ships to an anchor ; and, to gratify his own and his people's resentment, landed only with forty armed men, set fire to fifty houses, burnt some of their prows ; killed seven of the inhabitants, and recovered one of his boats, which they had carried away. It was from this accident that he stamped them with the reproachful name of *las Islas de los Ladrones*, in Latin, *Insule Latronum*, or the *Islands of Thieves* \*. After this exploit he left them, and arrived in four days at *Samal*, generally supposed one of the *Philippines*.

*His touching here  
by no means  
beneficial  
to the natives.*

IT is by no means clear, to which of these islands this history belongs. It has, with great probability, been supposed, that the northern island was *Saypan* ; and if so, then the island which felt these effects of his fury, must have been *Yinian*. We are assured, that when the people were shot through and through with arrows, they drew them out of their bodies, and gazed at them with a curiosity that overcame the sense of pain, till they dropped down dead \*. What was no less singular, notwithstanding all that had happened, the people followed him out to sea with two hundred prows, and held up fish and other things, as if they had still desired to barter with them. In some of these prows, the

\* G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO RACOLTO delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 355. b. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. chap. iv. p. 37. EDEN's History of Travels. † G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO RACOLTO delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 356. a.

*Spaniards* saw women lamenting and tearing their hair, as they supposed, for the loss of their husbands : and the short account given of these people in *Magellan's voyage*, agrees very exactly with what we have said more at large, and from thence, no doubt, the generality of writers have been led to the conclusion, that the islands *de las Velas*, and the islands *de los Ladrones* are the same ; which however, when maturely considered, may, notwithstanding this concurrence of opinions, remain still a matter of some doubt <sup>p</sup> (K), unless

<sup>p</sup> La Historia general y natural de las Indias, por el Capitán Gonçalo Hernandez de Oviedo. Cluverii, Introduct. in universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. xi. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Maritimes.

(K) We have several relations of *Magellan's voyage* ; that which we have followed in the text, is that of Sir *Anthony Pigafetta*, a knight of *Malta*, who accompanied him in the voyage. He places these islands in the latitude of twelve degrees north ; and then says, that there was a small island lying to the north-west, and two others to the south-west, which does not at all agree with these islands (35). *Herrera*, having mentioned *Magellan's* passage through the straits to which he gave his name, tells us (36), " That from the latitude of twenty-one degrees fifty minutes south, he sailed two thousand leagues without seeing any thing, except two desert islands in the midst of the ocean, and on the 20th of *January*, where as *Pigafetta* says it was on the 6th of *March* ; they found themselves in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty-eight minutes north, where they saw two very beautiful islands, inhabited by abundance of brutish people who worshipped idols ; and passed from one island to the other, being eight leagues distant, in canoes ; the biggest of which could carry only ten men. They had well-shaped triangular, or, as some call them, *Shoulder of Mutton*, sails, made of palm-tree leaves ; their food was cocoa-nuts, yams, and some little rice. So many of the natives going aboard, that the ships could not hold them ; *Magellan* ordered them to be turned out, which was done by force, because willingly they would not go. Those *Indians*, being provoked at it, returned in their canoes, and threw so many stones, and staves harden'd in the fire, that though at first he had ordered that they should not be hurt, not being able to endure it

(35) *Pet. Martyr, Dec. v. lib. vi. Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. i. B. II. ch. II. alci, Decad. II. lib. ix. cap. III.*

*Eden's History of Travels, fol. 430.*  
(36) *Historia de las Indias Occidentales, lib. ix. cap. III.*



unless we very much enlarge the bounds of this Archipelago, in order to embrace them.

“ any longer, he caused the  
 “ great guns to be fired, which  
 “ killed some ; and yet they  
 “ came again, to barter what  
 “ what they had for such  
 “ things as they had on board  
 “ the ships. One afternoon, as  
 “ they were cruising by one of  
 “ those islands, the *Indians*  
 “ loosened the skiff that was at  
 “ the commander’s stern, and  
 “ carried it away. The next  
 “ morning he sent two boats  
 “ with ninety armed men, to a  
 “ place at the foot of a moun-  
 “ tain, whither they had car-  
 “ ried the skiff. The *Indians*  
 “ ran up the hill, and threw  
 “ so many stones as if it had  
 “ hail’d ; but, as soon as the  
 “ muskets were fired, they fled.  
 “ Then the *Spaniards* entered  
 “ the town, set fire to it, killed  
 “ all they found there, and car-  
 “ ried off the provisions. The  
 “ *Indians*, supposing that to be  
 “ done for the skiff, turned it  
 “ out to sea ; which *Magellan*  
 “ secured, watered and divided  
 “ the refreshments, many of the  
 “ men being sick for want. The  
 “ next day he sailed from those  
 “ islands, which he called *de*  
 “ *las Velas Latinas*, that is, of  
 “ the Shoulder of Mutton sails,  
 “ advanced three hundred  
 “ leagues westward, and dis-  
 “ covered many islands, where  
 “ there was plenty of provi-  
 “ sions, and they understood the  
 “ language of an *Indian* *Magel-*  
 “ *lan* had with him ” It seems  
 clear, from this relation, that  
 these could not be the islands  
 that have since passed under  
 the name of the *Ladrones* ; since  
 it is on all hands agreed, that  
 the natives never were idolaters,  
 and besides, in the best *Spanish*  
 maps, the navigation of *Ma-*  
*gellan* is laid down according  
 to *Pigafetta*’s relation, and, of  
 consequence, the islands he  
 touched at are placed to the  
 south of *Guam* (37) ; and we  
 shall hereafter see that there are  
 very probable grounds to be-  
 lieve, that we must either ex-  
 tend the *Ladrones* some degrees  
 nearer the line, or else admit,  
 that these islands had no other  
 title to this appellation, than  
 their being inhabited by a peo-  
 ple who used the like kind of  
 prows, and were as thievishly  
 inclined as those that *Magellan*  
 had met with (38). Which-ever  
 of these two opinions we adopt,  
 we must acknowledge, that  
 there are many more isles fully  
 inhabited by nearly the same  
 kind of people ; so that the ar-  
 guments hereafter advanced, as  
 to the improvements that might  
 be made, and the advantages  
 that may be drawn from a  
 judicious management of these  
 countries, and the people placed  
 in them by Providence, are not  
 at all affected by the *Spaniards*  
 embracing a contrary scheme,  
 pursuing it steadily for a long  
 series of years, and bringing it,  
 of late especially, to a seeming  
 point of perfection (39).

(37) See also *Delisle’s Maps*, and those of our best Geographers. (38) *Re-*  
*latione di Juan Gietan, Piloto Castigliano*, ap. *Remus*, tom. i. fol. 375. b.  
 (39) *Capt. Sbelcock’s Voyage*, in *Harris’s Collection*, vol. i. p. 193. *Lord An-*  
*son’s Voyage round the World*, p. 419.

THIS harsh treatment, on so short an acquaintance, must *The small* seem to be but an ill preface of what the inhabitants of these *notice* isles were to expect from their intercourse with *Europeans*; *taken of* for, except the gaining a notion of the element of fire, and *them, dur-* its uses, they reaped no advantage from this visit. We have *ing a long* seen at the beginning of this chapter the obstacles that, for a *space of* time, had prevented the *Spaniards* from improving that com- *time, by* munication which they had opened between the *East* and *the Spa-* *niards.* the *West Indies*, and which was the only cause of their visit-  
ing these islands, [as it had been of their discovering them; and this accounts for their gaining so little knowledge, and taking so small notice of them during that interval, inso-  
much, that it is not very easy to find when they visited them next, or whether they considered them as places worthy the honour of being annexed to the *Castilian Empire*. The riches of the *Moluccas* had first tempted them to this route; and when the *Spanish* government consented to suspend their pretensions to these, and make so light of the informations they had received of the *Philippines*, we need not at all wonder that the *Ladrones*, without metals and without spices, were thought in a manner beneath their attention; and it is very remarkable that *Argensola*, who wrote under the royal protection the history of the *Moluccas*, tho' he gives us a succinct relation of *Magellan's* voyage, does not so much as mention the discovery of these islands<sup>1</sup>. It was really a misfortune to the *Spaniards*, that their first discoveries proved so extremely rich, for it made them overlook all other advantages. So that they did not sufficiently attend to the connection of the different parts of their empire in the *East* and *West Indies*; and, at the same time, wasted the vast wealth they drew from thence, in grasping at dominions that could be of little or no use to them in *Europe*; which reasons will sufficiently account for the declension of the *Spanish* monarchy, at a time when universal empire was the aim of its monarchs, and, for the accomplishment of which, they seemed to have the properest means in their own hands.

After two and twenty years deliberation, the general, *Don The Spa-* *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobes*, was sent to take possession of those *niards, af-* islands which *Magellan* had discovered, and to which his suc- *ter some in-* cessor, *Don Miguel Lopez de Legaspe*, gave the name of the *termis-* *Philippines*. They both touched at the *Ladrones* in their *visit these*

<sup>1</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii.    <sup>2</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Filipinas y Malucas, lib. 4.

ishes in  
their pas-  
sage to the  
Philip-  
pines.

passage for refreshments, but without making any stay, or leaving any of their people behind them; and thus they became, and more especially the island of *Guam*, what it is still, a place of refreshment in the great run between the two *Indies* \*. In 1568 a *Spanish* ship going to the *Philippines* with two companies of soldiers on board, some of the men landed on the isle of *Guam*, and began to traverse it in search of provisions. Amongst these was a youth about twenty, who, walking unarmed through a wood, met with a boy about fourteen, who made up to the stranger, caressed him extremely, and at length, laying hold of him about the middle ran away with him laughing. The poor *Spaniard* struggled, but was afraid to cry out, apprehending that the savage would have killed him; however, the noise they made in passing through the wood brought four *Spaniards* armed, to see what was the matter. Upon this the boy quitted his prey, and fled through the wood with amazing swiftness. This shews that in their primitive state, and before they altered their manner of living, to imitate the *Europeans*, that these people had a prodigious strength and a surprizing agility †.

Singular  
instance  
of the bar-  
barous cus-  
toms that  
once pre-  
vailed  
amongst  
these peo-  
ple.

. ABOUT five years afterwards, *Don Martin Henriquez*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, directed the same Captain *Juan Lopez de Aguirre*, who was going again to the *Philippines*, to seize some of the youths of this island, and to carry them with him, that being educated there, and taught the *Spanish* language, they might learn from them a more distinct account of the country than they had been able to procure. He executed the order he had received, and, amongst the youths that he then carried away, was the very boy who had attempted to steal the *Spaniard*. When they came to *Manila* they knew each other again, and became very good friends, when the savage very frankly told the soldier, that if he had succeeded in his design, his intention was, according to the custom of his country, to have knocked him on the head, then to have sucked out his brains, to have burnt his body, and drank the ashes in palm-wine; which, he said, was their way of interring their relations, and to have kept his bones to make heads for his lances ‡. These are circumstances of which the missionaries take no notice, because, in all probability, these barbarous customs had been laid

\* COLIN. Hist. de las Philipinas, lib. i.  
les Isles de Solomon ap. THEVENOT, tom. i.  
COLLECTION of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673.

† Fragments sur  
CHURCHILL

side long before they came into these islands; or, if not, very industriously concealed.

OUR famous discoverer, Captain *Thomas Cavendish*, was Captain the first of our countrymen who visited these isles; for, as Thomas we shall shew in its proper place, Sir *Francis Drake's* touching Caven- here, tho' universally affirmed, is either false, or very uncertain. dish ar- The time of Capt. *Cavendish's* arrival was on the 3d of Ja- rives here in his fa- nuary, 1588, having traversed the *Pacific* sea in forty-five mous expe- days; and passed in that space, according to his computation, dition. eighteen hundred leagues. He arrived about two in the af- ternoon upon the coast of *Guam*, and was presently sur- rounded by sixty or seventy *Indian* prows, full of people, bringing with them plantanes, cocoas, potatoes, and fresh fish which they had caught at sea. The method they took in exchanging, was to tie a piece of old iron to the end of a fishing-line, or of a cord, which they threw into a prow, where the natives untying and taking away the iron, replaced it with some of the things they had \*. But it seems they were more eager for iron than our people were for re- freshments, since they followed them so long and pressed them so close, notwithstanding they ran over some of their prows, that at length the Captain gave orders for firing upon hem; however, they avoided the shot by dropping over board. Our people report them to have been of a tawny co- our, larger and fatter than most of themselves, with long black hair hanging down to the middle of their backs, or else tied in a knot upon the crown of their heads. They much admired their prows, or, as they stile them, *Canoes*; which, they say, were neatly made, considering they had no sharper tools than either flints or shells. They were no less struck with their skill in navigating them, and with their oldness and agility in diving. Capt. *Cavendish* continued his voyage from hence, as *Magellan* did, for the island of *Sa- al*, which he discovered on the 14th of *January*, being three hundred and ten leagues from the island of *Guam* \*.

IN the year 1596, one of the ships belonging to the Squa- Some far- ron of the *Adslantado Alvaro de Mindana*, who had ther parti- culars in- iled from *Peru* to discover the islands of *Solomon*, arrived relation to the man- ners of these peo- ple. expectedly at *Guam*, and in a fragment of the account of at voyage, which is still remaining, we have some very cu- rious particulars relating to these people. The author tells, that he saw some of their prows in which there was only

\* PURCHAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. chap. iv. p. 67. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection. HAKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 818.

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one *Indian*; and tho' it had a mast, fail, yard, tackles, balliards, and helm, he steer'd with one hand, and with the other hoists, lowers, and trims his fail, having one of the tacks fastened to each foot, and so veers out, or hales to, as occasion serves. Both ends are heads, and as soon as the fail is slipt round, they make way without bringing about the vessel. They are very swift, and when a wave breaks and fills it full of water, the man casts himself into the water like a fish, overturns the boat, and clears it of all the water. The boat being clear, he gets in at one side, being come to shore, he takes his vessel on his back, and leans it against a tree, on which he has his habitation, like a bird living upon the fish he takes. It is affirmed in this relation, that these people were idolaters, worshipping the sun, moon, stars, and even crocodiles and sharks; that they sacrifice to them, by putting their gifts into a prow, and sending it out to sea; that their houses were built upon posts or trees; that they laughed at money, but were exceedingly desirous of iron, of which they made themselves tools; that they first flay'd and then burnt the bodies of their dead, preserving their bones; that they drink the ashes of the corps in palm-wine; and that on such occasions they hired mourners, who, if the deceased was a man of quality, sung his praises for a week together; relating all his actions from his cradle to his grave; and if any of these were comical, the audience, consisting of some hundreds, laughed; and if any terrifying accident was mentioned, they shrieked all together in the most frightful manner <sup>y</sup> (L). In other respects, this narrative agrees with what we have already mentioned.

THE

<sup>y</sup> CHURCHILL's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 673, 674.

(L) The missionaries assure us, that no nation in the world can be more eloquent in sorrow than the people of these islands, and more especially the women, who with great skill and care erect tombs, or rather trophies, to the memory of the person they deplore (40) If he was distinguished in his lifetime by feats of arms, these trophies are adorned with lances; if he was more addicted to the sea, and conspicuous for his dextrous management of the prow, then the trophy was constructed, by striking the mast deep into the earth, breaking the vessel, yard, and boom to pieces, piling them up on every side, interspersed with paddles stuck up and down; to which

(40) *Fragment in relation to the islands of Solomon, translated from Mr. Thevenot's Collections and inserted in those published by Churchill.*

were

THE first native of *Holland* that visited these isles was *Olivier* arrival *van Noord*, with two ships under his command, on the 16th of the first *September*, 1599. They were immediately surrounded by a multitude of prows, full of the natives, who roared out *Dutch ship that ever visited the Ladrões*. *Hiero, Hiero*, that is *Iron, Iron*; the *Dutch*, who had seen Capt. *Cavendish's* account, treated them as he did, throwing iron tied to ropes into their canoes; and in return they tied baskets of fruit, roots, and rice, for now they cultivated that grain<sup>2</sup>. These *Dutchmen* thought *Magellan* was in the right

\* *Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi a l'Etablissement et aux Progrez de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. iii. p. 83.

were fixed fragments of the sails. If he was both soldier and sailor, the lances and the paddles were intermixed, and the whole was surmounted with branches of green trees, and whatever else could contribute to render the pile agreeable and magnificent, according to their notions. Their funeral rites lasted for several days, during which they wept and fasted till they could scarce be distinguished to be the same persons (41). The reader will not perhaps be displeased, to see one of these funeral lamentations in two parts. The first woman began thus: "There is no longer life left for me. The remainder of my days is protracted death, accompanied with never-ending sorrow and bitterness. The star that conducted me, has disappeared. The moon that gave me light is extinguished. The sun that cheered me is eclipsed for ever. Hence forward it will be an eternal night, in which, floating through waves of grief, I "shall be at length ingulphed "in misery and despair". To this the other answered: "Alas! "I have lost my all; the comfort of my days is gone; my heart shall beat no more with joy in his presence. The image of our ancient warriors! the honour of our Race! the hero of our nation is no more! he has left us! why should we stay behind! what avails life when he for whom we lived is no more?" It (42) is very strange that the missionaries were able to make no more of a people, whose abilities were so great, whose parts were so apparent, and who, in the midst of barbarism, threw out such undeniable marks of genius. One cannot help thinking, that a nation like these, might have been employed to better purposes than tilling rice grounds, and herding cattle, and might have deserved a milder fate than they seem to have met with, which falls very little short of utter extirpation (43).

(41) *Du Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. artic. v. (42) *Pere Gabien, Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, liv. ii. p. 69. (43) *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 203. *Tour du Monde, par M. le Gentil de la Barbinais*, m. 1. p. 215. *Lord Anson's Voyage round the World*, p. 452.

in his sentiments, as to these people; for, upon examining the baskets, which seemed to be full, and which were indeed very neatly made, they found nothing but shells, leaves, and a little rice sprinkled at the top. Some of these people, not satisfied with trafficking at a distance, came on board and began very soon to lay hold of any bit of iron they could reach, and jump over board with it. A Dutch seaman upon this drew his cutlafs in a passion; an Indian who stood near him twisted it instantly out of his hand, jumped over board, and carried it with him <sup>a</sup>.

Find all things much in the condition that Capt. Cavendish described them.

THOSE who remained on board, and had stolen nothing, saw all that passed with the greatest indifference that could be, eat and drank very readily whatever was set before them, and when they were satisfied jumped over board. To make a trial of their dexterity in diving, a Dutchman threw five pieces of iron one after another into the sea. One of the natives dropped after them, and having continued under water some time, brought up all five, and swam on board his prow. All that our countrymen had advanced concerning these people, as to their size and looks, as well as their uncommon strength of body, we find confirmed by the Dutch, who add, that both men and women seem to have no sense of modesty or shame. By this time there was one innovation had crept in, for the men had all their hair cropt; whereas the women wore theirs long and flowing upon their shoulders <sup>b</sup>. The Dutch visited these islands afterwards very often, and sometimes careened their ships there, finding them very commodious for that purpose, at certain seasons of the year; and as yet the Indians were so far independent, that they shewed a like regard for all European nations; that is, they got from them as much iron as possible by every method, fair or foul, that they could devise. This perhaps proceeded rather from a principle of barbarity than injustice; for it is a common principle with almost all savages to plunder strangers, tho' they may at the same time distinguish and respect property among themselves; so that thieving was rather the vice of their heads than of their hearts.

How long the Spaniards took It was near a century and a half, from the time of Magellan's discovery, before the Spaniards thought in earnest of taking possession, or making any kind of establishment in these

<sup>a</sup> HARRIS's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 34. <sup>b</sup> Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement, et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 84. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts in Churchill's Collection.

Islands. Their vessels touched there indeed annually in their voyages between the *Indies*; they had taught the inhabitants to sow rice and other grain, they gave them pulse, roots, and the seeds of different kinds of vegetables; they left fowls, hogs, and black cattle, to breed there; and it sometimes happened that some *Spaniards* were left there, either to recover their health, or to collect provisions against the arrival of their ships; but still the *Indians* retained their liberty, and their morals were not at all mended by their intercourse with the *Europeans*. On the contrary, they grew rather worse; for they imitated very readily the vices that they saw, and paid very little regard to the exhortations, that were but half understood, and which came from such of the missionaries as were passing from *New Mexico* to the *Philippines*, and who saw with regret a nation no way deficient in natural capacity, immersed in brutal pleasures, and wholly destitute of the light of religion d.

It was upon the application of some of these zealous missionaries that his Catholic Majesty, *Philip* the fourth, had formed a design of sending over some fathers to preach the gospel to these *Indians*. This project, which he did not live to compleat, was executed by his Dowager, *Mary Anne* of *Austria*, who governed the monarchy of *Spain* during the minority of *Charles* the second. This pious design of hers was accomplished about the year 1668, notwithstanding some obstacles it met with from both the viceroys of *Mexico* and the *Philippines*, who, foreseeing that they should be made responsible for the success of these missions, and apprehending from thence an increase of trouble, were not very forward in executing the orders they received from court, to second the zeal of these ecclesiastics e. At length however, they were sent over, and left to take their fate amongst these savages, many of whom they converted after their manner, and transmitted very florid accounts of the progress of the gospel amongst the inhabitants of these, now stiled from their patroness, the *Marianne Islands*. These accounts produced what they expected, strict orders to the *Spanish* viceroys in the *East* and *West Indies* to give what assistance was in their power to so pious and salutary a work; which however, as one of the best and honestest of their own writers has observed,

d ANTONIO DE HERERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. GIRO del Mondo del DOTTER, GIOVAN, FRANCESCO, GEMELI CARERI. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 5. e Du Bois Geographie Moderne, p. 702.



The suc-  
cession of  
Spanish  
governors  
in these  
isles to the  
time of the  
revolt.

flourished much more while the missionaries depended upon their spiritual weapons, than when their preaching was afterwards supported by a military force †.

DON *Juan de Vargas Hurtado*, going over in 1678 viceroy of the *Philippines*, touched at *Guam*, and at his departure appointed Don *Juan Antonio de Solas* Governor of the *Marianne* islands, with about thirty soldiers, and from this time we may date the *Spanish* dominion here; which however was but very feeble, their whole possession consisting only of a sorry village or two, in each of which, as well as in some other places, the missionaries had built churches. In 1681 Don *Antonio de Seravia*, was appointed by the royal authority governor of these islands, independent either of the viceroy of the *Philippines* or *Mexico*. He began speedily to exert his authority, and persuaded many of the *Indians* to acknowledge themselves subjects to the crown of *Spain* §. He was succeeded in 1683 by Don *Damian de Esplana*, who was assisted by Don *Joseph de Quiroga*, and now it was thought necessary to construct a fort for the security of the settlement, and during this space the missionaries visited several other islands with which the *Spaniards* were little, if at all, acquainted before; and where, tho' they made many converts, yet they met with much opposition; and some of the nobles whom they had converted, apostatizing, excited the people to stick to their old customs, and employed that natural eloquence, for which they were so famous, to ridicule the new doctrines, and the new customs which these strangers had introduced. The missionaries say, and very probably with truth, that it was those dissolute people, who affected a community of women, of whose practices we have before given an account, who were the chief authors of these disputes. But however that matter might be, these disorders went on increasing, till at length they ended in a general revolt; by which the *Spanish* settlement, tho' grown much more considerable than it was, became in no small danger of being totally subverted: for, notwithstanding the great inequality of their arms, the advantages which the natives derived from their cunning as well as from their numbers, enabled them to carry on the war with vigour, at the same time that many of the fathers were assassinated, and put to the most cruel

† D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*, lib. vi. cap. 32. § PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 292.

leaths (M). By which acts of violence on both sides, such in animosity was raised between the two nations (for as yet the

(M) It is on all hands agreed, that father *Diego Lewis de Sanvitores*, of an ancient and honourable family in *Old Castile*, was the author of this mission. He is represented as a man of the most fervent piety, whose zeal for the gospel, and whose desire to succour the infidels in these islands, induced him, with infinite labour and trouble, to procure the necessary means of passing thither with a few of his companions, which at length he accomplished in the year 1668 (44). At first they had prodigious success, or at least they flattered themselves with that notion, baptizing the natives by hundreds. But it quickly appeared that many of these new *Christians* only suffered themselves to be called so, and that for a time, falling as suddenly back to their old superstitions as they had hastily left them. Amongst those who accompanied *Sanvitores* was father *Lewis de Medina*, who, in the second voyage he made to the island of *Saypan*, was murdered there, *January 20th*, 1670 (45). Father *Sanvitores*, whom the Jesuits stile the Apostle of these islands, was slain by an apostate in the island of *Guam*, *April 2d*, 1672 (46). Father *Esquerra* perished in like manner with seven of his companions, *February 2d*, 1674 (47). Father *Peter*

*Diaz* met with the like fate from some of the young debauchees, whom we have mentioned in the text, and who, in the language of that country, are stiled *Urritaos*. He had converted a young woman whom they had kept, and had induced her to leave her infamous profession, in order to lead a life of devotion; which so provoked these rash profligate young men, that they murdered this missionary and two of his companions, and burnt the seminary which they had erected (48). Father *Sebastian de Mauray*, who also went with *Sanvitores*, being betrayed by one of the nobility of the country, was basely murdered as he was going with him in a boat by sea (49). In the general insurrection, Father *Emanuel de Solazzano* and several others were massacred; when the natives endeavoured to destroy all the *Spaniards*. Father *Theophilus de Angelis* was half hanged, and then cudgelled to death by two of the *Urritaos* (50). Father *Augustin Strobach*, a native of *Moravia*, met with the same barbarous treatment; and Father *Comans* was destroyed in the island of *Saypan* in the year 1685 (51). All of these missionaries, however pious their intentions might be, and it would be very uncharitable to suppose that they sacri-

(44) *P. le Gohien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, liv. i. p. 40. (45) *Ibid.* p. 121. 125. (46) *Ibid.* p. 164. 167. (47) *Ibid.* p. 205. (48) *Ibid.* p. 225. 227. (49) *Ibid.* p. 252. (50) *Ibid.* p. 323. 324. (51) *Ibid.* p. 339. 340. *Du Bois Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. p. 703. *Tour du Monde*, par M. le Gentil de la Barbinais, tom. i. p. 242.

the *Indians* might be stiled a Nation) as never afterwards subsided, or could be thoroughly removed <sup>b</sup>.

*Captain Eaton, an English buccaneer, arrives at Guam, and is well received by the Spanish governor, and kindly treated.*

It was about the middle of *March*, in this year, that Captain *Eaton* in an *English* ship of force visited this island, and found all things in the utmost disorder. The governor sent to know who he was, which was a question Captain *Eaton* did not care to answer; he pretended therefore, that his was a *French* ship fitted out for discovery, and in that light he was very well received, supplied with every thing he wanted on moderate terms, and many acts of friendship and reciprocal presents passed between him and the governor. The accounts we have in this voyage agree in all respects with those we have from the missionaries. The natives treated his people sometimes ill, sometimes well, according as they were stronger or weaker; and, upon Captain *Eaton's* making some excuses to the governor, on account of three or four that were killed in a fray, in which he affirmed that they were altogether in the wrong, the governor told him, he did not doubt it, and that he could not do him a greater pleasure than to kill as many as he pleased; for that they were a subtle, mischievous, cruel people, who kept no terms with any body, and with

<sup>b</sup> Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 300, 301. PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 308, 309.

sified their ease, their country, and even their lives, through any other motive, were certainly guilty of great indiscretions; for, instead of engaging any number of these people to change their former manner of living, and to form themselves into a regular society, they introduced austerities, which these people could not either relish or understand; laid great stress upon ceremonies, which had no real utility, and, instead of the gospel morality, amused their hearers with idle legends, which, in a little time, they began to ridicule: and thus, by not laying a right foundation, and making the regularity, justice, and industry of their converts the marks of their *Christianity*; and, perhaps, having themselves wrong notions of the merit of martyrdom, which they seem to have sought with a kind of passion not very reconcilable to *Christian* principles, they became victims to the ignorance and fury of these savages, whom, if they had been treated with more prudence, and taught the great duties of morality, and shewn the necessary consequences of them, in making men happy here and hereafter, they might certainly have reclaimed, and rendered in process of time honest men and good *Christians*, with honour and safety to themselves, and brought by that conduct of no small advantage to the *Spanish* government.

whom

whom no terms ought to be kept. At his request Captain *Eaton* spared him four barrels of gunpowder; which, in all probability, prevented the *Spaniards* from being driven out of the island; and their whole intercourse, from first to last, was managed with the utmost civility and candour on both sides; and which, in such cases very rarely happens, they parted better friends than they met, and without the least coldness or suspicion on either side <sup>i</sup>.

THE wild natives, on the other hand, acted as if they had intended to make good the character the *Spaniards* had given them. Sometimes they associated with, and were extremely kind to the *English*, whom they assisted in their hunting and fishing; but whenever they had, or thought they had, a favourable opportunity, they fell upon them and endeavoured to destroy them, which ended in the slaughter of many of themselves. However, in a day's time they came to traffic with them again, as if nothing had happened, and broke their faith again, as soon as they were trusted. A little before Captain *Eaton* went away, they sent some of their principal persons to acquaint him, that the best part of their countrymen had quitted the island, and were gone to another; which was true; that they were resolved to throw off the yoke of the *Spaniards*; and if he would assist them in doing this, they were content to receive him and his people for their masters; which proposition the captain rejected with indignation \* (N).

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<sup>i</sup> Capt. COWLEY'S Voyage round the World, p. 17. \* Ibid. p. 18, 19. DAMPIER'S Voyage, vol. i. p. 301.

(N) It was very fortunate for the *Spaniards* that their governor, Don *Damian de Esplana*, treated this Captain *Eaton* in the friendly manner he did; for, at this juncture, their affairs were in so critical a situation, that it depended upon the accidental arrival of this ship, and the behaviour of those on board it, whether the *Spaniards* should keep or lose the island of *Guam* (52). Captain *Eaton*, tho' he was no better than a buccaneer, had a sense of honour and gratitude which induced him to reject the proposals made him by the natives, of attacking the fort and plundering the island; which, tho' his force was not great, he might easily have done. It was also very fortunate that none of the people on board his ship had penetration enough to discover the advantages that

(52) *Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, lib. viii. *Harri's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 81.

might

*Pretences  
of the na-  
tives, on  
account of  
which they  
took up  
arms.*

WE learn from the missionaries, that this and other insurrections were entirely owing to the natural eloquence of some of their *Chamorists*, who were continually declaiming against the *Spaniards*, and the mischiefs they had brought upon them. Several of these harangues they have preserved; and tho' the greatest part of what they contain is entirely foreign to our purpose, yet some particulars there are that deserve to be mentioned. They not only complained, that, under the pretence of making them more happy, these strangers had deprived them of their liberty, and hindered them from exerting their natural strength, by confining them, which they called *cloathing*; but, which is more out of the way, that they had brought among them new diseases, such as rheums and cholics; and had also brought amongst them musketoes, and other venomous insects, with which they were never

might have resulted from their accepting such a proposal, since it might have put the *Manila* ship in their power, and have made all their fortunes at once; which was the sole object they had in view. But, besides the civility of the *Spanish* governor, they had conceived so bad an opinion of the natives that they would have nothing to do with them; and indeed it does not appear from their accounts that the manners of these people had been much mended by their conversation with the *Spaniards* (53). However, they were as remarkable for their strength and activity as when they were first visited by the *Europeans*. Captain *Cowley*, who kept a journal of this voyage, tells us that they took four of these savages prisoners, and brought them on board with their hands tied behind them; in this condition three of them leaped over-board;

upon which Captain *Eaton's* people followed them in the boat, with a resolution to destroy them, which, even in this defenceless condition, was not easily done; for a strong man could scarce penetrate their skins with a cutlass; the second received forty shot before he breathed his last; and the third, tho' he had his arms pinioned, as well as his hands tied behind him, swam a full *English* mile before he was destroyed (54). We may certainly infer from hence, that if ever any other nation had interfered with the *Spaniards*, had civilized and taken these *Indians* under their protection, they must have quickly expelled them from the *Ladrones*; and what they would have lost thereby, as well as what the conquerors might have gained, the subsequent part of this section will render sufficiently apparent.

(53) *History of the Buccaneers*, p. 427. *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 81. *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, lib. viii. (54) *Cowley's Voyages*, in *Captain William Harker's Collection of original Voyages*, p. 19. *Harris's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 81. *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, lib. viii.

plagued before; with many other accusations of the like kind; affirming that before they came, they led a quiet, tho' laborious, life, enjoyed better health; and if they had fewer conveniences (for they allowed that the *Spaniards* had taught them many things), yet their wants were fewer; and, upon the balance of the account, they were no gainers. One would imagine that, if these facts had not been true, they would not have had any weight with the people; and if they were true, we cannot help thinking them not a little extraordinary. This war subsisted for several years, and was not thoroughly extinguished till Don *Joseph de Quiroga* came to the government, who not only put an end to it, but reduced all the *Marianne* islands, north as well as south, about the year 1695<sup>1</sup>.

IN the course of the present century things have gradually taken but an ill turn for the *Spanish* government here, inasmuch, that we are assured some of the largest islands are no longer inhabited. On *Tinian* there is not a soul, except as they are sent occasionally to bring away provisions; and but three or four hundred upon *Rota*, where they cultivate fruit, rice, and garden-stuff, for the use of the *Spanish* garrison in *Guam*. We have no sort of certainty as to the state of the rest; and more especially of the northern islands, which possibly may be tolerably well peopled still, as lying at a greater distance from the *Spanish* settlement, and more out of the way of their annual ship<sup>m</sup>. We must observe, that most writers of voyages are to be read with great circumspection, and, more especially, many of the *French*, who, rather than appear ignorant of any thing, supply the defect of knowledge by a lively imagination, and give their own notions and conjectures as matters of fact. In this respect, our own and the *Dutch* authors are more to be depended upon; and tho' their accounts are somewhat drier, and their descriptions less entertaining, yet experience shews that they are less exaggerated, and come much nearer the truth (O).

IN

<sup>1</sup> PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 376.

<sup>m</sup> Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL *Tour du Monde*, tom. i. p. 241. Lord ANSON's *Voyage*, p. 450. 452.

(O) It would be very unjust to pass censures of this kind without offering some proofs to support them; and it would be to little or no purpose to enter into the detail of such proofs, if at the same time they did not contribute to illustrate, and explain

*Discoveries, Wars, and Settlements, of B. XIV.*

IN respect to the present state of things, there are, according to the latest *Spanish* accounts, about four thousand inhabitants

explain the subject. But when these circumstances concur, they cannot be displeasing to an inquisitive and judicious reader (55). The expedition of the *Duke and Duchess* under the command of Captain *Woods Rogers*, and Captain *Stephen Courtney*, was one of the most remarkable, as well as one of the most fortunate undertaken by our countrymen. After making many considerable prizes in the *South Seas*, they arrived in sight of these islands in the month of *March*, 1710; and the account given of their reception take in Cap. *Rogers's* words (56). "In order to recruit quietly, we endeavoured to get some of the natives aboard that were in the prows, to keep them as hostages, in case of sending any of our men to the governor. One of them, as we were turning into the harbour with *Spanish* colours, came under our stern. There were two *Spaniards* in the boat, who, on our assuring them that we were friends, came on board; and soon after came a message from the governor, to whom we wrote a very respectful letter, and the next day received a civil answer to it, with a generous offer of anything the island afforded; which made us very easy. On the 13th an entertainment was provided on board the *Batcbelor* for the *Spanish* gentlemen; to which I was

carried, being not able to move myself, but was hoisted in a chair out of the ship into the *Batcbelor*, where we agreed that a deputation should be sent from each ship to wait on the governor with an handsome present, in acknowledgment for his great civility and the readiness he expressed to supply us. On the 15th there was another entertainment on board the *Marquis*; to which I was carried, as to the former; and after which a committee was held, in which our former resolution was confirmed. On the 16th our pinance went out with several of our officers to the governors ashore, who received them with all imaginable friendship and respect, having near two hundred men drawn up in arms at their landing, and the officers and clergy of the island to conduct them to the governor's house; which was a very handsome seat, considering where we found it. They entertained them with at least sixty dishes of several sorts, the best that could be got on the island; and when they took their leaves, each fired a volley of small arms. They presented the governor, according as we had agreed, with two negro boys dressed in liveries, twenty yards of scarlet cloth,

(55) *Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce*, tom. II. col. 892. (56) Captain *Rogers's Voyages* in *Harris's Collection*, vol. I. p. 175.

bitants in the whole island of *Guam*, of whom about a fourth *and of the* part are said to live in the city of *San Ignatio d'Agand*, Spanish where the governor generally resides, and where the houses *settlement* are *on that* island.

“ ferge, and six pieces of cam-  
 “ bric ; which he seemed won-  
 “ derfully pleased with, and  
 “ promised to assist us in what-  
 “ ever lay in his power. The  
 “ very next day we got our  
 “ dividend, being about sixty  
 “ hogs, ninety-nine fowls, twen-  
 “ ty baskets of *Indian* corn,  
 “ fourteen bags of rice, forty-  
 “ four baskets of yams, and eight  
 “ hundred cocoa-nuts. On the  
 “ 18th there was an entertain-  
 “ ment aboard us, where we  
 “ had most of our officers, and  
 “ four *Spanish* gentlemen from  
 “ the governor. I made them  
 “ as welcome as time and  
 “ place would permit, diverting  
 “ them with music, and our sail-  
 “ lers dancing till night, when  
 “ we parted well pleased on both  
 “ sides. We got some more  
 “ bullocks on board, being small  
 “ lean cattle ; but what we  
 “ gladly accepted. Each ship  
 “ had fourteen in all. Next  
 “ morning each ship had two  
 “ cows and calves more, be-  
 “ ing the last : we had a meet-  
 “ ing on board the *Marquis*,  
 “ where it was agreed to make  
 “ a handsome present to the go-  
 “ vernor's deputy, who got our  
 “ provisions together, wherein  
 “ he used all possible dispatch.  
 “ We gave him and the rest of  
 “ the gentlemen what they  
 “ esteemed double the value  
 “ of what we received from  
 “ them ; which they certified  
 “ under their hands, and that  
 “ we had been very civil to

“ them. We also gave them  
 “ the like certificate signed by  
 “ all our officers, to shew to any  
 “ *English* that might have oc-  
 “ casion to recruit there, and  
 “ parted very friendly.”

A *French* gentleman, who  
 landed here on the 30th of  
 May, 1716, gives us the fol-  
 lowing account of things, which  
 are set down precisely in his  
 own words (57) : “ The other  
 “ three ships that entered the  
 “ road immediately after us,  
 “ proved to be our consorts.  
 “ This circumstance, which  
 “ would have given us great fa-  
 “ tisfaction at any other time,  
 “ gave us very little at present ;  
 “ for we were afraid that so  
 “ many ships arriving at a time,  
 “ might create a kind of fa-  
 “ mine in an island which we  
 “ knew was not very well pro-  
 “ vided. It imported us very  
 “ much to prepossess the vice-  
 “ roy in our favour. With this  
 “ view I went on shore with the  
 “ Captain, and we went toge-  
 “ ther to render him our first  
 “ visit. They made us pass  
 “ through a wicket, which was  
 “ the sole entrance to his pa-  
 “ lace. We then advanced un-  
 “ der a portico, where I saw  
 “ some fuses, seven or eight  
 “ bandaliers, some lances, four  
 “ colours, and a drum ; forty  
 “ soldiers, ranged in two lines  
 “ on the stair-case, received us  
 “ with all the gravity which is  
 “ the characteristic of their na-  
 “ tion ; and an officer with an



are represented as considerable, being built with stone and timber, and covered with tiles; a very uncommon fabric for these

“ air of ~~common~~ introduced  
 “ as into the apartment of the  
 “ viceroi. The gay and easy  
 “ air with which that great  
 “ man received us gave us suffi-  
 “ ciently to understand that he  
 “ was not at all displeased at  
 “ the thoughts of making bread,  
 “ and renewing his acquain-  
 “ tance with a drink of wine;  
 “ things to which, as he told us  
 “ himself, he had been for some  
 “ time a stranger. The word  
 “ *pan*, no longer, will appear  
 “ strange to you; but you are  
 “ to know that what with you  
 “ is called a *bread*, passes in  
 “ these colonies for a palace.  
 “ Thus of which I am speak-  
 “ ing is covered with straw  
 “ and palm-tree leaves; it  
 “ consists of three apartments;  
 “ the two first occupied by the  
 “ viceroi, and the third is de-  
 “ voted to the use of a number  
 “ of young *Indian* girls, whom  
 “ he caused to be bred up out  
 “ of charity; which he may  
 “ do without scandal, as his  
 “ great age secures him from  
 “ censure. He promised us  
 “ very readily all sorts of re-  
 “ freshments, and we relied  
 “ confidently upon his word;  
 “ for, being a *Spaniard*, we  
 “ very well knew that he had  
 “ rather fast six months than  
 “ break it. We went then to  
 “ pay our respects to the two  
 “ Father Jesuits, who seemed  
 “ to be very pious men: with-  
 “ out doubt, it is not ambition  
 “ brings them to these islands,  
 “ where they lead a life very  
 “ austere and full of mortifica-  
 “ tion. The day after our arri-

“ val the viceroi, Don Juan An-  
 “ tonio Francisco Hernandez Pin-  
 “ tal; Toledo, came to return our  
 “ visit on board our ship. We  
 “ regaled him in the best man-  
 “ ner our scanty circum-  
 “ stances would permit: what  
 “ pleased his excellency most  
 “ was our discharging seven  
 “ guns by way of salute. We  
 “ agreed with him for the quan-  
 “ tity of cattle we were to have  
 “ in exchange for flour, bul-  
 “ lic, wine and brandy. The  
 “ people of the country go in a  
 “ manner naked, and are af-  
 “ flicted with a leprosy, which  
 “ is a kind of epidemic dis-  
 “ temper amongst them. Their  
 “ cabins are covered with  
 “ palm leaves, and are built of  
 “ the bodies of trees drove one  
 “ into another. Their manner  
 “ of living is melancholy and  
 “ miserable; that of the *Span-  
 “ ish* garrison must be more so,  
 “ as they are less accustomed  
 “ than the natives to such a  
 “ kind of life. The preserva-  
 “ tion of this island costs the  
 “ crown of *Spain* annually a  
 “ great sum. It seems to be  
 “ a mere honorary conquest, of  
 “ no manner of utility: no  
 “ doubt his Catholic Majesty  
 “ would have it thought that  
 “ he is at this expence from a  
 “ religious motive, and for the  
 “ sake of preserving in the faith  
 “ those whom the missionaries  
 “ have converted. But, not-  
 “ withstanding all their care, of  
 “ fifteen thousand inhabitants,  
 “ that were in this island, they  
 “ are now dwindled to fifteen  
 “ hundred, and some of these

these warm climates and savage countries<sup>n</sup>. Besides this city, there are upon the island thirteen or fourteen villages. As this is a post of some consequence, on account of the refreshment it yields to the *Manila* ship, there are two castles on the sea-shore; one is the castle of *St. Angelo*, which lies near the road where the *Manila* ship usually anchors, and is but an insignificant fortress, mounting only five guns eight pounders. The other is the castle of *St. Lewis*, which is north-east from *St. Angelo*, and four leagues distant, and is intended to protect a road where a small vessel anchors, which arrives here every other year from *Manila*<sup>o</sup>. This fort mounts the same number of guns as the former; and, besides these forts, there is a battery of five pieces of cannon, on an eminence, near the sea-shore. The *Spanish* troops employed on this island consist of three companies of foot, from forty to fifty men each, and this is the principal strength the governor has to depend on; for he cannot rely on any assistance from the *Indian* inhabitants, being generally upon ill terms with them; and so apprehensive of them, that he has debarred them the use

<sup>n</sup> *Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI.* Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 16. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 300, 301. <sup>o</sup> DU BOIS *Géographie Moderne.* DE LA BARBINAIS *LE GENTIL*, tom. I. p. 213. PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 75.

“ keep in the mountains that  
“ they may retain their ancient  
“ liberty, and not be obliged  
“ to submit to the *Spanish*  
“ yoke.”

He then tells us that the viceroy furnished them with one hundred fowls, forty ducks, four oxen, six sheep, eight hogs, and some greens; and that he excused himself from letting them have more, because he expected the *Acapulco* ship. He adds, that the viceroy permitted him to carry away eleven of his soldiers, who were weary of the thin subsistence they derived from the bread-fruit, and other miserable provisions, and rejoiced at the

thoughts of filling their bellies with biscuit and salt meat. By comparing these two accounts, the reader cannot but see that the latter is a very abusive return for the kindnesses they had received, and must be well enough satisfied, considering the stock the *Spaniards* had at *Tinian* and *Rota*, that the soldiers had no great temptation to go to sea, to avoid starving; and, what is very extraordinary, he tells us in the very next page that they feasted luxuriously upon the *Marianne* capons, which they found to be fine and fleshy, and the most excellent of their kind that they ever eat.

of fire-arms or lances, that he might be the less in danger of feeling the effects of their resentment <sup>P</sup>.

*Keeping  
the natives  
low, and  
under sub-  
jection to  
the Spa-  
nish gar-  
rison in  
their for-  
tress on  
the island  
of Guam,  
the sole  
aim of the  
Spaniards*

SOME writers attribute the gaining of these islands to the crown of *Spain* to the missionaries rather, than to the civil power, and perhaps with reason; but then they may, with equal justice, attribute likewise to them the loss of these islands, by calling in the sword continually to their assistance; and a *Spanish* ecclesiastic observed this long ago <sup>Q</sup>. For, from the beginning of their missions here, as well as in the *Philippines*, the bulk of the people conceived an aversion, or a contempt for the religion which they taught, and multitudes of those whom they converted at first revolted afterwards; and, like all apostates, became the bitterest enemies to that faith which they had professed, and to which they were very rarely, if ever, reconciled <sup>R</sup>. It seems to be now generally understood, that the *Spaniards* have given over all thoughts of rendering the *Marianne* islands a province of consequence to their empire, and seem to circumscribe their views within the narrow plan of keeping *Guam*, as a post of communication between their possessions in the *East* and *West Indies* <sup>P</sup>. But after taking so much pains as we have done,

<sup>P</sup> Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 17. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 300, 301. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 452. <sup>Q</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos, de la Monarchia de China, lib. vi. cap. 32. <sup>R</sup> PERRE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 139, 140. <sup>S</sup> ANTONIO DE HERERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO, GEMELLI CARERI. DE LA BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde, vol. i. p. 214, 215.

(P) The reader will be pleased to distinguish between the object of the *Spanish* policy, which is what we censure, and the method by which they have pursued that object, the propriety of which we do not at all controvert. If any arguments could be adduced to prove, that it was inconsistent with the true interest of the *Spa-*

*nish* crown, to settle and people these islands effectually, and that at the same time it was necessary to preserve some footing in them, there would no doubt at all remain, that they have shewn great skill and dexterity in the execution of this scheme (58). They have, as we plainly see, by means, some of them evident enough, and others,

(58) Sir William Monson's Naval Discourses, book iv. in several discourses. See also Peter Martyr, Navarrette, and our former section in regard to the *Philippines*; with Savary's Observations in his Dictionnaire Universelle de Commerce.

done, after drawing together so many materials, comparing them with each other, and digesting them in the best method we could; let us have leave to make the best use of them we can; which we apprehend will consist in shewing that the *Spaniards* have entirely mistaken their object, and that it would have been far more advantageous for them, to have used their endeavours to cherish the inhabitants of these islands; to have cultivated them with the greatest care;

which it is not difficult to guess, diminished a mighty number of inhabitants that they found, and remained upon these islands long after they were in possession of them, to a very handful; who either live under the yoke, or, if they enjoy their liberty, are indebted for it to the inaccessible places to which they are retired. On the other hand, their own settlements are strong enough for any purposes they are to answer; and the governor has it always in his power to supply any refreshments of which the *Manila* ships can stand in need, at the same time that there is so little plenty in *Guam* as to furnish him with plausible excuses, in respect to any adventurers that touch there; and, at the same time, to take from them all inclination of attempting to dispossess him; from an apprehension of their wanting subsistence in a short time, even if they accomplished their design (59). Taking therefore things in this light, and allowing the principle upon which they act, we must confess that they have conducted their measures prudently enough. But here is a very wide difference

between acting wisely upon false principles, and upon true; and tho' it must be confessed that a great part of what the world calls *policy*, is in fact such a manner of acting; that is, taking right steps to come at wrong ends, this does not in the least alter the case, or demonstrate any thing more than this, that the same art and address may be employed to carry a mean and unworthy plan into execution, that would have rendered a noble, generous, and beneficent scheme successful (60). Let any candid and competent judge reflect on the steps taken by the *Spanish* court, to reduce their subjects in the *Low-Countries* into a state of servile submission, which at first produced dejection and poverty, and, in the end, the loss of those valuable provinces, tho' there was great skill, immense treasures, and innumerable forces, concerted in the prosecution of that design (61), and he will not accuse us of arrogance for arraigning the rectitude of their conduct, in this part of the world, where, sooner or later, the same event will fall out that happened there.

(59) Compare the Accounts already given from several Writers of *Voyages*. (60) *Par le Gobiern Historie des Isles Philippines*, liv. 1. p. 31. (61) *Commerce, Groceries, Materials, Strada*, and other original writers in relation to *slave* transactions.

and to have rendered them as fertile and populous as so favourable a climate, and so fine a soil would certainly have enabled them to do, if they had gone prudently and heartily about it.

The Mariana  
islands the  
natural  
barrier of  
the Span-  
ish empire  
in the In-  
dies, and  
which has  
been the  
interac-  
tion of

In the first place, they ought to have considered it as the common barrier of their empire in *Asia* and *America*, placed there by the hand of nature; and of consequence, capable, according as it was managed, of turning highly to their advantage, or much to their detriment. These countries were such as offered all the comforts, and with them all the conveniences and pleasures of life, to those that occupied them. If, instead of a handful of starved, straggling soldiers, one or two hundred white families had been transported thither early from *Mexico*, and proper provision made for them in the island of *Guam*, which, in comparison of the benefits bestowed, might have been done at an inconsiderable expence, they would in the space of half a century, have become, in comparison of the country they inhabited, a nation; and if the *Indians* had been kindly treated, they would willingly have shateered themselves under their protection, and imitated their manners. As to those who might have been so obstinate, so flagitious, or so mutable in their dispositions, as not to be won or not to be kept by good usage, they would have quitted the island, and this would have been a good riddance. When *Guam* was once thoroughly settled, a colony might have been sent without hazard from thence to *Tyuan*, or any other of the larger islands, and settled in such a manner as not to fear any disturbance from the natives, who ought never to have been deprived of their liberty; but left to discover the disadvantages of it by the comparison of their own wretched condition, with the easy circumstances of the *Spaniards*, and of their countrymen, who had voluntarily sought their protection, and adopted their manners.

How the  
mission-  
aries might  
have been  
made ex-  
tremely  
useful in  
the carry-  
ing on this  
a part.

THEIR missionaries might then have been of great use in carrying such a plan into execution, and if, instead of baptizing them in a hurry, they had insisted on their living a certain number of years after a civilized manner, and behaving like honest men before they became *Christians*, baptizing however all who desired it, when dangerously ill, or at the point of death; this had gained subjects to the state, as well as members to the church; and if they had exacted a small tribute from those who lived according to their own cul-

toms, without harrassing or injuring them, and exempted <sup>and en-</sup> them from all tribute, when they became *Christians*, trusted <sup>orasing</sup> them with arms, and advanced them to small honours, civil <sup>the</sup> and military, they would soon have had many thousands of <sup>strength of</sup> good subjects, a multitude of sincere *Christians*, and conse- <sup>the colony.</sup> quently a great strength. If their nobility had been compli-  
mented with titles and a little degree of power, it would  
have attached them to their benefactors; and they would  
have been sure to have employed their eloquence on the side  
of that government from which they derived such a real ad-  
vantage. Where-ever they had erected a church they might  
also have established a town; and whether there are or are  
not good ports in these islands, they might, with a little ma-  
nagement, have raised a great naval strength for that part of  
the world; considering the natural ingenuity of the inhabi-  
tants and their turn for navigation; which, if it had only  
served to reduce these islands by degrees, and to have main-  
tained a constant intercourse amongst them, when reduced,  
would have been productive of infinite benefits. (Q).

THESE

Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 453.

(Q) It must be allowed that  
here was a concurrence of some  
very unlucky circumstances, that  
might seem to give a colour of  
reason to proceedings, which  
however are altogether unsus-  
tainable, when examined to the  
bottom. The Spaniards indeed  
were really splendid and heroic  
virtues, very capable of render-  
ing them great conquerors; but  
when they are not a little want-  
ing in social qualities, have for  
the most part but slight notions  
of oeconomy, and believe them-  
selves born to be the masters in  
whatever countries they ar-  
rive (62). The good fortune  
that had attended them in *Ame-  
rica*, and after that the rich con-  
quest of the *Philippines*, gave

the common soldiers a natural  
contempt for a country in which  
there was nothing plenty but  
provisions. From the very be-  
ginning they had continual  
quarrels with the natives, which  
inspired them with an implaca-  
ble hatred, and invincible, tho'  
perhaps an ill-founded aversion  
for those poor people, whose ig-  
norance, tho' the effect of ne-  
cessity, made them contemptible  
in spite of those efforts of ge-  
nius which ought to have re-  
commended them to better  
usage (63). Their missionaries  
certainly came with pious inten-  
tions, and applied themselves  
with great zeal and sincerity to  
convert these savages to the  
*Christian faith*; but it appears

(62) *Justin. Hist. lib. xliiii. Travels of Thomas Gage, p. 171. L'Esprit des  
Loux, lib. x. c. iv. (63) Fragment relating to the islands of Solomon. Dis-  
cours de Commerce, tom. iv. col. 592.*

Might  
have been  
also made  
the centre  
of com-  
mence  
between  
them, and  
by that  
means pre-  
vented  
that  
trade be-  
ing injuri-  
ous to  
Spain.

THESE islands might have served for a nursery of soldiers and seamen, who might have been in many respects useful to the crown of Spain. For, in the first place, they lay much more conveniently for defending and succouring the *Malacca* than even the *Philippines*. They would easily have prevented foreign nations from passing through the *Pacific Ocean* to the *East Indies*. They might have been made the mart of Indian commodities from the *Philippines*, and the exchange of these, for the wealth of *Mexico* and *Peru* might have been regulated according to his Catholic Majesty's orders, by the government established in these islands; which could have no interests of its own, and the very want of minerals and other natural riches in these isles, instead of being a

plainly, that these were another sort of Jesuits than those, who go on the same errand into richer countries. They had none of the arts and address which some of their brethren have shewn in *China*, in the *Indies*, and in *Paraguay* (64). They never thought of accommodating themselves to the notions and manners of these people, or adopting their instructions, so as to lead them gradually to a relish of civility, order and government. They were for teaching them prayers by rote, and fixing in their minds a veneration for ceremonies, of which it was impossible they should understand the meaning. It must on the other hand be allowed, that they never met with any people, either in *Asia* or *America*, more unfit than these *Indians* were for them to deal with. Men of lively parts, quick pe-

netration, not deficient in facility, strongly prejudiced in favour of their opinions, and passionately fond of that liberty which the *Spaniards* were as obstinately bent, as soon as it was in their power, to take from them (65). Things being in this situation, and the government of *Spain*, shewing no great inclination to interfere in any other manner, than by supporting the garrison, and these missionaries treating also their expenses of these heads as a burthen upon their other provinces, and adding weight upon the crown (66), we may the less wonder that things took such a turn, or that having reduced those, who should have been their subjects into the low rank of slaves, they rendered irreconcilable enemies such as might have been made useful allies.

(64) Navarrete *Traatado Historico de la Monarchia de China*, lib. vi. cap. 3. *Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malabar*, par P. Norbert, vol. ii. p. 32. See the Memoir relating to *Paraguay* at the close of the History of Spanish America, London, 1741. (65) Du Bois *Geographie Moderne*, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. 1. (66) *Guerra Carari* *Guerra del Mundo*, P. 1. *Tour du Monde*, par M. le Comte de la Borbignais, tom. i. p. 321. *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, tom. 1. col. 892.

fect, would have been a circumstance beneficial to the interest of *Spain* \*.

BUT supposing them ever so blind, as indeed they must have been to the singular and self-evident advantages which might have resulted from establishing a force in countries which, from their fertility, and the number of people already in them, might have been so easily, and with so much certainty secured; one may with equal reason wonder that they had not their eyes open to the danger of other nations taking advantage of their supineness. For if a settlement had been made in one of the more distant islands, and those who made it had conducted their affairs with any tolerable degree of prudence and policy, they might have established themselves so effectually, even before the *Spaniards* were well apprized of it, as to have been in a condition to have resisted any strength they could have brought against them; more especially, if they had drawn the natives to their side, and had given them arms and encouragement to act against the common enemy. The want of good ports would have been an advantage to such a people; for, with a fort or two to command the roads, and a number of small vessels fit for cruising, they might maintain themselves, and at least disturb, if not intirely interrupt the communication between *Manila* and *Acapulco*. The natives, as useless as they are to the *Spaniards*, might be made good subjects by a proper usage; and if they are dangerous enemies now, would be in that case much more formidable. Tho' to some this may seem a singular, and even a strange supposition, yet it will not appear so visionary or so impracticable, if we call to mind certain matters of fact, which will shew us, that it might once have been, if it was not, apprehended \*.

WHEN Sir *Francis Drake* and Captain *Cavendish* were in these seas, they might certainly, if they had thought fit, have seized and fortified any one of these islands; and, tho' it may be true that this did not, or could not, enter into their heads, yet accidents might have forced them to it. For, had they been wrecked upon any of these islands, they could have had no other chance for preserving their lives and liberties, but by fortifying, associating with the natives, and endeavouring by their assistance, making themselves masters of the first *Spanish* vessel that came in their way. There was an-

\* Don JUAN GRAU Y MONFALCÓN Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas. . . \* PUACNAS's Pilgrims, vol. i. ch. iv. p. 37. Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 20. DAMPIER's Voyages, vol. i. p. 301.



other *Englishman* taken in the *South-Seas*, Sir *Richard Hawkins*, who, if he had come here, as he intended, was, of all men living, the most capable of such an enterprize; for he had a head to project, and a heart to execute, whatever was in the conception of the men of that age, when sea-officers undertook with cock-boats what would now be thought to require puissant squadrons. If we remember that *Philip* the second sent in all haste to build a city, and fortify the dreary streights of *Magellan*, as soon as he knew that *Drake* had passed them, we may justly wonder the *Spaniards* entertained no apprehensions of these isles; and if we meditate ever so little on the scheme of a living admiral, when he thought himself confined to the island of *Timian*, we shall see some cause to doubt whether such actions are yet out of date. But the *Dutch* have had much greater opportunities, they have passed the *Marianno* islands, not with single ships, but with fleets; and if they had left a body of men in one of them, they might have corresponded with and relieved them, from the *Meluccas*. Or accident might have led the buccanegers, as daring and enterprizing men as any that the world has seen, to have seized some of these islands for a retreat; and if they had, their companions beyond doubt would have resorted to them, and the consequences might have been just as fatal to the *Spaniards*, as a settlement of the same kind of people at *Petit Guaves*, to which the *French* owe their being masters of the best part of *Hispaniola*.

It is obvious, upon the whole, that the *Spaniards* have mistaken their point, as to these isles. AT all events we are very certain of three things: first, that other nations, as well as the *Spaniards*, have often visited these islands, of which we have given many instances; secondly, that the *Spaniards* have been in no condition at any time to dispute with them, but, on the contrary, have been forced to furnish them with refreshments; and, thirdly, that if, instead of touching at *Guam*, they had gone to any of the other islands, they might have been long enough there to fortify, before the *Spaniards* had been in any condition to drive them out. These circumstances are more than sufficient thoroughly to establish the position we have laid down, that the *Spaniards* have not only neglected the manifest advantages they might have drawn from these islands, but have as little consulted their own security; from whence one

Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Établissement et aux Progrès de la Compagnie des Indes, tom. iii. p. 84. DANIÉL'S Voyages, vol. i. p. 316. M<sup>r</sup>. CHAMBERLAIN'S Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue, liv. vii.

would imagine they thought that, by being blind themselves, they should be able to close the eyes of all other nations; and in this respect, indeed, they have hitherto had very good luck, which has sometimes answered the end, and thereby passed upon the world for the most refined policy" (R).

\* Capt. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 15. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 300. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 437, 438.

(R) The reader, no doubt, will perceive that little is said in the text, either to support the matter of fact, that the *Spaniards* had never any thoughts or design of improving these islands, and that still less is said, with respect to the motives that induced them to form this resolution; which, considering the reputation they have always had for political abilities, might well be expected, and which we therefore purposely reserved, to be explained in this note (67). That enterprizing spirit which distinguishes discoverers from the rest of mankind, and which, in a superlative degree, distinguished *Columbus* from all other discoverers, continued for a long time to glow in the bosoms of the *Spanish* heroes, who with amazing ardour pushed their conquests, and their enquiries, through every part of the known world (68). It continued to subsist even after their empire was firmly established; and it was the custom of the viceroys both of *Mexico* and *Peru* to fit out vessels to range the coasts; that the annals of their respective governments might be adorned with fresh acquisitions to the crown of *Castile*, which rendered them revered in the *Indies*; and procured also a proportionable degree of respect in *Spain*, in case they lived to return home. So long as this disposition was applauded, the affairs of the nation, in these distant parts of the world, continued to flourish, and their fame and empire were extended together (69). But, when once *Drake* penetrated into those recesses, where no stranger had ever come before, and had audaciously ventured to disturb the quiet of the *Pacific Ocean*, *Philip* the second, who began to find the force of his monarchy declining, thought it wisdom to put a check to these enterprises, believing it to be equally inconsistent with his wisdom and his greatness to let his subjects find countries that they were not able to occupy, and serve as pilots to other nations, in exploring new lands (70). The check he then gave, perhaps with good reason, since the *Spaniards* have attri-

(67) Sir Richard Hawkins's *Observations in his Voyage into the South-Sea*, London, 1622. Fol. sect. xxx. (68) Perri Martyr. *Epistola*, Mariana, Herrera.

(69) Antonio de Herrera *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*. Hauke's *Relation of the State of Newa Hispania*, address'd to Richard Hackluyt, Esq; Lond. 1592. *History of Spanish America*, from Spanish Writers. (70) Churchill's *Voyage*.

*The plan on which the Spaniards act, in reference to the Marianne islands, and from which, in all probability, they will never depart.*

We mean not, however, to deny, that tho' the Spaniards and governors have thought fit to reject the maxims that led to us right, they have substituted in their stead another plan: their own. We see plainly that they have, and we can determine from facts what the nature is of that plan. Their original design was to keep as few people, and at as small an expence as possible in the island of *Guam*, and not to trouble themselves with any of the rest; and to this they steadily adhered in a long series of years, till at length the missionaries, supported by the piety of their Catholic Majesties, forced them to abandon this method, and to suffer them to attempt the conversion of the *Indians*. But whatever they may be elsewhere, they Jesuits have not shewn themselves very able here; and very possibly the reason is, that the country being poor, the zealous and the pious, not the shrewd and the sensible Jesuits, have addicted themselves to this mission: whence it has come to pass, that their converts have been

butted to him the surname of *the Prudent*, quenched that heroic flame, which hitherto had invigorated and supported their empire. That calmer kind of policy which succeeded, and which was built upon the principle of preserving the vast dominions that had been already obtained, changed the face of things, and produced a new race of men in the *Indies*. Pride and cunning soon took place of that haughty ambition, and those extensive schemes of conquest which rendered their former heroes famous. The governors who, from this time succeeded, endeavoured most of them to make a fortune by plundering abroad, and to save themselves, by presents, from being punished for it at home. This induced them to treat with coldness those projects which their predecessors had encouraged, and,

under the specious pretence of public oeconomy, to discountenance private virtue, and every thing that wore the face of novelty, or could not be attempted without expence (71). Hence all the representations against the treasure sent to the *Philippines*, in the former sections; hence the severe restrictions on the commanders of the annual ships; hence the contempt of these islands; and hence, in short, that new system which, by extinguishing enthusiasm, has introduced a consumptive languor into their conduct; and taught other nations, by their example, that in sovereignty of this sort, when the appetite of acquiring is once either lost or restrained, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to preserve what has been already acquired (72).

(71) *Hénaux du las Rio Coronel, Relations de las Islas Filipinas y Marianas. Nouvelle. Poze le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. 1. p. 35.* (72) *Dampier, Rogers, Spelbeck's Voyages, Gemelli Careri, De la Barbouze, Lord Anson's Voyage.*

azy bigots that have done little good to the colony, and a great deal of mischief to their own nation; from the consideration of this the old plan has been revived, and by degrees carried into execution \*. The governor relies on the little strength he has in their single settlement on the single island of *Guam*, keeps the natives not immediately under his obedience, as poor, as low, and as defenceless as possible, and treats such as acknowledge his authority, not as subjects, but as slaves. His principal endeavour is to be able to command, upon any occasion, a sufficient stock of provision for the service of his colony, and of the annual ship. This, it seems, is thought the best use that can be made of the *Marianne* islands, the surest method of being safe from the resentment of the natives, and the best security that can be had against these islands falling into the hands of any other nation. This, from the facts we have collected from writers of all nations, at different times, and under circumstances that cannot deceive us, is the plan at present pursued; and which, for any thing we can perceive, is like to be pursued so long as *Indians* enough remain to enable their masters to keep this settlement <sup>b</sup> (S).

BUT

\* *SHELVOCK'S Voyage round the World.* Lord ANSON'S Voyage, p. 419. <sup>b</sup> *DAMPIER'S Voyage*, vol. i. p. 301. *De la BARBINAIS LE GENTIL Tour du Monde*, vol. i. p. 214. *COOK'S Voyage*.

(S) If any critical reader should object, that as the *Spanish* plan of governing these countries, may spring from the genius of the people, and the settled maxims of their ministers, with whose motives we are little acquainted, so the censures may likewise arise from the temper of this nation, and the liberty that we take of entering into, and discussing all subjects according to our own notions of things; tho' perhaps they may be as partial and remote from truth, as the conduct of those nations seems to us to be, which

we blame without reserve. But to this we oppose a short, plain answer; which is, that the wisest and most intelligent persons among the *Spaniards*, who have treated upon these subjects, have differed as much as we do from their politicians, and declared expressly in favour of the scheme which we recommended (73). Many of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* missionaries have very freely owned, that the true way of converting *Indians* to the faith of the gospel, is that which we have laid down, that they have pursued it, and pursued it

(73) *Historica Relatiq. del Regno di Chile*, del P. Alonso d'Ovarglie, lib. II. p. 19.

*It must be left to the decision of the reader.* BUT whether this manner of treating these isles, and their inhabitants be consistent with the dictates of humanity, the law of nature, or the moral doctrines of the *Christian* religion,

with success; nay, they are so candid as to acknowledge, that some of the Jesuits, and particularly *Francis Xavier*, filed by his own orders, the *Apostle of the Indies*, was of this mind, and thought that baptizing men, and teaching them to say a few prayers, was a very imperfect manner of conversion, and that the true road was to enlarge their understanding, and reform their manners, so as to render them sober, sensible, and honest men; and that then there was no doubt of their becoming and remaining good *Christians* (74). Others have taken great pains to expose the folly and weakness of restraining the colonies from a free correspondence with each other; which they have asserted was the only means of rendering them rich and populous; and which was still of greater consequence to the people in them, easy and happy. They complain that those notions were not relished at *Madrid*; and the cause they assign for this, is no other than that they were not well understood (75). They give us plainly to understand, that the temporary restraints, which *Philip* the second very wisely introduced in times of great trouble and confusion, and when almost every state in *Europe* was endeavouring to raise its power, and increase its riches at the expence

of the *Spanish* monarchy, had been adopted, as invariable maxims of state; from which his successors and their ministers were never to depart. Whereas in prudence, the principles of their conduct ought to change with the times; and that, as soon as a solid peace was restored, these restraints ought to have been taken away. It is from these writers that we learn, that the modern distinction between the interests of *Spain*, and the interests of the colonies, has no foundation in nature; but must be necessarily attended with consequences very injurious, and which, in time, will become fatal to both (76). They likewise make no difficulty of asserting, that most of their governors have nothing in view but raising fortunes hastily, and making such representations at home as may facilitate their own private designs; that such as have digressed from this narrow path, and acted with better views, have too often been exposed to the resentment of the ministers, who, for want of better lights, adhered to the opposite plan, and have been misrepresented as factious and capricious persons, who, out of a vain conceit of rendering themselves popular, or a presumptuous opinion of their own superior abilities, had an inclination to change the old established measures, and to

(74) *Munuscula, Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de España.* (75) *B. de la Cofa, Don Juan Grau y Montalcan, Coronel, &c.* (76) *Navarrete, Quaglie, Coronel, as cited in the former section.*

gion, we must leave to the equitable decision of the public, whether, who are also the proper judges, whether, even considered in a political light, this scheme of management will serve long to answer their purpose; or if it had not been much better to have cherished and civilized these people; to have carried some of them to *New Spain*; and some to the *Philippines* while very young, and causing them to be taught there the *Spanish* language; have brought them back well educated, and instructed in different arts and trade, into their own country, where they might have been doubly useful, from the exercise of their own abilities, and their capacity of teaching others<sup>c</sup>. This certainly would have attached them effectually to the *Spanish* interest, which of course they must have adopted, together with the manners of the nation; and they might then not only have had thousands of subjects to cultivate and improve a country so well able to support them, but also to maintain and defend it, for their own sakes, against all invaders. This would also have more

*whether this precaution, or the former more beneficent plan ought to have been preferred.*

<sup>c</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE *Tratados Históricos de la Monarchia de China*, lib. vi. cap. iv.

introduce innovations that might be destructive to the interests of *Spain*. This last point is the great barrier which protects all the ill conduct and strange management that renders the *Spanish* empire, in both the *Indies*, so inconsiderable to what it might be; and there is nothing clearer than, that while this doctrine prevails, that no innovations on any account are to be admitted, no amendments can ever be practical (77). We will add but one word more, that as there is nothing plainer to one, whom reading and reflection has made a proper judge of the matter, than that the trade of the *East Indies* might be carried on with greater ease, and to a greater extent, by the subjects of the

crown of *Spain*, than by those of any other power in *Europe*; so this was long ago fully and freely stated (78), and is not at all a new thought from which we mean to arrogate any merit to ourselves, unless there be a merit in reviving and defending truth; and from this disposition inculcating, that the doctrines we support are not barely relative to the *Spaniards*, but calculated for the use of all nations who have colonies (79), and who can only profit by them, through a steady adherence to that common interest which belongs alike to both, and which must always be preferred to whatever seems to be the separate interest of either.

(77) *Historia del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. c. iv.  
*Van concerning the Spanish Power in the West Indies*,  
*Naval Treaties*, in Churchill's Collection,

(78) *Discourse of Lopez de*  
*Sir William Munson's*  
 (79) *Wood's Survey of Trade*, p. 12.

effectually answered the intention of yielding assistance, as well as furnishing provisions and conveniences, to their galleons that have touched there; and have done more honour, and been less expensive to the *Spanish* government, than the plan that is now pursued; even supposing that there were sufficient reasons against prosecuting any more extensive schemes for rendering these islands the center of commerce between the two *Indies*. At all events, however, there is one clear and certain remark that may be deduced from this history and these observations, with which we shall conclude the present section <sup>a</sup> (T).

WHATEVER

<sup>a</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxix. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's Collection. Lord ANSON's *Voyage*.

(T). In this section we have drawn together as ample a description of these islands, as full an account of their produce, as distinct and circumstantial an history of their inhabitants, as from all the materials we could collect it was possible for us to deliver; and we hope it will be the better received, because nothing of the kind is to be met with elsewhere; and therefore such an account seemed to be a thing equally wanting in a geographical historical and political light; in each of which we have endeavoured to consider it. The sole cause of our taking all this pains was the importance of the subject, which we have exerted all our diligence to illustrate here, and which will still appear more fully hereafter. Not that the sense of this was totally hidden before, but it was so briefly hinted, and that chiefly in books of an old date, and very little consulted, that it seemed to us in danger of being forgot and overlooked in succeeding times, and we thought it our duty to prevent

this. There is no less merit in reviving useful knowledge that has been neglected, than in making new discoveries; and it sometimes happens, that the one makes way for the other. For, if the intelligent reader will be pleased to reflect, he will find very few modern inventions that from their utility have made any figure in the world, but have been afterwards disputed in favour of the ancients; sometimes it may be with, and very often perhaps, without much reason. It is very possible that, notwithstanding these islands have been upwards of two centuries thought of little or no value, and equally disregarded by their possessors and by all other nations, they may be hereafter seen in another light, as has been the case of the islands of *Mascareneas* and *Mauritius*, settled and abandoned, resettled, and again relinquished by several nations, and at length discerned to be, and under proper management demonstrated to have been always, places of very great consequence; and

that

WHATEVER claim the *Spaniards* may have to treat coun-tries, which they have discovered and possessed, in the manner they think most advantageous to their own views, and whatever right they may have to desolate those islands, and extirpate their inhabitants, they certainly can have none, to preclude the rest of the world from knowing the advantages they might have drawn from them; and that other nations may yet draw from them, when, from the prosecution of this refined policy, they shall come to be deserted; neither is it consistent with the scope of a *UNIVERSAL HISTORY* to suffer the intelligence derived from the discoveries made by any nation, and the benefits that may result from them, to be resolved again into oblivion; because it proves to be, or at least it is thought to be, the interest of that nation that they should be as much forgotten as if they had never been known. For the same reasons, and with the same right, that, in the former part of this work, we have laboured to recover the knowledge of the earliest state of countries and their ancient history, we are intitled to pursue our enquiries, with regard to the emoluments, that mankind in general may reap from the prosecution of the intended or accidental notices that have been received of the almost innumerable islands that lie scattered in this part of the world; and that many, not without probability in their conjecture, have thought to be the fragments of some great continent that once united the now separate parts of this globe. This design, without doubt, lies within the compass of our undertaking; and how far soever these endeavours may be defective, they will at least manifest our desire to accomplish in the fullest manner, the plan that we proposed, and point out to posterity the method by which it may be rendered compleat.

\* *PLIN. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 86, 87. SANB. Quest. Natural, lib. iv. cap. i. HOOK'S Posthumous Works, p. 402.*

that might have been turned to singular advantage. This, however, ought not always to be left to chance, or the concurrence of unlook'd-for events; more especially, when some pains and a moderate degree of attention is all that is requisite to place things in their true light; that is in the light that does most honour to Providence, and that points out how they may be rendered beneficial to mankind; this, without doubt, is the capital object of history, and this we have been careful to keep in view.



Thus we see, that at this time, they were not afraid, either in *Spain* or in the *Indies*, of pushing their discoveries with vigour, tho' the means of doing that, and of supporting them

when

first meridian at the distance of thirty degrees west, passing through *Newfoundland*, and by the mouth of the river *Maranon*, through the midst of *Brasil*. The other line was supposed to pass through the meridian of *Malacca*. These lines were the east and west boundaries of the *Spanish* discoveries, and the west and east boundaries to the *Portuguese*. Upon this principle *Herrera*, though he calls all that the *Spaniards* possessed in virtue of this papal grant, the *Spanish West Indies*, in opposition to the discoveries of the *Portuguese*, which were called the *East Indies*; yet, when he enters upon the description of the former, he gives us a new division which is very remarkable; and of which the reader will take particular notice. He styles all that the *Spaniards* possess in the north of the new world, from *Quivira* to *Porto Bello*, *las Indias del Norte*, or the *North Indies*; all that they possess from *Porto Bello* to the straits of *Magellan*, *las Indias de Medio Dia*, or the *Southern Indies*, which he says was in his time falsely called *America*; from whence we see that in those days that term was applied only to the south part of that great continent, the whole of which now passes under that name (1). The remainder, that is, all between the *South Seas*, and the latter line of demarcation, he describes under the name of *las*

*Indias del Poniente*, or the *West Indies*. This cannot but appear extremely strange to an *English* reader, who has been always accustomed to consider these very countries as the extreme parts of the *East Indies*; but to put this matter out of all doubt, we will give the author's own description, so far as is necessary to render his meaning certain and perspicuous (2). "The *West Indies*, says he, comprehends all the islands and firm land, which lie within the line of demarcation for the crown of *Castile* and *Leon*; which western line of demarcation passes through the city of *Malacca*; and to the eastward of this line, between that and *New Spain*, there lies, in a vast gulph, an infinity of islands great and small; with many tracts of coast and of firm lands, which are divided into the spice islands, or the *Maluccas*, the *Philippine* islands; the coasts of *China*; the *Liquor* islands, the islands of *Japan*, the coasts of *New Guinea*, the islands of *Solomon*, and the *Ladrones*; the climate of all these countries, whether islands or continent, is, generally speaking, moist and temperately warm, the land fertile in all sorts of provisions; with some gold, but not fine; no silver, abundance of wax, and inhabited by people of very different colours; the greatest

(1) *Anuncio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 10. xiv. *Argensola, Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. i. (2) *Anuncio de Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. 27.

when done, were very small; more especially in comparison of the present state of things. Both these expeditions might be said to prove unfortunate. Don Garcia died in his passage, but *Alvaro de Saavedra*, after twice putting to sea, with an intention to return to *New Spain*, died at the *Mokucas*<sup>1</sup>. However both these commanders discovered new islands in the vicinity of the *Ladrones*, and gave their countrymen the first hint, that this *Archipelago* was of considerable extent; and that it would turn to some account if they would examine the several islands of which it was composed. These advices were well received; for in those days there was a competition amongst the *Spanish* governors in *America*, who should most enlarge his province, or make the greatest discoveries.

BUT the most important discoveries, in reference to the islands lying north of the *Ladrones*, were made near twenty years afterwards, when the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza sent *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos* into these parts. He sailing from the *Philippines*, in order to return to *New Spain*, discovered almost under the tropic of *Cancer* some islands, to which he gave the name of *Malabrigos*; that is, the *bad Roads*; because the coasts about them were foul, and afforded them no anchorage &c. Beyond these, he met with two fair islands lying almost close to each other, which, for this reason, he called *Las dos Hermanas*; or the *two Sisters*: beyond them they saw four more islands, called from the fiery mountains in them, *Las Volcanes*; in these it is said there is great plenty of fine cochineal. Beyond them, that is still farther to the east, they had sight of *La Farfana*, and beyond that a high-pointed rock which threw out fire and smoke at five different vents. They saw likewise five or six islands more, to

<sup>1</sup> Discourse of LOPEZ VAZ, concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies, in HACKLUYT's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 778. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA Histoire general de las Indias, lib. iv. cap. 14. \* GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by R. HACKLUYT. The Voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE in HACKLUYT's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. See the Map in the original edition of HERRERA.

“ part however resembling the  
“ *Indians*, intermixed with but  
“ some whose countenances are  
“ very white and others who are  
“ downright negroes.” These  
remarks, tho’ a little dry in  
themselves, are of the utmost  
consequence to the understand-  
ing whatever is delivered of  
the *Spanish* empire in these parts  
of the world, and any discove-  
ries that may be made of con-  
tinents or islands by them ne-  
glected.

which they gave no names. The wind proving contrary, they resolved to return again to the *Philippines*, and in their passage met with a cluster of islands in about sixteen degrees north latitude; the inhabitants of which were white, the women handsome and well-dressed, with many ornaments of gold about them. These people had stout vessels, sixty feet long, and of a proportionable breadth, composed of planks five inches thick, and rowed with oars. These islands seem to have been to the north-west of the *Ladrones*; for the inhabitants told them, that they traded in these vessels to *China*, and made this voyage in a week. They likewise found other barks, very handsomely made with two decks. On the upper deck were white people well-dressed and commodiously accommodated; on the lower deck were Blacks, by whom these vessels were rowed, at which the *Spaniards* were very much surprized; for at this time, they had not the least conception of there being any Negroes in that part of the world<sup>a</sup>. It is surprizing, but the fact is nevertheless true, that we meet with nothing more of this *Archipelago*, nor are these islands laid down in any of the *Spanish* maps. It is however very probable from hence, and it will appear still more so, from other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, that there are many islands to the north, to the north-east, and to the north-west of the *Ladrones*, very well worth being visited, if the *Spaniards* had thought proper<sup>i</sup>. But at this period they seem to have been hindered by the discovery of the *Philippines*, which was a much greater object, and consequently occupied their attention for many years (B)

## AFTER

<sup>a</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by R. HACKLUYT.

<sup>i</sup> CLUVERII Introduct. in universam Geographiam, lib. v. cap. ii. LUYTS Introductio ad Geographiam, sect. iii. cap. 13. DU BOIS, Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. art. v.

(B) There is no doubt to be made that persons in authority, and such as are curious amongst the *Spaniards*, have very accurate accounts, at least of all those islands that from time to time have been by their licensed pilots inserted in their maps; such as that *Archipelago*

to which they have given the name of *Islas del Fuego*, or *Islands of Fire*; and many others, of which the rest of the world know little or nothing, and are not like to be better informed for any thing this nation has discovered, at least till they are in the humour

AFTER that great project was in some measure accomplished, this of prosecuting these northern discoveries, might have been also undertaken and perfected, if only two or three hundred children from ten to fifteen years old, had been removed. *They might however have been easily improved,*

mour to make some use of these discoveries (4). Amongst others, there is very little doubt that they bestowed the name of *Hermosa* on that island, which has been since called *Formosa*; upon which they had once a fortress called *Kilung*, which, whether they of themselves abandoned, or whether it was destroyed by the *Dutch*, is not clear (5). So that it appears from hence there was a time, when they were less indifferent to these things than they are at present; and one would have imagined that something worth attention might have been found in a fair, fruitful and pleasant island, for so themselves describe it, abounding with rich commodities, amongst which gold is particularly reckoned, and, in point of size, not inferior to *Sicily*. Indeed we find the clearest evidence of their having long ago a strong propensity to look into these matters, and to make themselves masters, not barely of the situation and size of the islands in these seas, but also of the havens that were in them, and the commodities with which they were furnished; and it is from their own account we learn that they were apprized

of four islands to the east of *Japan*, the inhabitants of which brought annually from thence considerable quantities of gold in bars, cotton cloth, a kind of fish like tunny in pickle, and other things (6). These islands certainly still exist, and, tho' it may be true that their commerce is sunk, at least of such as lie nearest to them, from the natural timidity of the oriental nations, who chose rather to lose the advantages resulting from commerce, than run the hazard of being conquered by the *Europeans*, yet certainly there is nothing improbable in affirming that, by proper instructions and due application, these people might be again recovered, at least to the state they were in before, and consequently, a correspondence with them, prove advantageous (7). But, tho' nothing of this kind seems to have been thought of during this last century, yet even in that time fortune has favoured them with the discovery of several beautiful islands lying directly north from the *Mariannes*, and east from *Japan*, which they call the *New Islands of the Year* 1736 (8), to distinguish them from another *Archipelago* of islands, lying one degree lower,

(4) See the Spanish chart of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage.  
 5) *Histoire de la Chine, par le P. Martin Martini*, p. 195. (6) *The Voyage of Francisco de Gualle in Hakluyt's Collection*, vol. ii. p. 442. Antonio de Herrera: *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii. *Giro del Mondo*, del Dottor Giovan. Francesco Gemelli Carreri, P. v.  
 be East Indies, chap. viii, ix. (7) *Fryke's Voyage to the East Indies*, chap. viii, ix. (8) See the Spanish Charts of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage.

and the  
Ladrones,  
in conse-  
quence of  
it.

moved from the *Ladrones* to the *Philippines*, educated there in the *Christian* religion, according to the customs of the *Spaniards*, in the knowledge of their language, without suffering them however to forget their own <sup>k</sup>. They might then have been brought back to some of their own islands, and afterwards employed as seamen, under the direction of *Spanish* officers, in examining gradually these islands. If we suppose them only to have advanced as many degrees farther to the north, as *Guam*, the most southern of these islands, is from *Vrac*, which is the most northern, they could not fail of meeting with islands better inhabited and better improved than their own <sup>l</sup>. By this method of making discoveries, they might in a great measure have spared their own people, and might have performed great things with small trouble, little risque, and hardly any expence. Their other colonies would not have suffered in the least by this; on the contrary, whatever profits had attended these discoveries, might have centred in the *Ladrones*, and from them might have been carried either to the *Philippines*, or to *America*, and from thence to *Europe* <sup>m</sup>. We shall presently see that in islands under a higher latitude, and yet much within the reach of this method of discovery, the richest and most valuable commodities in the world are to be had in plenty <sup>n</sup>; and, by making the *Ladrones* the magazine of these, through the labour and industry of its natives, they might easily have removed that reproach of poverty with which they have stigmatized these islands. As if a race of strong, active, ingenious people, naturally addicted to navigation, and capable, if properly instructed, of

<sup>k</sup> Don JUAN GRAU Y MONTFALCON *Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas*. ALONSO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. <sup>l</sup> Giro del Mondo del Dottor, GIOVAN, FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI P. V. <sup>m</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii. ALONSO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. <sup>n</sup> Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. Du Bois, *Geographie Moderne*.

<sup>n</sup> Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 892. Du Bois, *Geographie Moderne*.

and consequently nearer, which might be satisfied that all we were discovered in 1664 (9). have said in the text is well-  
We have taken the more pains founded in fact, and not ad-  
upon this head, that the reader vanced at random.

(9) *Mappe-monde a l'usage de Roy, par Guil. de Lisle*.

other arts, might not have proved the instruments of riches in the hands of a wise and well-judging nation; more especially, considering the happiness of their situation, with so many inviting prospects on every side °.

In order to apprehend this more clearly, let us consider *Some of the* that the rich countries of *Sapan* are not more out of their *richest* reach than the *Philippines*; and tho' it be true, that they *countries* would be now very unwelcome guests there, yet the case was *in the* not so always; and it may be, they might have afforded *world lie* the *Christians*, their friends in those islands, some assistance, if *in the vi-* they had used any diligence in their discoveries on this side; *cinity of* for they knew very well from the intelligence given them *the La-* by the missionaries there, as by other chanel, that there were many, and some very large islands, between the *Ladrones* and the islands of *Japan*; and if they had either made settlements, or so much as entertained any correspondence with their inhabitants, they might perhaps have enjoyed as much, or more, of the commerce of that empire, than by having an immediate correspondence with it <sup>p</sup>. Neither were the *Spaniards* at all times insensible or inattentive to this; and, from whatever motives they were led to desist from their endeavours, most certainly it did not arise from any apprehension of their being impracticable. It is more likely to have arisen from their contempt of all advantages but what proceeded from absolute conquest. The *Portuguese*, indeed, grew quickly into love with trade, and began to be softened by the manners of the *East*; but the same cannot be said of the *Spaniards* <sup>q</sup>. They maintain their national character in all climates, and affect to live no where unless they are acknowledged for masters. However, even this need not have discouraged them; they might have found islands, in which a settlement made by their subjects under the protection of a good fort with a *Spanish* garison, might have answered all their purposes effectually, and fixed them in the possession of a commerce that might have been connected with the *Philippines*, as easily as with the *Ladrones* <sup>r</sup>.

° *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis*, p. 322. <sup>p</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*. HAKLUIT's *Collection of Voyages*. *Histoire de la Chine*, par le P. MARTIN MURINI, p. 163. <sup>q</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries translated from the Portuguese*, by R. HAKLUIT. *Dictionaire universelle de Commerce*, tom. ii. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, <sup>r</sup> The *Voyages of FRANCESCO DE GUALLE* in HAKLUIT's *Collection*, vol. ii. p. 442. ALONSO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*. PURCHAS's *Pilgrims*, vol. i. p. 370.

An account  
of the  
islands Li-  
quios, Le-  
queios, or  
Riuku, in  
the neigh-  
bourhood of  
Japan and  
China.

To shew the certainty as well as the probability of what has been advanced, let us observe, that those islands so famous amongst the first discoverers, and with the very names of which we are scarce acquainted, lie directly within their reach. These are the *Liquios*, the *Lequeios*; or, as some call them, the islands of *Riuku*, situated from the twenty-sixth to the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and consequently, but five degrees higher than the most northern of the *Ladrones*. The *Liquios* have the islands of *Japan* on the north, the continent of *China* on the west, the island of *Formosa* on the south-west, the *Ladrones* a little to the south-east, and the ocean without any continent, for any thing we know on the *East* \*. They are an *Archipelago*, consisting of many small islands, with two pretty large ones to the north, stiled from thence the *Great Liquios*; and also two more considerable than the rest at the southern extremity, which are stiled the *lesser Liquios*. It is an established maxim with the *Japanese*, that these are the most fertile countries in the world; and, if they are to be credited, the inhabitants reap annually two harvests from the same land. This consists chiefly of rice, tho', besides this, they have also other grain, with a great variety of excellent fruits, abundance of cattle, with some gold and rich perfumes. The inhabitants are esteemed the gayest, happiest, and easiest people on the globe; and this, notwithstanding they are subject at least to four, if not five, masters. They have a sovereign of their own, stiled like the spiritual emperor of *Japan*, their *DAIRO*; but whether he has a temporal lieutenant, or not, is uncertain. They are likewise tributaries to the king of *Saxhuma*, one of the princes of *Japan*, to whom they pay a considerable sum annually, besides occasional presents to the emperor. They also collect an acknowledgment of considerable value every year, as a testimony of their respect for the emperor of *China* †. It is indeed said, that many thousand *Chinese* took shelter here at the time of the last revolution, and are at present incorporated amongst the natives, whom, it is not unlikely, they have improved in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; but, with respect to navigation, those people, at the

\* G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 369. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales. The Voyage of FRANCESCO DE GUALLE in HAKLUYT's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442. † ANTONIO DE HERRERA Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. PURCHAS's Pilgrims, B. v. chap. xiv. sect. i. Du Bois, Geographie Moderne.

time that the *Europeans* entered the *Indies*, were thought superior to the *Chinese*, and were also the most candid, and the most respected traders in the *East*, where the profession of a merchant was always honourable, and where there are still many who live with a degree of magnificence scarce inferior to princes (C):

## THE

(C) It is from such *Europeans* as travelled by land into the *Indies*, before the *Portuguese* discovered the passage by the *Cape of Good Hope*, that we learn the state of these countries, and their inhabitants, to have been quite other than we should have imagined it, if it had not been for those relations. The island of *Ormuz* was in those days, as we have elsewhere shewn at large (10), the center of commerce for the exterior *Indies*; where, also, what little trade they had with *Europe* was likewise managed, as *Malacca* was for the interior; and in truth one cannot easily conceive a place better adapted for it by nature. Here the merchants met from the coasts of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Persia*, on one side; from *Corea*, *China*, *Japan*, and it may be yet more distant countries from the other; and hence *Lewis de Berthema*, or *Vertoman*, one of the oldest travellers of whose works there is any thing yet remaining, tells us, that he thought there were more ships in this port than in any other in the world; which, the times considered wherein he wrote, may very possibly be true (11). In like manner *Edward Barbosa*, another ancient traveller, whose

works, tho' but imperfectly, are still preserved in the very best collection of voyages extant, speaks of those people we have mentioned in the text in the following terms (12): "In the front of the continent of *China* there are a multitude of islands along the sea-coast, and beyond these, as it is reported, a very large country held to be a continent, from which there came to *Malacca* annually three or four ships, with those from *China*, navigated by white men who were great merchants and very rich; for they brought with them in their vessels great quantities of gold in bars, silver, grain of all sorts, flower, much fine porcelain, and some pieces that were exquisitely fine, with other rich merchandize which they exchanged for pepper, and other commodities which they found in this place. These people are called *Liquiens*, and, according to the unanimous report of the people of *Malacca*, they were another sort of men, dealt more largely, were richer, better clothed, and, in all respects, superior to the *Chinese*. But of these people, at this day we are

(10) See before chap. iv. sect. v. of this book. (11) See his *Travels*, preserved in *Eden's History of Travels*, 4to, 1577. (12) G. Battista Ramusio *Raccolta delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 320. b.



*The genius  
of this na-  
tion, and  
the means  
by which  
they have  
kept them-  
selves free  
and happy.*

THE great characteristic of these people is their love of tranquility, and their application to the arts of peace; by which, in the midst of those revolutions, that have not only disturbed but have destroyed, in a greater or less degree, the nations round them, they have kept themselves in pretty much the same situation, in the enjoyment of their own laws and customs, and in the exercise of navigation and commerce; which has supplied them with the means of defending themselves from those distresses, which their more puissant, tho' more haughty neighbours, have severely felt. The richness of their soil and the mildness of their climate, instead of rendering them idle, has prompted them to improve to the utmost the blessings which nature has bestowed. Their fields are cultivated with the utmost care, and, according to their different natures, appropriated to different kinds of grain. When the harvest is once over, they distinguish every sort into fine, coarse, and refuse. Out of the first they supply themselves for domestic uses, and for exportation; the second they moisten and malt, of which they make a very pleasant beer, called *Sacki*, which however is very apt to give the cholic, if drank cold. Of the third, or spoiled grain, they make what is stiled in their language *Awamuri*, which is, in plain *English*, *Malt Spirits*; they are likewise very solicitous in cultivating their gardens, in which they have roots of all kinds, a great variety of pulse, medicinal herbs, and very fine flowers. Their principal manufacture is that of silk, with different kinds of which they are all well-clothed, and yet reserve a considerable stock for exportation; mother of pearl, and cowrie, for which there is a great demand in *Japan*, where they grind down those that are perfectly white, into an impalpable powder, which is afterwards converted

▪ P. CHARLEVOIX *Histoire du Japon*, vol. i. p. 6. 171.

“ not able to give any better  
“ account; because they have  
“ forbore to visit the *Indies*  
“ since the crown of *Portugal*  
“ became masters of, and ex-  
“ ercised authority in them.”  
We may conclude from hence,  
that there requires some art  
and management to deal with  
this nation; but at this time of  
day one would imagine, that

for the sake of the advantages  
that might be drawn from them,  
the *Spaniards* might be induced  
to deal with them, without at-  
tempting anything against their  
liberty, upon the preservation  
of which their commerce prob-  
ably depends, and which  
therefore those who would gain  
by them, ought not in point  
of interest to infringe.

into a paint, and used by persons of both sexes. They have, besides, another kind of shells, either naturally flat, or made so by art, which are used in *Japan* for glazing the windows of their houses \*.

As the true characteristic of this nation is industry, they *Other* have probably found a way to pay their tributes to *Japan* *islands may* and *China* out of the balance of their respective trades; for, *be disco-* besides the produce of their own islands, they carry the several commodities and manufactures reciprocally of *Japan* into *China*, and of *China* into *Japan*, by which they are great *inhabi-* gainers; and perhaps much of the gold that is seen amongst them is the result of this traffic. If therefore the *Spaniards* *these in in-* could have fixed themselves here, as without question they might easily have done, *European* and *American* commodities *dustry and* would undoubtedly have been very welcome to these judicious traders, and, it may be, the *Japonefe* would have taken them this way, notwithstanding all their prohibitions \*. It is not at all improbable that other islands might be found between the *Ladrones* and the *Liquios*, not deficient in rich and valuable goods; and it is very well known that there are several clusters of small islands to the westward, between these and the continent of *China*, particularly those to which our buccaneers gave the name of the *Bashee* islands; in which there are gold, and some kind of spices, not to mention gums, and drugs for dying; so that we have advanced nothing chimerical, or without good grounds on this head of important discoveries in the vicinity of this *Archipelago*, which has been so frequently treated, for want of due consideration, in a despicable light † (D). Let us take liberty to add, that if

\* ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. P. CHARLEVOIX Histoire de Japon, vol. ii. p. 470. † HARRIS's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 686.

‡ P. BENTIN Tab. PURCHAS's Pilgrimage, book v. chap. xiv. sect. i. See the Spanish chart preserved in Lord ANSON's Voyages.

(D) The reader may very probably expect that we should produce some authorities of a later date, and will be perhaps surprized that we cite none but ancient collections, and writers who lived long before our own time. We must, in answer to this, observe, that these were times of discovery, while the *Spanish* empire was yet growing, before systems of trade were invented; and, in consequence of them, exclusive companies erected in other nations. Since this period things have rather gone backward, with respect to such kind

if the missionaries had suggested something of this kind to the *Spanish* government, and had offered their service for the education of the *Indian* youth, in a manner that might have rendered

kind of enterprizes, and since the commencement of the present century, it would be in vain to look for authentic testimonies in any point of this sort (13). But to put the probability of what is said in the text beyond all doubt, we will shew, from an eye-witness and a native of our own country, what sort of people they are who inhabit the *Bashee* islands, and when we see how consistent it is with the relations we have already given of the inhabitants in the *Liquios*, except that these are much more civilized, but at the same time less free; it will beyond contradiction appear, that any nation blessed with common sense, and at the same time not void of common humanity, might do with these people, who are very numerous, what they pleased. Our author observed in the first place that he did not perceive any apparent signs of religion amongst these people; but we must not conclude from hence that they have none, because all *Eastern* nations observe great secrecy on that head. He adds, that there was no magistracy or form of civil government amongst them; except, that parents governed their families with absolute authority, and were punctually and dutifully obeyed; however, he col-

lected that they must have some laws, from the instance of a young man's being buried alive for theft. As to the temper and behaviour of the natives, take the writer's own words (14): "They have but one wife, with whom they live and agree very well, and their children live very obediently under them. The boys go out a fishing with their fathers, and the girls live at home with their mothers; and when the girls are grown pretty strong, they send them to their plantations to dig yams and potatoes, of which they bring home on their heads every day enough to serve the whole family; for they have no rice or maize. Their plantations are in the vallies at a good distance from their houses, where every man has a certain spot of land which is properly his own. This he manages for his own use, and provides enough, that he may not be beholden to his neighbour. They are in their persons a very neat, cleanly people, both men and women, and they are withal the quietest and civilest people that I did ever meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry one with another. I have admired to

(13) *Discourse of Lopez Vaz, concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies*, in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 778. Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts* in Churchill's Collection, vol. iii. p. 437. Mun's *Advantage of foreign Trade*. (14) *Dampier's Voyages*, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

rendered them fit instruments for the execution of projects of this nature, they might have done a double service to the natives, and to their masters; and, by introducing a principle of industry and the love of arts, have awakened those latent seeds of civility and social qualities which those people must have retained, if there be any truth in the missionaries conjecture, that they are descended partly from the *Japonefe*, and partly from the *Tagalians*; both nations endowed with great qualities, which however might be easily obscured, and in a manner lost, in the gradual barbarism that succeeded

“ see twenty or thirty boats  
 “ aboard our ship at a time,  
 “ and yet no difference amongst  
 “ them, but all civil and quiet,  
 “ endeavouring to help each  
 “ other on occasion: no noise,  
 “ or appearance of distaste; and  
 “ although sometimes cross accidents would happen, which  
 “ might have set other men together by the ears, yet they  
 “ were not moved by them.  
 “ Sometimes they will also  
 “ drink freely, and warm themselves with their drink, yet  
 “ neither then could I ever  
 “ perceive them out of humour. They are not only  
 “ thus civil among themselves,  
 “ but very obliging and kind  
 “ to strangers; nor were their children rude to us, as is usual. Indeed the women,  
 “ when we came to their houses, would modestly beg any  
 “ rags, or small pieces of cloth  
 “ to swaddle their young ones  
 “ in, holding their children out to us; and begging is usual  
 “ for all these wild nations.  
 “ Yet neither did they beg so importunately as in other places; nor did the men ever  
 “ beg any thing at all.” These people also build very good boats, for the most part small;  
 but they have some large enough to hold forty or fifty men, which are rowed by twelve or fourteen oars on a side. There is nothing improbable or absurd in supposing that these people are very much sunk from what they once were; for that they have still laws, is a proof that they had formerly a government, which being totally subverted, the power is now returned to those who derive it from nature. Their justice and humanity are also the relics of better times; and their propensity to trade, very probably the remains of that disposition which enabled them to manage a more extensive commerce in earlier days; for there is nothing more certain, than that the *Indian* nations in general abhor all commercial restraints; and tho’ they have been so long deprived of it, still languish for a free trade (15). On the other side, it is easy to apprehend how useful, even in their present state, such people might be made to those who would barely undertake to encourage and protect their commerce, in consideration of a proportionable tribute or other services.

(15) *Maffei Hist. Indic. lib. v. Grotii Hist. Belg. lib. x. xv. Dampier's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 116, 117.*

their banishment from their native seats, and their being intirely excluded from all converse with their countrymen <sup>a</sup>.

*The people of these islands might be instructed and rendered useful in discoveries by the missionaries.*

THERE is another advantage which might be reasonably expected from their entering into a strict intercourse with the inhabitants of the *Liquios*, and that is gaining some knowledge of the concealed commerce of the *East*; for it is well enough known, tho' we are not able to enter into particulars, that as the *Chinese*, the *Japonefe*, and the inhabitants of these islands, carried on a very extensive trade through the greatest part of the *Indies*, before the arrival of the *Europeans*, tho' the two last nations have relinquished it since, yet they either preserve other branches of trade, or have opened new ones to the north and west, especially with the islands that lie between *Corea* and *Japan*. There could therefore be no insurmountable difficulty in drawing from these people lights on this head, which we are not like to obtain any other way. If the *Spaniards*, or their missionaries, still retain the same zeal for propagating the *Christian* faith, this might prove a sufficient spur to their endeavours, as no method could be devised more likely than this to procure an entry into some of the dominions of *Japan* <sup>a</sup>. In return also for any information they might receive, the missionaries themselves might impart to the inhabitants better notions than they can possibly have at present, in respect to *Astronomy*, *Cosmography*, and *Navigation*; and, as they have naturally a turn to these sciences, they might be quickly put upon exercising any improvements they made, according to the directions, and in some degree for the benefit of their instructors <sup>b</sup>.

*The great advantages that would result from their having an haven in some island in a high northern latitude.*

IF by these, or by any other means, that such a correspondence is most likely to discover, they could find any island in a high latitude, capable of receiving, and affording refreshments, to the *Manila* galeon, it would be an inexpressible advantage to that commerce, and save, in the course of a few years, a number of lives equivalent to the people that might be necessary to the making such an establishment; from which many other advantages also, at which we are not so much as able to guess, might be derived <sup>c</sup>. We may, how-

<sup>a</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO RACOLTO delle Navigazioni & Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 369. <sup>b</sup> DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 102.

<sup>c</sup> D. F. NAVARETTE Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China. HAKLUYT's Collection of Voyages. <sup>d</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xvi. GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by R. HAKLUYT. Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI.

ever take the liberty to add; that this would also facilitate a direct commerce between *Mexico* and *China*, which, however strange and chimerical it may appear to modern readers, was a thing not unattempted almost two hundred years ago; when, in virtue of their possession of the kingdom of *Portugal*, the *Spaniards* were masters of *Macao*; so that in respect to this, we proceed upon the uncontroverted maxim, that what has been may be; and what this nation could do so many years past, they might still, with the help of greater advantages than they then had, be able to perform<sup>d</sup>. We likewise know that in those, and in later voyages, islands that promised very fair, have been seen, particularly a very large one, in the latitude of somewhat more than thirty-seven degrees, which however no ship, in so long and hazardous a passage, will ever stay to examine; and; indeed, if they were inclined to do it, they are so strictly tied down by their instructions as to have it put entirely out of their power. But if, by such a method of gradual discoveries, any island fit for the purpose could be found, there is scarce any doubt that it would be a very welcome addition to their dominions, independant of the hopes they might receive of its resembling those islands abounding with silver, of which they have so many traditionary accounts as has been already mentioned<sup>e</sup> (E).

THEY

<sup>d</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in CHURCHILL's Collection. Description of the English Province of Carolina, by D. COXE, Esq; p. 65. \* ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by R. HAKLUYT. The Voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE, in HAKLUYT's Collection, vol. ii.

(E) It may possibly be objected, that the *Spaniards*, having been so long in the use of this navigation, must not only be the best acquainted with it, but must also have long ago discovered such countries and islands as lie between the two continents, and would certainly examine and possess them, if they apprehended any such advantages could be derived from them, as we have suggested.

It will be farther said, that the views of princes and politicians are very different things from the visions of speculative men, who travel only in their closets, make discoveries upon paper, and frame schemes for themselves and men of a like turn to admire; but which great ministers treat with derision. The truth of this is not to be disputed. But the point to be enquired into is, who are most likely

It would enable them to know the certainty, as to a north-west passage.

THEY would then have it in their power, if upon mature deliberation they should think it for their advantage, to resolve with certainty what has been so long a problem, whether there is, or is not any north-west passage into the south-sea. It may possibly be doubted, and not altogether without foundation, whether such a discovery, supposing it

likely to be in the right? Princes and politicians are great names; persons of science and sagacity are great men. The former are generally occupied about the concerns of their own times, the latter look forward, and endeavour the benefit of posterity. It was not *Ferdinand*, tho' honoured with the title of the *Wise*, the *Great*, and the *Catholic*, who discovered the new world; but poor *Columbus*, who had been treated as a chimerical projector, and whose vast designs had perished in embryo, if *Donna Isabella* had not enabled him to carry them into execution, by pledging her jewels (16). But to the present point: In some *Spanish* charts there are many islands marked in a high latitude; in others but a few, and we have already assigned the reason. Thus much however is certain, that there is not above thirteen degrees of latitude between the most northern of the *Ladrones*, and that *Archipelago* discovered to the eastward of *Japan* in 1716, which lie directly north from the *Ladrones*, and within which space, in some *Spanish* charts, there lie between thirty and forty islands; so that it cannot be denied, that an entire disco-

very of these may be made with the greatest facility (17). Besides, *Don Juan de Gama*, discovered a continent, or at least a very large island in a still higher latitude east of *Japan*, and north of those islands; so that there is nothing improbable or difficult, much less absurd, in what we have laid down (18); on the contrary, there can be nothing more certain than that such countries there are, and that what sort of countries they are, may be known with ease by the *Spaniards*, if they think fit. What motives they may have to decline such discoveries, is another question which we do not presume to treat expressly; because we are not sufficiently acquainted with them. But be their motives ever so wise, or ever so well founded, they must arise from the circumstances of their own affairs, and the nature of their government, with which we have clearly nothing to do; as we consider the *Spaniards* in this section simply as possessors of these countries, and in that light capable of converting those possessions to such uses as they think proper, and, amongst others, to these.

(16) *António de Herrera Histoire de las Indias Occidentales, Decada i. lib. i. cap. ix.*

(17) See the *Spanish Chart of the Pacific Ocean in Lord Anson's Voyage*

(18) *Mappemonde a l'usage de Roy, par Guillaume de Lisle,*

practicable, would be acceptable or not to the *Spaniards* <sup>f</sup>. This must be left to them to determine; but thus much is certain, that they are better acquainted with it too, if we could depend upon a fact, advanced in some memoirs, that in 1609 a ship bound from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines*, was driven by a storm through that passage, and, after touching at some port in *Ireland*, arrived safe at *Lisbon*; where, by order of his Catholic Majesty, all the pilots journals were burnt, to prevent the discovery of that passage by other nations; which, if such a thing ever happened, might very probably be true <sup>g</sup>. At all events, however, it could not be detrimental to the crown of *Spain* to arrive at a certainty in this point; more especially as things are now so much changed, that possibly a new route might be considered in another light than it then was <sup>h</sup> (F).

## THE

<sup>f</sup> Sir HUMPHRY GILBERT'S Discourse to prove a north-west passage, chap. vii. PURCHAS'S Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 849.

<sup>g</sup> Mr. HENRY HAWKE'S Relation, addressed to R. HAKLUYT.

<sup>h</sup> Sir WILLIAM MONSON'S Naval Tracts, in CHURCHILL'S Collection, vol. iii. p. 428, 429, 443.

(F) It is a matter of great consequence towards the understanding of this subject thoroughly, to know and compare the notions of the *Spaniards*, concerning the probability of this freight, by which a north-west passage might be opened into the *South-Seas* in the most early times. We have mentioned, at the beginning of this section, the expedition of Don *Garcia de Loaysa* to the *Moluccas*, by the freights of *Magellan*. It seems there was one *Estevan Gomez*, an able pilot, who was desirous of making the voyage, but was rejected (19). This pilot had proposed to the emperor *Charles* the fifth, the discovery of a north-west passage into the *South-Seas*; which not being listened to, and being piqued at this ill usage, he proposed to the Count *de Aranda*, and some others, to go by this passage to the *Moluccas*; for which purpose they furnished him with a galleon in 1525: he spent ten months in the voyage, went first to the isle of *Cuba*, then steered northward as high as *Cape Race* in the latitude of forty-six degrees north; and then his heart failing him, he returned to *Corunna* (20). An unlucky jest ruined his reputation; and, which is stranger, hurt the credit of the north-west passage. When the ship came into port somebody asked what they had on board? A seaman answer *Esclavos*, slaves; a person who was watching on shore, mistook the sound for *Clavos*, cloves; and riding post

(19) *Discourses and Proposals relating to a North-west Passage.* (20) *Galeana's Discoveries*, translated by R. Hakluyt.



*The Spaniards do,* THE Spaniards settled in America must also know whether the old reports of a correspondence between the Indians in the north-west part of America, behind California, may easily

with

to court, declared that Gomez was returned with a cargo of spice from the *Moluccas*; which, when the mistake came to be discovered, exposed him and his patrons to much derision (21). But what credit soever this passage might lose in Europe, both Portuguese and Spaniards remained firm in the belief of it in the Indies, as appears amongst other evidence, from the following passage of an account written by a countryman of ours in 1572, after residing in *New Spain* five years (22). "There is west out of *Mexico*, a port town, which is on the south-sea, called *Puerto de Acapulco*, where there are those ships which they have ordinarily for the navigation of *China*, which they have newly found. This port is three score leagues from *Mexico*. There is another port town which is called *Culiacan*, on the South-Sea, which lieth west and by north out of *Mexico*, and is two hundred leagues from the same; and there the Spaniards made two ships to go seek the freight or gulph, which, as they say, is between the *Newfoundland* and *Greenland*, and they call it the *Englishmen's* freight; which as yet was never fully found; they say that freight lieth not far from the main-land of *China*, which the

"Spaniards account to be marvelous rich."

This author writes from information; we will next produce the sentiment of a Spaniard; writing from his own knowledge, and asserting matters of fact in the relation of his own return from *China* to *New Spain* (23). "Running thus east and by north about three hundred leagues from Japan, we found a very hollow water, with the stream running out of the north and north-west with a fall and very broad-sea, without any trouble or hindrance in the way that we pass; and what wind soever blew, the sea continued all in one sort with the same hollow water and stream until we had passed seven hundred leagues. About two hundred leagues from the coast and land of *New Spain*, we began to lose the said hollow sea and stream; whereby I most assuredly think and believe that there you shall find a chanel, or straight passage, between the firm land of *New Spain* and the countries of *Asia* and *Tartary*; likewise all this way from the aforesaid seven hundred leagues, we found a great number of whale fishes, and other fishes, called by the Spaniards, *Atun* or *Tunnie*,

(21) Sir William Monson's *Naval Tracts*, in Churchill's Collection. (22) Mr. Henry Hawk's Relation of his Observations in *New Spain*, addressed to Richard Hakluyt, Esq.

(23) The Voyage of Francisco de Gualle, in Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 442.

"whereof

with the inhabitants of *Asia*, or of the continents, or islands <sup>known</sup> between *Asia* or *America* has any real foundation or not. This <sup>whether</sup> was once strongly believed, from arguments partly, and <sup>any corre-</sup> partly from authority, by the *Spaniards*, as well as other na- <sup>pence</sup> tions; and by the *Spaniards* in this part of the world as well <sup>subsists be-</sup> as in *Europe*. It is indeed true, that this notion has been <sup>tween the</sup> northern

“ whereof many are found on  
 “ the coast of *Gibraltar* in  
 “ *Spain*; as also *Albacoras* and  
 “ *Bonitos*, which are, all fishes,  
 “ which commonly keep in  
 “ channels, streights, and run-  
 “ ning waters, there to disperse  
 “ their seed, when they breed;  
 “ which maketh me the more  
 “ assuredly believe, that there-  
 “ abouts is a channel, or streight  
 “ to pass through.” From re-  
 ports and conjectures, we will  
 now pass on to facts. Mr.  
*Michal Locke*, an *English* mer-  
 chant, who was at *Venice* in the  
 year 1596, became there ac-  
 quainted with a *Greek* pilot,  
 whose true name was *Apostolos*  
*Valerianos*, whom the *Spaniards*  
 called *Juan de Fuca*; he had made  
 two voyages by direction of  
 the viceroy of *New Spain*; the  
 last in 1592, for the discovery  
 of this streight, which he as-  
 sirmed that he did discover be-  
 tween the latitude of forty-se-  
 ven and. forty-eight degrees;  
 which streight was thirty leagues  
 wide at the mouth, with a head  
 land on the north-west side,  
 having a remarkable spired rock  
 rising up like a pyramidal  
 pillar. Through these straits  
 he sailed for some time, disco-  
 vering several islands, and hav-  
 ing a wide open sea to the  
 north-east (24). At his return  
 to *Acapulco* he was very highly

commended by the viceroy,  
 who advised him to go to the  
 court of *Madrid* with certifi-  
 cates, in order to obtain an ade-  
 quate recompence for this impor-  
 tant service from his Catholic  
 Majesty. He returned accord-  
 ingly, was received with great  
 testimonies of approbation and  
 respect; but finding, after long  
 solicitation only reiterated pro-  
 mises, he returned into his own  
 country most highly provoked  
 against the *Spaniards*, and by  
 the interposition of Mr. *Locke*,  
 made a tender of his services to  
 Queen *Elizabeth*, offering, with  
 a vessel of the burthen of forty  
 tons, and a pinnace, to discover  
 this strait from one entrance to  
 another, in the space of thirty  
 days. This proposal was well  
 received in *England*; but the  
 frugality of that Queen's admi-  
 nistration was so great, that, for  
 want of a single hundred pounds  
 to defray the *Greek* pilot's pas-  
 sage, it was delayed till the time  
 of his death (25). That this  
 Mr. *Michael Locke* was a very  
 inquisitive and a very indefati-  
 gable man, we have an indis-  
 putable testimony yet remain-  
 ing, in a copy of *Ramusio's Col-  
 lection of Voyages*, with marginal  
 remarks in his own hand-writ-  
 ing, now in the possession of  
*Robert Harper, Esq; of Lincoln's*  
*Inn.*

(24) *Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages*, vol. i. p. 412.  
*grims*, vol. iii. p. 849, 850.

(25) *Pruchas's Pil-*

Indians  
and any  
oriental  
nations.

also contradicted as positively; and that of late years very little has been said about it. But uncertainty or silence conclude nothing as to the nature of the fact, or its importance<sup>i</sup>. The *Spaniards*, at least the Jesuits under their protection, have considerable missions in *California* and *Quivira*, who might easily resolve this doubt; the resolution of which, when their concerns in the *Indies* are thoroughly understood, and attentively considered, must appear of great consequence to the court of *Spain*, for reasons that will be seen in their proper place. After being in possession of these countries for upwards of two centuries and a half, it is certainly high time to be thoroughly acquainted with every circumstance that relates to, and every advantage that can be drawn, from them; for otherwise, such countries are rather discovered than possessed; if that possession consists only in holding them to little purpose; or rather with-holding them from others who might possess them to better purpose<sup>k</sup>. But this will appear still more preposterous, if we consider, that almost two centuries ago this humour of keeping without using, was condemned by the best judges of the *Spanish* interests in these parts; so that these are not notions either foreign to the subject, or incompatible with the genius of the *Spanish* nation; but, on the contrary, schemes advanced by their own writers, treated by them in a very masterly way, and insisted upon as absolutely requisite to connect the several parts of the *Spanish Indies*, and thereby compleat that plan of empire opened by discovery, pursued by conquest, and to be maintained, established, and completed by a wise and well conducted policy<sup>l</sup>.

No less  
than four  
different  
schemes of-  
fered for  
opening a

WE find that no less than four different schemes had been offered for opening a passage from the *North* to the *South Seas*, exclusive of that by the streights of *Magellan*, or of the north-west passage, if such a passage there be. The great object of all these schemes, was the rendering the navigation

<sup>i</sup> *Historia natural y moral de las Indias en que se tratan las causas notables del Cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y animales dellas*, por el P. JOSEPH ACOSTA de la Compania de Jesus, 4to. en Sevilla, 1590. lib. ii. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*, cap. ccxiv. HAKLUYT's *Voyages*, the original edition, p. 562. <sup>k</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvi. Voyage of FRANCISCO DE GUALLE, in HAKLUYT's Collection. HAKLUYT's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii. p. 429. <sup>l</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries*, by HAKLUYT. DE GUALLE's *Voyage. Giro del Mondo del Dottor, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI*.

practicable from *Spain* to the *Philippines*, without being exposed to any of those inconveniencies that had been experienced in passing the streights of *Magellan*, and were supposed to incumber that by the north-west<sup>m</sup>. All these schemes went clearly upon a supposition, that the true interest of the *Spanish* crown consisted in keeping up a close and constant correspondence between all her colonies, however situated; and also between these colonies and their mother-country. Those who proposed, and those who supported these schemes, were convinced that this regular intercourse was not only requisite to the reciprocal welfare of the colonies, by enabling them to assist and enrich one another, and the most effectual means of keeping them well stocked with people; and those people properly employed in exposing their persons, and exerting their faculties for their own emolument and the public service; but likewise that this would turn most to the benefit of *Spain*<sup>n</sup>, as by adopting any one of these schemes, the colonies would have been effectually secured from receiving the commodities or manufactures of *Europe*; otherwise than from, or by the permission of, their mother-country; and, at the same time, all the rich products of the *East* as well as the *West Indies*, must have been transported to *Spain* (G).

<sup>m</sup> GALVANO'S Discoveries, by HAKLUYT. ALONZO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. c. iv. FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*, c. ccxiv. <sup>n</sup> GALVANO'S Discoveries, by HAKLUYT. DON JUAN GRAU Y MONFALCON *Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas*. ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*,

(G) All the methods devised to open an easy passage from the *North* into the *South Seas*, ought to be considered in no other light, than as attempts to accomplish the first and great design of *Columbus*, which we have so often mentioned, of reaching the *East Indies*, by a west course (26). Such as have best understood the interests of the crown of *Spain*, have continued to look at this as the principal object, as the means of uniting the capital sources of commerce, and securing thereby all the advantages of the richest trade in the world to the crown of *Spain*. The first of these communications that have been mentioned, is between the gulph of *St. Michael* in the *South Seas*, and the gulph of *Uraba* in the *North*. The river *Darien* falls into the latter, and this passage through the province

(26) *Antonio de Herrera Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Dec. i. lib. i. cap. vii. *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, y de las Misiones y Minist. i. s. que exercita la Compania de Jesus*, por Alonso de Ovalle, Fol. Roma, 1646.

Schemes of  
this kind  
more for

THEY conceived, and it is not easy to assign any competent motives why we should so much as suspect they conceived amiss, that the easier and the safer these voyages be-  
tween

which the Spaniards call *Terra Firma*, is computed to be about five-and-twenty leagues (27). There is no doubt that this would be commodious enough, if the country was thoroughly peopled, the soil properly improved, and the roads rendered perfectly commodious. But then to the attainment of these conveniences, absolutely necessary to such a passage, there are very great, and perhaps insurmountable obstacles. In the first place, the country is naturally very barren, which makes the climate exceedingly unwholesome. The low land is marshy, and, upon digging a few feet deep, there rises a foul stinking water, equally noxious and unpleasant (28). We shall therefore, say no more upon this head. The second is between *Panama* and *Porto-Bello*, of which we have taken notice sufficient in the text. The third, by the lake of *Nicaragua*, would be so short, so easy, and so commodious, that it is a very difficult task to guess why it has not been attempted at least, or put in practice. This fresh water lake is perhaps the fairest and finest in the world, considering the country about it; which is so rich, so wholesome, and so pleasant, that when the Spaniards first came thither, they stiled it the

*Paradise of Mohammed*, and it is still with great propriety called the *Garden of America* (29). They have two very large cities upon this lake, one called *Leon*; the other *Granada*; and a multitude of large towns, which are very populous. The lake is one hundred and thirty miles long, and communicates with the *North Sea*, by the river *Desaguadero*, that is, the discharge; and a good port might be made at the mouth of it. There is also a fine river that falls into the *South Sea*, which is navigable within a few leagues of the city of *Leon*; and, besides the large and commodious port of *Rio Lejo*, where they build most excellent ships, is at no great distance (30). As the country of *Nicaragua* is one of the best, if not the very best peopled of all the provinces in *New Spain*, as having in it near half a million of *Indians*, who now live happily and at their full liberty, and are many of them in easy circumstances, which they have acquired by trade, no time need be lost in the execution of this project; which, permission once procured from *Europe*, would execute itself (31). The fourth, is through the province of *Honduras*; and tho' the distance between the two seas be there three-and-fifty leagues from *Puerto di Cavallas*, in the

(27) *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by R. Hakluyt.

Dec. iii. lib. 6.

(29) Hieron. Benzoni *novæ novi orbis historie*, lib. ii. cap. xiv. *Voyage de Francois de Coreal*, tom. i. cap. v.

(30) Fran. Lopez de Gomara *Historia general de las Indias*, P. ii. c. xxxii.

Dampier's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 215. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 322.

(31) *Voyage de Francois de Coreal*, tom. i. cap. iv.

(28) Petr. Martyr,

lib. ii.

(30) Fran. Lo-

pex de Gomara

*Historia general de las Indias*, P. ii. c. xxxii.

Dampier's *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 215.

tween their distant colonies could be made, the closer and *the inter-* the more extensive their correspondence; the more a spirit *rests of* of industry would be cherished among the inhabitants, the *Spain,* greater wealth they would acquire, the more their com- *than an* merce, and of course their naval power, would flourish; and, *indolent* of consequence, the more lucrative that exclusive trade to *exclusive* which they were tied with *Spain.* Such was the old original *possession.* scheme of *Spanish* power in the *Indies*, calculated to secure, maintain, and extend itself; such were the means contrived to keep alive that spirit by which these dominions had been acquired; and such the method calculated for raising a force adequate to the preservation and protection of these increasing conquests, out of the conquests themselves, and of obviating all the inconveniences that flow from a stagnation of wealth and power, by a continual and brisk circulation of both; finding such employment for the people and their rulers as

*North Seas*, to the bay of *Fonseca*, in the *South*; yet, by means of two rivers which contribute to form those ports, the transit by land would have been but a few miles (32). The report of this being made to *Philip* the second, he ordered (which shews that at this time such a proposition was very acceptable) that it should be examined by *Battista Antonelli*, an experienced engineer, who, tho' he admitted the communication was practicable, yet thought it would be attended with such inconveniencies as gave no encouragement to attempt it (33). We may add to these a fifth, which, tho' the least convenient of any, is the only one in use; and this is from *Acapulco* to *Vera Cruz*, of which we have already spoken in another place (34). There seem to be three principal reasons why the *Spaniards* have fixed and continued their correspondence between the *East* and *West Indies* to these ports. The first is, the great difficulty they found in returning from the *Philippines*, or even from the *Ladrones*, by navigating within the tropics. The second, that tho' the passage between *Acapulco* and *Vera Cruz* is by land, and of so great an extent, yet it is very secure. The third, that they have been long jealous of, and little inclined to, the *East India* trade, as carrying away a great quantity of silver (35). However, it is not at all impossible, that means might be found for lessening, at least, if not for removing, all these difficulties, and putting this intercourse in a much better train than it is in at present.

(32) *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by R. Hakluyt.*Antonio de Herrera Descripcio de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xliii.*Modern History*, tom. ix. p. 476.(33) *Antonio de Herrera Descripcio de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. iii.*Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile,**y de las Misiones y Ministrios que exercitu la Compania de Jesus*, por Alonso de Qualle, lib. i. cap. iv. *Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis*, p. 322.(34) *An-**tonio de**Herrera**Descripcio**de las*

might prevent their sinking into indolence and luxury; and drawing from their labours a suitable tribute to their mother-country, for the force originally imparted and all her occasional supplies °. This was certainly a practicable method of maintaining things in a flourishing condition, of answering all the purposes of prince and people; and maintaining, without decay, that vigour which had given rise to this amazing empire.

*Proposal  
for fixing  
this com-  
merce be-  
tween Pa-  
nama and  
Porto Bel-  
lo, in con-  
sequence of  
which the  
Ladrones  
would be-  
come the  
magazine.*

Of all these schemes, in the sentiments of a very ingenious and judicious writer, who addressed the great work he composed to his Catholic Majesty, that seemed to be the most eligible, which proposed bringing the ships from the *East Indies* to *Panama*, in the *South Seas*; from whence their lading might, without much trouble, be carried by a plain easy road of not more than four leagues, or twelve *English* miles to the river *Chagre*; and from thence on board large lighters to *Nombre di Dios*, or *Porto Bello*; whence, with the products of *America*, they might have been transported on board the galleons to *Europe*. By this scheme he supposed that many good purposes might be answered; the voyage between the two *Indies* performed in the shortest manner possible, by sailing almost all the way under the same degree of latitude, parallel to, and at a small distance from, the equinoctial, through the *Pacific Ocean*, properly so called, in a short time, and with little hazard<sup>p</sup>. Besides, this would have created scarce any alteration in the established method; which, as we have more than once remarked, is a thing of great consequence, since the *Spaniards* have naturally an attachment to the routs once fixed, and are not easily drawn to venture upon any alterations, tho' the advantages derived from them should be ever so probable<sup>q</sup>. If this scheme, which, to do the author justice, was both natural and practicable, had taken place, the improvement of the *Ladrones*, so as to have rendered them fit to have been made the magazines of the commodities of both the *Indies*, for the sake of shortening the passage, rendering the corre-

° ALONZO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyne de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xiii. GALVANO's *Discoveries*.  
<sup>p</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xiv. *La Historia general y natural de las Indias*, por el Capitan GONçALO HERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO, lib. ii.  
 FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMERA *Historia general de las Indias*, P. ii. cap. xxxii,   <sup>q</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries*. P. JOSEPH ACOSTA *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. *History of Spanish America*, p. 189.

spondence more certain and uniform, and preventing, as might have been easily done, any clandestine commerce, would have followed of course; and consequently must still follow, if upon due reflection any thing of this kind should ever be carried into execution: for it is impossible that the circumstances favourable to such a conveyance, should ever fall under mature consideration without producing this effect; and of course, there are very strong grounds to expect, that sooner or later this will happen; and this *Archipelago*, at present so little attended to, become very suddenly the center of as valuable a trade as any in the universe, merely from their commodious situation; which, however long neglected, is a benefit never to be lost, as there is no prescribing against the grants of nature<sup>r</sup>.

BUT, after all, perhaps still greater advantages might arise, *But such a commerce as has been mentioned with any oriental nations, would be still better.* from pushing their discoveries to the north, to the north-west, and to the north-east; since there is a very high probability, indeed almost a certainty, that this would be attended with very beneficial consequences; and if the accumulated commerce from these places, could be fixed to some convenient port on the continent to the north-west of *New Mexico*, it could not fail of drawing such a resort of people, into that province, by the inviting prospect of growing very rich in a short time, as would enable them to cover effectually that frontier which is most exposed; as the *French* have long had their views on this side, and have taken some pains to make themselves well acquainted with this very subject; tho' hitherto not at all in a condition to embrace such an undertaking<sup>r</sup>. It is therefore of the highest importance to the *Spaniards* to provide for their own security in the proper season, by prosecuting their discoveries and settlements to the north and north-west; which, tho' otherwise very difficult, the prospect of such a trade would extremely facilitate.

IT is true, that they have very rich mines, and very considerable settlements in *New Mexico* and the adjacent provinces, *More especially, as this would effectually* with which they have good reason to be content, if at the same time they could be secure. But, as in process of time

<sup>r</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii. ALONSO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyne de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. Atlas Maritimus et Commercialis, p. 322. <sup>r</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries. Giro del Mondo del Dottor GIOVAN, FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI, FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*.



*Secure  
New  
Mexico,  
and the  
provinces  
adjacent.*

these countries may be in as much danger as ours are at present, from the *French* carrying on their discoveries and intrigues with the *Indians* behind them, it may be fairly presumed that so wise and so penetrating a nation, will not continue to neglect the shortest and most effectual method of providing even against this distant danger; more especially as they would find it not at all difficult to transport the produce of this new commerce by the great rivers that fall into the gulph of *Mexico*; and, by speedily raising considerable towns on the banks of which rivers, they would, considering the present disproportion between their establishments, and those of their ambitious neighbours, form such a barrier on that side as would free them from all apprehensions<sup>1</sup>. A thing so necessary and so practicable, that tho' we have no direct authority to support the assertion, yet we cannot help believing, that it has already merited their notice; and that, whenever we have any distinct and authentic account published of the state of their dominions in these parts, in respect to which, we must confess ourselves much in the dark, it may be found, that what we have represented as mere conjectures, which in truth they are, might have been supported from matters of facts, if they had come early enough to our knowledge; whenever this shall happen, it cannot fail of doing us credit with our readers; and, till it does happen, we must depend upon their candour, grounded on a persuasion, that the pains we have taken in travelling so far through an unbeaten road for their service, cannot be unacceptable to inquisitive and impartial judges<sup>2</sup>.

*Nothing  
laid down  
in this section  
but  
what is  
equally  
well  
founded on  
reason and  
experience,  
and consequently*

ALL that has been proposed in the course of this section, is so far from consisting of guesses or suppositions, that on the contrary, nothing is laid down as either practicable or possible, but what is demonstrated so to be, either by arguments absolutely conclusive, or from matters of fact. The natives of the *Philippines*, of the *Marianne* islands, and of all the provinces of *New Spain*, are people not at all deficient in bodily strength, in abilities, or even in point of docility, if the best *Spanish* writers are to be believed; and consequently, there is not the least reason to doubt, that with proper instructions, kind treatment, and due rewards, they

<sup>1</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xi. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne P. iv. c. iv. Voyages de FRANCOIS DE COREAL, cap. ii. <sup>2</sup> ALONZO OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. iv. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 297, 298. COXE's Description of Carolina, p. 15, 16, 17.

might be brought with a very small intermixture of *Spaniards*, to execute every thing that could be expected from *ble and* them. As the *Spaniards* might chuse out of all these *na- prasti* tions, might blend them in what manner they thought *pro- cable* proper, and might employ them in such different services as they were fittest to execute, they might employ them without either fear or danger. They might tempt them with so many different recompences, and reward their services with such a variety of indulgences, as in a short time would furnish them with volunteers in all these countries. They might undertake and execute the several discoveries proposed; at least in a great degree from the *Philippines*, *Mariannes*, and *Mexico* at the same time; and, by carrying on such discoveries gradually and equally, make them facilitate and support each other. As they have such mighty benefits to expect from their progress in these improvements, so they have no great obstacles to overcome; no puissant enemy, they have any just reason to fear. They may act in what manner they will; they may do as much or as little as they please; they may publish or conceal what they think proper, and carry all their designs to a degree of perfection; or, at least, very near it, before the rest of the world knows any thing of the matter \*.

BESIDES, as things now stand, the crown of *Spain*, in- *This sub-* stead of having all *Europe* for enemies, as in the days of their *ject more* ambitious monarch *Philip* the second, have, under their pre- *fully ex-* sident monarch *Ferdinand* the sixth, no enemies at all. There *explained,* is therefore nothing difficult in undertaking, or in executing *and, by* these designs. We will next say something in regard to their *various* expediency. A sedentary inactive life is fatal to all colonies *arguments,* at a great distance from the mother-country; it is the parent *clearly il-* of luxury and corruption; more especially, where they have *lustrated.* any people under subjection to them; for then the colonists become tyrants, and those who ought to be subjects only, are made slaves. Experience has shewn this amongst the *Spaniards*, and no remedy has been found effectual; because the true remedy was never applied \*. It consists in reviving industry and public spirit, in diffusing a sense of honour

\* ANTONIO DE HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvi. ALONSO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile, cap. vi. P. JOSEPH ACOSTA Historia y natural y moral de las Indias, lib. vi. \* Giro del Mondo del Dottor, GIOVAN, FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARERI, P. v, c. ii. Voyages de la Mer du Sud, par FREZIER; p. 470, 471. Voyages de FRANÇOIS DE CORÉAL, chap. viii. x.

and reputation, and of putting these in the power of all ranks of men to acquire. If this was once done, men of birth, fortune, and education would pique themselves on entering on such enterprizes; and, as these could not be effected without the assistance of meaner people, the necessity of using would induce them to cherish their vassals, and in the space of a few years, such an alteration of manners would be made, as would greatly increase the *Spanish* power, how little addition soever might in that space of time be made to their dominion <sup>1</sup>.

*All these points fall naturally into the compass of this section, and could not have been properly introduced any where else.*

ALL that we have offered, falls naturally and clearly within the bounds of the present section, in which we undertook to describe what had, and what might be discovered to the north of the *Marianne* isles, which, of course, made it requisite for us to interweave facts and reflections, the latter being as much historical as the former, one having a retrospect to events past, the other exhibiting a prospect of those that may probably happen <sup>2</sup>. It was our business to treat here of that part of the globe, which is in so very peculiar a situation, we scarce know to which quarter it belongs, some portions of it being known; such as the *Liqueios*, and the other islands that lie in their neighbourhood; some again half known, such as the *Spaniards* have marked in their charts and given names to; some still less known, as the countries from whence the vessels came that are said to have been seen on the north-west coast of *America*, and some altogether unknown; but the existence of which may nevertheless be presumed, from a concurrence of circumstances; such as the continent, or islands that lie between *Asia* and *America*; that is, to the north-east of the former, and north-west from the latter <sup>3</sup>. We have spoken of all these as far as our lights would carry us; and however little we have said, that little is much more than the reader will be able to find in any other book, or at least, in any book that is come to our knowledge. Our aim in all this, has been to point out the means of making farther discoveries; to encourage them, by shewing the facility

<sup>1</sup> FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA *Historia general de las Indias*, cap. xx. HIERON BENZONI *nova novi orbis Historia*, lib. i. *Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis*. <sup>2</sup> ANTONIO DE HERERA *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. iii. ALONSO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. iv. La *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, por GONÇALO HERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO. <sup>3</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries. Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis. Voyage de GUALLE*.

with which they might be made; and, which is still more, the benefits that would result from it. In doing all this, we have seriously and conscientiously endeavoured to fulfil the will of our creator, who made this world, and all the parts of it, for the use of men, and who regards all the nations of the earth as one family <sup>b</sup>.

As the *Ladrones* and *Marianne* islands were first discovered by, have always been, and still are, in the possession of, *Tho' the property of the Spaniards*, what we have delivered in the former section *the Mar-* and in this, come in their proper places, and, indeed, could *rrian* come in no-where else, with any shadow of propriety. As *islands,* these discoveries that may be made from them, may, with the *and the* greatest ease and certainty, as well as with the greatest fecundity, and with the most probable hope of advantage, be made *right of making discoveries from them,* by their present possessors, we have stated things accordingly; and in stating them, respected chiefly *Spanish* authorities, agreeable to the nature and end of this work <sup>c</sup>. But *the Span-* tho' the property and possession belongs to the *Spaniards,* yet all mankind have an equal right to know the situa- *the right of know-* tion, history, and circumstances of these islands, and their inhabitants, as well as the advantages that have been drawn, *ing them belongs to all the world,* and might be drawn from them. The less that has been said of them elsewhere, the more largely they ought to be considered here; since one principal intention of this work is not only to collect and digest into proper order what has been elsewhere said, but also to supply the defects of others. It may be, that some of the particulars we have mentioned have been little considered, at least of late years, by the *Spaniards* themselves; or, if they have considered them, it is pretty certain they have not favoured the rest of the world with their reasons for making so little use of them, or for declining the most apparent use, that of augmenting and extending their discoveries <sup>d</sup>. But, whatever motives they may have for this, these can be no motives to us to be as silent as they seem to be indolent; and if, from the influence

<sup>b</sup> Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in CHURCHILL's Collection. *Robbe Methode pour apprendre facilement la Geographie*, tom. ii. p. 317. 325. <sup>c</sup> *Dictionnaire universelle de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 892.

<sup>e</sup> LUYTS *Introductio ad Geographiam*, sect. v. cap. iv. v. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collection. Lord ANSON's Voyage, book ii. the last chapter. <sup>d</sup> ANTONIO DE HERRERA

*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xi. ALONZO DE OVALLE *Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. iv. cap. iv. Hieron. BENZONI *novæ novæ orbis Historiæ*, lib. i.

of these motives, they should continue for ages to come to act with the same supineness they have done for two centuries past, this will not alter the nature or the reason of things; or detract in any degree from the truth of what we have asserted from the lights of history and experience, much less, preclude the rest of the world from examining into the possibility or practicability of finding some means, or other for bringing those scattered islands and continents, whatever they may be, lying in the vicinity of these possessions of the *Spaniards*, into connection and correspondence with other known parts of the globe; and therefore we thought ourselves at full liberty to treat this subject as freely, and as copiously as it appears to us, that the advantages which might flow from a better acquaintance with these continents and islands deserved<sup>e</sup>.

*The present administration in Spain intent on promoting its true interests.*

As we pretend to no more than a very indistinct idea of the reasons which have hitherto influenced the conduct of the *Spaniards*, in respect to a great part of their possessions in both their *Indies*, we presume not to decide positively, as to the propriety or impropriety of this conduct. We cannot, however, help thinking, that a time may come when so wise and prudent a nation may think proper to alter this conduct; and we conceive this time will come, when they apprehend the interest of all the parts of which their extensive empire is composed in their true light. We should certainly find it no hard task, if this was a proper place, to enumerate many probable causes why this has not hitherto sufficiently occupied their attention<sup>f</sup>. The principal, without doubt, has been the confusion of their affairs in *Europe*, from their attachment to various ambitious plans; most of them repugnant to, and all of them far removed from, the true interests of their monarchy; that is, the support of the crown of *Spain*, and the promoting the happiness of its subjects. It is not often that these are the sole objects of the prince and his ministers; but, without the least intention, and therefore we hope, without the least imputation of flattery, we may with the utmost probability affirm, that these are the sole views of his present Catholic Majesty and his ministers. They see the grandeur and the interests of *Spain* in the true point of light; and therefore bend all their endeavours to reduce

<sup>e</sup> Discourse of *LOPEZ VAN* concerning the Spanish Power in the Indies, in *HAKLUYT's Voyages*, vol. iii. Sir *WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts*. *Atlas Maritimus*, p. 297. <sup>f</sup> History of Spanish America, from Spanish writers, p. 292, 293.

the interior government of that great monarchy into the most exact order. They have persisted in this, for some years, in which it must be admitted they have done a great deal; but, at the same time, it must be allowed, that they have a great deal still to do, before, even with their inflexible assiduity, so great a work as this is can be fully accomplished.<sup>g</sup>

WHEN this shall be accomplished, we cannot doubt that the same principle of public spirit will determine the *Spanish* administration to enter, with like diligence and circumspection, into every thing that regards the state of their colonies; and whenever this comes to pass, there is no question to be made, that the great importance of this *Archipelago* will be discerned, and the proper measures taken to draw from it all those advantages of which it is capable; and more especially those that may result from discoveries, for the making of which it is so happily situated<sup>b</sup>. As, in order to this, it will be absolutely necessary to make a new disposition of the remaining inhabitants, and to labour the civilizing and converting them to the Christian faith, by methods better adapted to these humane and salutary purposes, than have been hitherto employed, we cannot doubt that these will be taken, or entertain the least diffidence, that when they are taken, they will not be attended with the most happy effects<sup>i</sup>. For it is impossible that, if the natives of any one island were so thoroughly reclaimed as to live in the comfortable state of a Christian society, and in the possession of all the conveniences of life, with less labour than they now take, with an apparent peace of mind and undisturbed security; that their countrymen, who are far from being stupid, should remain inattentive to such an example, or prefer naked misery, and indigent indolence, with that profligacy of life which is naturally attended with checks of conscience, to freedom, quiet, and rational happiness; more especially, if some of their brethren were employed to exert their natural talents for eloquence, in displaying the numberless advantages that would attend so just and easy a change of manners<sup>k</sup>.

YET, if after all that has been said and shewn, there should so much as the colour of a doubt remain, as to the utility and importance of this chain of islands, or the great ease, and as great certainty with which the *Spaniards* might

<sup>g</sup> Present State of Europe, p. 348. <sup>b</sup> History of Spanish America, p. 292, 293. Lord ANSON's Voyage, p. 379. <sup>i</sup> Atlas Maritimus & Commercialis, p. 322. <sup>k</sup> ALONZO DE OVALLE Relacion Historica del Reyno de Chile.

*discoveries of as great consequence may be made from the south as towards the north.* be able to improve them to their utmost, and render them equal, if not superior in value to the *Philippines*, or any province of theirs in *America*; this will be fully explained, and set in the clearest light possible from the next section; in which we are to examine what are, or what might be, discovered to the southward, to the south-west, and to the south-east of the *Marianne* islands; what means there are of making these discoveries, and what beneficial consequences might be with probability expected from them; for the whole subject being then compleat, the several parts of it will reciprocally reflect light upon each other.

## S E C T. XI.

*The Discoveries that have been, or probably may be, made to the South-east or South-west of the Mariannes; the gradual Discovery of the Caroline Islands, or New Philippines; their Situation, Soil, Climate, Produce, and Inhabitants; the Appearance there is of many rich and valuable Commodities in these Isles; the Certainty of raising Spices of all Sorts in them; and the Advantages which would result from thence.*

*Discoveries to the south as practicable as to the north, and yet rather more neglected.*

WE have asserted, and we hope we have also shewn, that great advantages might have arisen to the crown of *Spain*, from the possession of the *Ladrones* or *Marianne* islands, by the conveniency of their situation for making very important discoveries. It falls out notwithstanding, that tho' nothing could be well more obvious or apparent, yet almost all the discoveries that have been made since they were in possession of these islands, either to the north or to the south, have not been the effects so much of choice as of chance<sup>a</sup>. That their number has been greater on the north than towards the south, is very plainly owing to the routs the annual ship is forced to take in going to *Acapulco*, which, notwithstanding all the care they can use varies very considerably almost every voyage; whereas, in going from *Acapulco* to *Manila*, they bear down as near as may be to the latitude of *Guam*; and, meeting commonly a fair wind, continue their course in

<sup>a</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by HAKLUYT, lib. iii. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts, lib. iv. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. x.

as direct a line as is possible <sup>b</sup>. Indeed this has not been always the case; because, before this transit was established, they sailed from different ports of *America* for the *Philippines*; and probably, if it had not been for this, they would scarce have made any discoveries at all, as in fact, notwithstanding this, they have made but very few <sup>c</sup>.

IN order to be convinced of the truth of this observation, we need only cast our eyes upon the most authentic *Spanish* charts, <sup>but incon-</sup> at the distance of a long series of years, and observe the <sup>sistent</sup> small difference there is between them <sup>d</sup>. This must appear the more extraordinary to every intelligent reader who has <sup>with the</sup> considered this subject with attention; when he reflects on <sup>principles</sup> the motives that first determined the *Spaniards* to attempt an <sup>on which</sup> intercourse with the *East Indies* through the *South Seas*, and <sup>they made</sup> the prodigious expence of blood and treasure with which, <sup>so great a</sup> while they retained the dominions of the crown of *Portugal*, <sup>struggle</sup> *Moluccas*. <sup>for the</sup> they laboured to preserve the *Moluccas* <sup>e</sup>; since, if there was wisdom and fortitude in this conduct, notwithstanding it weakened and almost exhausted their settlements in the *Philippines*, it might seem a self-evident deduction, that, acquiring in a less hazardous way, as great advantages, as could have been attained by the keeping of those islands, might have demanded some attention; more especially when this alone was necessary, and not any extraordinary expence, any naval armament, or any considerable effort whatever <sup>f</sup>.

BUT, notwithstanding all those circumstances of in- <sup>But still</sup> attention, the very discoveries thus in a manner forced <sup>more so</sup> upon them, were attended with informations that ought to <sup>with those</sup> have excited curiosity; and certainly would have done it, if <sup>on which</sup> they had acted from those principles on which they first <sup>their em-</sup> established their dominion in the *East Indies*. For the fight <sup>pire is</sup> of islands, pleasantly situated, well inhabited, and in a good <sup>established</sup> climate, might have deserved examination; since the rich- <sup>in Ame-</sup> est countries are not always the most promising at first <sup>rica</sup> sight; and the smallest islands are sometimes found to be

<sup>b</sup> GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI Giro del Mondo, P. v. lib. iii. c. vi. Discourse on Navigation and Discoveries, chap. xi. Lord Anson's Voyage to the South Seas, chap. x. <sup>c</sup> HERRERA Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. ALONZO DE OVALLE Relation historique del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. iv. <sup>d</sup> See the Chart in HERRERA, and that in Lord ANSON's Voyage. <sup>e</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. iv. Don JUAN GRAU Y MONFALCÓN, Justificación de la Conservación de las Islas Filipinas. EDEN's History of TRAVAYLE. <sup>f</sup> See the Proof of this at the Close of the Section.



countries of great value. Besides, in these untraced parts of the globe, the knowledge of one country leads to the knowledge of another, and the reward of discoveries, tho' it comes late, comes at last <sup>e</sup>. The small islands that were first seen and possessed by *Columbus*, were soon after slighted for the sake of better, to which he was led from the knowledge of these; but, if he had given himself no farther trouble, or if he had measured the profits of the new world by the acquisitions made by his first voyage, where had been the *Spanish* empire in these parts at this day <sup>h</sup>? Or why, since this principle of examining and enquiring, from as little encouragement, proved so fortunate and so glorious to him and the princes who employed him, ought so opposite a conduct to be pursued here, where possibly the like pains and diligence might be still more amply rewarded?

*The islands lying directly south from the Ladrões, and when discovered.* IMMEDIATELY to the south of the island of *Guam*, and between the degrees of ten and thirteen degrees of north latitude, lie the islands of *Ban*, *Bota*, *Saint Baravel*, and the shoals of *Santa Rosa*. We have no description of any of these places; but it is highly probable, as we have shewn in a former section, that the three first islands were those seen by *Magellan*, and consequently the first discovered, since they agree better with the circumstances of *Pigafetta's* description than the island of *Guam*, and those in its neighbourhood <sup>i</sup>. What seems to confirm this, is, that the names of these islands occur in all the old lists of the *Ladrões*, in which we do not find *Guam*; and also in some catalogues we find the names of the northern islands, mentioned in the former section, likewise inserted; which shews that things have not always stood, even in the sentiments of the *Spaniards*, in the manner they do at present <sup>k</sup>. If these were the islands first seen by *Magellan*, they were even in those days well peopled, and those people were not ignorant of the arts of navigation, or naval architecture; so that in process of time, and when things were settled and reduced into better order, there might have been grounds for prosecuting these discoveries further, or, at least, for enquiring into the

<sup>e</sup> See RAMUSIO, HAKLUYT, THEVENOT.

<sup>h</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO *Raccolto delle Navigazioni & Viaggi*, tom. ii. fol. 82. 83. HERRERA *Historia de las Indias Occidentales*, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. xiii. <sup>i</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO *Raccolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 352. b. EDEN's *History of Travayle*. <sup>k</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries*, translated by HAKLUYT. HERRERA, *Descrpcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxviii. Du Bois *Geographie Moderne*.

condition, manner of subsistence, and what correspondences were entertained amongst their inhabitants (A).

(A) We have intimated more than once, that there are some points not clearly understood in the accounts we have of *Magellan's* voyage. It is expressly said, that from the *Ladrones*, which ever of them it was he saw, he continued his voyage to the little island of *Zamal*. This island from its nearness could be none of the *Philippines*. The next day he went on shore upon an uninhabited island, upon which he bestowed the name of *Buenos Senales*, which we find placed by *Herrera* near to *Mindanao* (1). While he remained here, he was visited by a canob with nine people on board from the island of *Zulwan*, who are very highly commended for their humanity and civility. These men afterwards brought other boats; and it is very remarkable, that the cargoes of these boats, did not speak a barren indigent country, any more than the behaviour of those on board shewed them a brutal or barbarous people. Amongst their merchandize, an eye-witness assures us, that there were cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, and gold wrought into many antic forms. The people who brought them were naked, with large pieces of gold in their ears, and having jewels set in gold for bracelets; about their waists they wore a coarse cloth, made of the rind of a certain tree (2). Their island was

situated in the latitude of ten degrees north, and taking all circumstances together of country, boats, and people, was probably one of the *New Philippines*. In those days the inhabitants of all these isles enjoyed a free and extensive commerce; and, in consequence of that, were far more humane, civilized, and polite, than they are at present (3). They collected these rich commodities for the sake of trade, and exchanged them for others that they liked better. But when the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* had settled some of the islands, those that lay at a distance lost all communication with them, the inhabitants preferring poverty with freedom to all the advantages that arose from commerce; and thus, by degrees, they degenerated from what they were, and became less knowing and more savage than they had been, retaining however the knowledge of some mechanic arts, and some small remains of science, which still speaks plainly enough, that their ancestors were another kind of people, as having lived in better times; and, by the help of this key, the reader will understand very clearly many things that would be unintelligible, if not incredible, in the relations he will meet with in the course of this section.

(1) *Herrera Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. . . Eden's History of Travayls. Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi, a l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. vii. p. 105.* (2) *G. Battista Ramusio, Raccolta delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i. fol. 350. a. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. i. B. ii. ch. ii. p. 37. Eden's History of Travayls, fol. 430.* (3) *Calvaneo's Discoveries, as translated by Hakluyt. Arzenjola, Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. Massey, Historia Indica, lib. i.*

*The islands lying on the south-east of the Ladrones, and the probability of more islands, or perhaps, some continent on this side.*

AMONGST the islands to the south-east, we find laid down in the old maps *Abreofo*, which in the new charts are stiled *Islas de Abrosas*; *Mira como vas*, which is as much as to say, take care how you move; these are laid down as three pretty considerable islands, with shoals about them. *Quita Sueño*, that is, leave your sleep; *La Poblado*, or, the well-peopled island. Most of these are left out in the new charts, in some of which we find others inserted; such as *St. Stephan*, *Isla de Arresitos*, *Casbobas*, *Lafurganes*, and *Piscadores*, or, the *Fisher's Island*<sup>1</sup>. The island of *St. Bartholomew* lies in the latitude of fourteen degrees north, and near twenty degrees to the east of *Guam*, and appears both in the old and the new charts to be larger than any of the *Marianne* islands. We have no description of any of these islands, probably because they were only seen by ships in their passage; but they might be easily examined, and perhaps many more found in or near the same track, if any vessels were employed from *New Spain* to that purpose; and, tho' they might not happen to produce any valuable commodities, yet certainly they would facilitate the correspondence with the *Marianne* islands, in case they were thoroughly settled and improved; and, in that respect, might be rendered equally beneficial and convenient<sup>m</sup>. To say nothing of the probability there is, that some larger and more valuable countries might be discovered, since it is not easy to conceive that there should be so many small islands with shoals about them in so vast an ocean, without some great and more considerable continent, as is common in the like cases, and of which instances will occur within the compass of this section, as well as within the bounds of this *Pacific Sea*.

*The islands that lie to the south-west, and the danger of their sinking again into oblivion.*

As to the islands of the south-west, we find three islands lying in a triangle in the old charts, which are called *los Corales*, or *Islas del Coral*, that is, the *Coral Islands*. The *Archipelago*, stiled *de los Reyes*, because discovered on the feast of the *Epiphany*, consists of five islands. The island of *Sahavedra* is a pretty large one. The *Matalotes*, or *Companions*, are smaller. The *los Jardines*, or the *Gardens*, were so called from their having a very beautiful and pleasant appearance. *Isla de Aracifes*, or, the *Island of Rocks*, is also pretty large, but in a manner inaccessible. *Pulo Vilan*, or the island of *St. Vilan*, is as large as any of the *Ladrones*; and the island of *St. Juan*, or *de Palmas*, is the most to the

<sup>1</sup> G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, *Racolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 371. a. GALVANO's *Discoveries*, translated by HAKLUYT. EDEN's *History of Travaile*. <sup>m</sup> Compare the Spanish Charts before mentioned.

west of them all, and nearest the *Moluccas* <sup>n</sup>. We know that when these islands were first discovered by the *Spaniards*, they were very full of people, the inhabitants had prows of different sizes, were not at all shy of strangers, but readily came on board the ships; but, tho' we have these and other particulars in our old collections, yet we find no mention of them in modern books; as if it was designed they should retire again from the knowledge of men, and relapse into their original obscurity. If this arises from negligence, it ought to be prevented; if from a point of mistaken policy, we ought, in justice to the rights of mankind, to defeat it. Discoveries are made for the common benefit; more especially, after they have been once published; and, tho' the *Spaniards* may improve or neglect those islands at their pleasure, yet they cannot prescribe against the rest of the world's knowing whether they improve or neglect them.

WE have before mentioned some of the discoveries of *Al- Alvaro de Saavedra*, whom his cousin, the famous *Ferdinand Saavedra*, *Cortes*, sent to the *Moluccas*. He, endeavouring to return *discovers a* from thence in the month of *May*, 1529, had sight of a large *considerable coun-* country to the south, along the east coast of which he sailed *try to the* till the month of *August*, running in that time the space of *south of* five hundred leagues. Having run as low as seven degrees *the line.* south, he judged it expedient to return, and in his passage saw several considerable islands, about which there were sands and shoals, tho' the coast of the larger country seemed to be clean and good anchorage. After passing the line he discovered an island lying some degrees towards the north, which he called *Isla de los Pintados*, or *of the painted People*; because the inhabitants were white, but had their bodies painted very curiously of different colours; he judged them, by their complexions and features, to be descended from the *Chinese* <sup>o</sup>. They did not seem to have any government amongst them, were very timid; and, more especially, afraid of fire, which they had never seen. They buried their fruits and small fish in the sand, in places most exposed to the sun, for a certain time, and then took them up, eating them, as it were, baked. In the latitude of ten degrees north he discovered an *Archipelago* of islands abounding with palm-trees and

<sup>n</sup> HERRERA, Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by HAKLUYT, EDEN'S History of Travels. <sup>o</sup> GALVANO'S Discoveries, translated by HAKLUYT. ARGENSOLA, Conquista de las Islas Molucas, lib. i. HERRERA, Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii.

very fine grafs. These people he also judged to have been originally from *China*, tho' they now lived like the former, without any kind of rule. They were cloathed in long white habits, made of a sort of grafs, but were very lazy, living in the like indolent manner with the former; and had prows made of a sort of white pine, which at certain seasons came floating upon their coasts, they knew not how, or from whence; which, however, they wrought very neatly and ingeniously with tools made of shells <sup>P</sup>.

*The inhabitants of this continent, and adjacent islands, black people, with curled hair.*

THE inhabitants of the larger country, which, in respect to the islands, was a kind of continent, and the inhabitants also of most of the islands were absolutely black, with curled hair like the negroes, and from thence called *Papuas*, which in the language of the people of the *Moluccas*, signifies a dark-coloured people. *Cortes* afterwards sent other ships along this coast to perfect these discoveries, as the *Portuguese* had done before from their settlements, the result of which was the discovering many other islands, most of them peopled; and that the inhabitants of the larger country were divided into several kingdoms, some of which were tributaries to the monarchs of the *Moluccas*. The people in these islands and on the continent had considerable quantities of gold, some fine spices, and other rich commodities, and carried on at this time some degree of commerce <sup>q</sup>. But as yet they were not very well known, and the natives of the *Moluccas* affected to keep their intercourse with them, and the profits that accrued to them from it, very private.

*This country comes from hence to be called Nueva Guinea, or New Guinea.*

ABOUT the year 1545, *Ruy Lopez de Villa Lobos* coming into these parts with the title of General, and a squadron of six sail of good ships, gave new names to several of the places which *Saavedra* had discovered; and, amongst the rest, bestowed that of *Nueva Guinea*, or *New Guinea*, upon the country of the *Papuas*. From this time till the end of that century the *Spanish* pilots examined the whole of the coast very carefully, bestowed names on several bays, promontories, and harbours, and gave it as their opinion, that either this continent was continued, or, that a multitude of large islands lay south-east from thence, as far as the streights

<sup>P</sup> *MAFFEI*, *Historia Indica*. *PURCHAS's Pilgrims*, p. 603. *EDEN's History of Travayle*, p. 906. <sup>q</sup> *FRAN. LOPEZ DE GOMARA*, *Historia general de las Indias*, lib. xi. *HERRERA*, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxvii. *GALVANO's Discoveries*, translated by *HAKLUYT*. *EDEN's History of Travayle*.

of *Magellan* <sup>1</sup>. They likewise agreed, that the country was fruitful, well-peopled, and that the inhabitants had ornaments of gold. Amongst others they reported this singular circumstance, that there were intermixed with these blacks a race of white people not like the *Europeans*, but of a chalky tallowish white, with very weak eyes scarce able to bear the light of the sun, and a weak, languid, and helpless people withal; tho' there were also some, but very few, that were brisk, active, and had tolerably good eyes <sup>2</sup>. These sort of people the *Spaniards* distinguished by the name of *Albinas*, and they seem to be precisely the same kind of men with the *Mooneyed Indians*, on the *Isthmus of Darien*, of whom we have a copious and circumstantial description <sup>3</sup>.

WE have mentioned in a former section, *Don Joseph Quirogoa*, who was governor of the *Marianne* islands, and who completed the conquest of that whole *Archipelago*. This gentleman, having intelligence that a large island had been seen to the south-west, sent in the year 1686, *Don Alonso Poon*, a *Chamorris*, or one of the native nobility, to discover it, but without effect. He was sent four years after to as little purpose. This did not hinder the bestowing the name of *Carolina* on this half-known island, in honour of *Charles* the second, then King of *Spain*. In 1696, it was again seen by a vessel bound from the *Philippines* to the *Marianne* islands, and was then stiled the isle of *St. Barnabas*, as having been seen on the feast of that apostle <sup>4</sup>. The year following an accident disclosed, what, whoever considers their situation in a map, will conceive it almost impossible that the *Spaniards* should not have known before, that there was a large *Archipelago* of fine islands between them and the *Mariannes* (B). This event fell out by two prows, on board of

<sup>1</sup> ARGENSOLA, Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. Relatione di JUAN GARTAN, Pilotto Castigliano, del discoprimiento dell Isole Molucche, per la via dell Indie Occidentali. PERRÉ LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes lib. i. <sup>2</sup> GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by HAKLUYT: HERRERA, Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. EDEN's History of Travayle, p. 698. <sup>3</sup> ARGENSOLA Conquista de las Islas Malucas, lib. i. GALVANO's Discoveries, translated by HAKLUYT. <sup>4</sup> P. LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes, liv. x. GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI, Giro del Mondo, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix. DU BOIS, Geographie Moderne.

(B) That the *Spaniards* having before them the voyage of *Magellan*, and those who were employed to perfect his discoveries,

of which were thirty of the inhabitants, being driven on the 28th of September, 1696, on the island of *Samal* by the eastern

veries, should never gain any knowledge of this *Archipelago*, or, that they should conceal it, if they did, is not easily to be understood. But be that as it will, we have before hinted, and we will now prove, that these islands have not been always hid from the eyes of the *Europeans*. Sir *Francis Drake* undoubtedly passed through them, and the account he gave of them very well deserves the reader's notice, who, from the foregoing sections, will clearly discern that the islands he mentions were not, as hath hitherto been supposed, the *Ladrones*, but the islands of which we are now speaking. He quitted the country of *New Albion*, which is a part of *California*, in the year 1578, and the next land he saw was this chain of islands. We will deliver this account in the words of the original voyage; for, tho' the language be old, yet the observation, that Sir *Francis Drake* first discovered these islands, is wholly new. (4). "After we had set sayle from hence we continued without sight of land till the thirteenth day of *October* following, which day in the morning we fell in with certain islands eight degrees to the northward of the line; from which came a great number of canoes, having in some of them four, in some six, and in some also fourteen men, bringing with them cocoas

and other fruits. Their canoes were hollow within, and cut with great art and cunning, being very smooth within and without, and bearing a gloss as if it were of horn daintily burnished, having a prow and a sterne of one sort, yielding inward circlewise, being of a great height, and full of certain white shells for a bravery; and on each side of them lye out two pieces of timber about a yard and a half long, more or less, according to the smallness or bigness of the boat. This people have the nether part of their ears cut into a round circle, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, whereon they hang things of a reasonable weight. The nails of their hands are an inch long, their teeth are as black as pitch, and they renew them often by eating of an herb with a kind of powder, which they always carry about them in a cane for the same purpose. Leaving this island the night after we fell in with it, the 18th of *October*, we lighted upon divers others; some whereof made a great shew of inhabitants. We continued our course by the islands of *Tagulada*, *Zelou*, and *Zeparra*, being friends to the *Portugals*; the first whereof hath growing in it great store of cinnamon." It is plain, from the furniture of these ves-

(4) *Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 738. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 54. *The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, p. 21.

eastern monsoon, which reigns in those seas from *October to May*. These people are in their own language called *Palaoos*; and some of them had been before blown by the like accident into other of the *Philippines*, without any great notice being taken of them; but the coming of these into an island, where there were upward of forty missionaries, occasioned a stricter and more effectual enquiry, as they drew from them competent accounts of their country \* (C).

THEY

\* Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 317. p. 189.

fels, from their having two outlayers instead of one, but more especially, from the number of persons on board them, that they did not come from any of the *Ladrone* islands; tho' there is no need of adding any additional arguments to this, if we consider the latitude assigned, and the islands that our great seamen report to have been in their neighbourhood. By comparing this with the former notes, and carrying their contents along in his mind, the reader will be thoroughly convinced that, exclusive of the entertainment he receives from the drawing together so many curious and neglected passages relating to these distant countries, we afford him incontestible evidence of the truth of our suggestion, that the *Spaniards* always had, and still have, spice islands in their possession, whenever they shall esteem it consistent with their policy to bring the produce of them into *Europe*.

(C) We may with some colour of justice suspect, that, notwithstanding what most of the *Spanish* writers affirm, the governors of the *Philippines*, and other sensible people in that part

of the world, were not so long or so utterly ignorant of some such *Archipelago* as this, before the accident happened that is mentioned in the text. For we know that some years before this, the king's brother of these new *Philippines*, in a sea-voyage was driven on the coast of *Caragan*, in the great island of *Mindanao* (5). The *Spanish* fathers, who have a very fine mission there, received this prince with a great deal of honour and friendship, and instructed him in the Christian religion; which he was so well pleased with, that he never thought again of returning to his own country. In the mean time the king, dissatisfied at the loss of his brother, fitted out a fleet of one hundred small vessels, which he sent to every island under his dominion, to see if they could learn any news of him. One of these little vessels was forced by a storm on the coast of *Caragan*, at the same place as the king's brother was before. Where landing, they immediately knew him, and, with tears, told him the occasion of their journey, the discontent of the king his brother, and desired him to return back with them. The prince

(5) *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 517. p. 198, 199.



History of  
the ship-  
wreck of  
thirty Pa-  
laos, by  
which  
their  
islands  
are made  
known.

THEY had run before the wind for seventy days together, according to their own relation, without being able to make any land till they came in sight of the town of *Guivam*, an inhabitant of which being on the shore, perceived them, and judging, from the make and size of their vessels, they were strangers, and out of their course, took a piece of cloth, and made them a signal of entering the road as he directed, to avoid the shoals and banks of sand. These poor people were so frightened at the sight of this stranger, that they began to put to sea again; but the wind forced them back towards

thanked them for the trouble they had been at, and desired them to satisfy the king that he was well and contented, but could not by any means, be persuaded to return home again. One would have imagined, that this single fact might have occasioned an inquiry, if nothing of the like kind had ever happened before. But even in *Samal*, the island to which these people came, there had small vessels run ashore, sometimes with, and sometimes without, people on board them (6). From the reports of some persons thus cast away, a story was very current amongst the *Spaniards*, of an island of *Amazons* who were visited, at a certain season of the year, by men from an opposite island, who, after staying with them a short time, retired with all the male children of a certain age. They believed, upon the credit of the same persons, that in some island, at no great distance, there was such plenty of ambergris that the ignorant inhabitants caulked their boats with it. A very grave judicious writer, who seems to

make no difficulty of admitting the story of the *Amazons*, which, however, might possibly be founded only in a mistake; because these people breed up their boys and girls at a distance from each other, and in separate houses; looks upon what is said of the ambergris as the most ridiculous of all fictions (7). Yet, how absurd soever it might appear in *Spain*, the people of *Samal* did not in the least hesitate at believing it; and for this plain reason, that the very same thing had happened more than once upon their own island. But, before much of this precious drug had been thus abused, the Father Jesuits smelt it out, bought it for a trifle of the *Indians*, and sold it for a good price to those who knew where to bring it to a still better market (8). It appears evidently enough from hence, and we could prove it from many other instances, that it is a fashionable doctrine at present in *Spain*, that these undiscovered countries are all barren, and have nothing in them worth seeking.

(6) Giovan. Francesco Gemelli Carreri, *Giro del Mondo*, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix.

(7) Fr. B. G. Feijoo, *Teatro critico universal en Madrid* 1742, 4to, tom. iv. Dif. x. § xvi.

(8) Giovan. Francesco Gemelli Carreri, *Giro del Mondo*, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix.

the shore: when they came near, the *Guivameſe* made the ſame ſignal as before; but, ſeeing they would unavoidably be loſt, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to one of the little veſſels to bring them ſafe into the harbour\*. He was no ſooner got to them but the women, with their children on their backs, and all that were in that veſſel, threw themſelves over board, and ſwam to the other. He, ſeeing himſelf alone in the veſſel, reſolved to follow them, and getting aboard the ſecond, ſhewed them how to avoid the ſhoals, and brought them in ſafe. In the mean time they ſtood immoveable, and reſigned themſelves up entirely to the conduct of this ſtranger, as if they had been ſo many priſoners. The inhabitants of *Guivam* received them very kindly, and brought them wine and other proviſions. They eat cocoas very freely, which are the fruit of the palm-trees of this country. Their pulp is ſomething like that of cheſnuts, only that it is more oily, and it ſupplies them with a ſort of ſweet water, very pleaſant to drink. They gave them rice boiled in water, which is eaten there, and all over *Aſia*, as bread is in *Europe*; they looked on it with ſurprize, and, taking up ſome grains of it, threw them on the ground, ſuppoſing them to be worms. Upon bringing them large roots, called *Palavan*, they eat them haſtily and heartily†. They brought them ſoon after two women that had formerly been driven on ſhore on the coaſt of *Guivam*, and who underſtood a little of the language of this country; one of the women found amongſt theſe ſtrangers, one of her relations, and as ſoon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. The inhabitants of *Guivam* ſtrove with each other who ſhould entertain theſe ſtrangers at their houſes, and furniſh them with proviſions, cloaths, and other neceſſaries. Of thirty-five perſons that embarked, there remained but thirty, five dying thro' want of proviſions, and other hardſhips in ſo long a voyage; and, ſome time after their arrival, another died‡.

THEY related, that their country conſiſted of thirty-two iſlands, which could not be far diſtant from the *Mariannes*, given by as was judged by the ſmallneſs of their veſſels and the form of their ſails, which are very like thoſe of the *Matianeſe*. It was ſuppoſed that theſe iſlands were in eleven or twelve degrees, and of the

\* Lettres édiſſantes et curieuſes.  
Hiftoire des Îles Mariannes, p. 399.

† PERE LE GOBIEN, Philoſophical Tranſactions, N°. 317. p. 189. PERE LE GOBIEN, Hiftoire des Îles Mariannes, p. 401. Lettres édiſſantes et curieuſes.

people, who grees of north-latitude, more southerly than the *Mariannes*, and under the same degree of longitude as *Guivam*; for, sailing directly from east to west, they came ashore at this town. These strangers added, that of the thirty-two islands three of them were uninhabited, but abounded with wild fowl, and all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the number of inhabitants, they pointed to a heap of sand, to shew that their number was very great. The names of these islands are *Pais*, *Lamuhulutup*, *Saraon*, *Taoropie*, *Valayyay*, *Satavan*, *Cutac*, *Yfaluc*, *Piraulop*, *Ytai*, *Pic*, *Piga*, *Lamurrec*, *Pur*, *Falaist*, *Caruvavung*, *Ylatu*, *Lamukiur*, *Tavas*, *Saypen*, *Ta-  
saulep*, *Rapiyang*, *Tavon*, *Mutacufau*, *Piyhu*, *Olatan*, *Pahu*, *Cucumyat*, and *Piyalucunung*. The three islands that have nothing on them but wild fowl, are *Pieulet*, *Hulatan*, *Pagian*. The most considerable of all these islands is *LAMURREC*, where the king of the country keeps his court, and to him the governors of all the other islands are subject (D). Among those strangers there was one of the governors,

(D) As a proof that these people were very intelligent to a certain degree, it is sufficient to observe, that they exhibited a map of the whole *Archipelago*, consisting of eighty-seven islands. The method they took to do this, was very singular, and we may likewise say, in some measure, correct. They laid down upon a table as many small stones as there were islands, plac'd them in their proper position, and, as these were copied upon paper, they gave the name of each, and directed a figure to be inscribed in it, to shew how many days sail it would take to pass round it; and a figure to be placed between every two islands, shewing how many days sail was between them. The whole very clear and intelligible; nor have we any thing better of the kind since (9). The

island from whence these people came, was *Amarjot*, in the latitude of ten degrees thirty minutes north; and the island to which they were bound was *Pais*, lying to the south-west, at the distance of about twelve days sail, and in the latitude of ten degrees north. The island in which they lived, was three days sail in circumference; that to which they were bound, four. The largest of these islands, which the *Spaniards* write *Pan-loce*, the *French* *Panloque*, and in our *English* map it is *Panlog*, lies but three days sail east, from the point of *Guivam*; and not above two days sail north-east of the island of *Mindanao*, between the latitudes of eight degrees twenty minutes, and eleven degrees thirty minutes, north (10). According to this description of theirs, the whole

(9) *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 317, p. 199.

(10) *Purchas's Pilgrims*,

vernors, and his wife, who was the king's daughter; tho' they went half naked, yet their deportment, and a peculiar air of greatness, sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The husband had his body painted all over with certain lines, in such a manner that they formed several figures. The rest of the people were also painted more or less. The women and children were not painted at all; there were nineteen men and ten women of different ages; the make and colour of their faces were much like the *Philippinese*. The men had a sash wrapped several times round their bodies, covering their reins and thighs; they wore on their shoulders about an ell and an half of coarse linnen-cloth, like a cowl, tied before, and hanging loose behind. Both men and women dressed much alike, only that the women had a piece of cloth somewhat longer, that hung from their waist down to their knees<sup>a</sup>.

THEIR language differs from that of the *Philippinese* and *Their language*; their manner of pronouncing comes nearest *guage, or* that of the *Arabs*; and some, who understood the language, *naments,* observed the women that seemed the most considerable *and man-*  
*ner in*

<sup>a</sup> Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 189. PÈRE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Îles Mariannes, p. 403. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

five provinces of these islands lie from one degree thirty minutes south, to sixteen degrees north, having the islands of *Samal*, that of *Mindanao*, the *Moluccas*, and *Gilolo*, to the west; the *Marianne* islands to the north-east, and the *Pacific Ocean* on all sides (11). The reader will perceive, that this differs in some respects from what is advanced in the text; but we cannot help that, the former stands upon the credit of the first narrative, written upon the spot, and at the time; the latter, upon a subsequent epistle to Father *le Gobien* at the time that he transmitted the former to his

brethren, the Jesuits in *France*; and, as he affirms, that his remarks were written from later informations, and with a view to supply the deficiencies of the first account, it was thought they could not appear more properly here than in a note (12). It may not be amiss to add, that this reverend father, not being initiated into the maxims of *Spanish* policy, assures us, that there is great probability, from their situation, and many other circumstances, that these islands may abound with gold, amber, spice, and other valuable commodities (12).

(11) See the Map in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. (12) See and compare the Map before cited with Delisle's, (13) This Letter is not in his History of the Marianne Islands.

*which they supported themselves at sea.* amongst them, had several rings and necklaces of tortoise-shells, (called here *Carry*) and others made of a substance much like amber, but not transparent. The manner of their living at sea for seventy days together, continually driven by the wind, was thus : They cast out a sort of net, made of a great many twigs of trees tied together, with a large mouth for the fish to enter, and terminating in a point to prevent their getting out. The fish they took after this manner, was all the nourishment they had ; and rain-water saved in cocoa-shells, which is the fruit of the palm-trees, and of the figure and size of a man's head <sup>b</sup>.

*Advantages and disadvantages of their country, and manner of living, and their admiration of the customs of the Europeans.*

THEY have no cows in their islands, and at the sight of them they run away, as they did likewise at the barking of a dog ; neither have they cats, stags, horses, or, in general, any quadrupede ; or any fowl, but sea-fowl, excepting them which they breed up ; but never eat their eggs. Notwithstanding this, they are very chearful and well-contented with their condition. Their songs and dances are exact and regular ; when they sing, it is all in concert, every one observing the same humour and gestures, which makes it very agreeable. They were surprized at the government, politeness, and manners of the *Europeans* <sup>c</sup>. They admired not only the solemnities and ceremonies of the church, in celebrating the divine service, but also the music, instruments, dances, and arms of the *Spaniards* : and gun-powder was what surprized them most. They wondered at the whiteness of the *Europeans*, in respect of whom they were perfectly tawney, as well as the inhabitants of this country. It did not appear that they had any knowledge either of a Deity, or that they worshipped idols. Their customs were perfectly savage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which tho' they observe no set time or place, when hungry or dry, and when they can find any thing to satisfy nature ; yet they eat but little at a time, and never enough to suffice for a whole day <sup>d</sup>.

*Great resemblance in their*

THEY shewed much respect and deference for their king, and the governors of towns, and obey them very punctually. Their civility and respect consists in taking hold of the hand

<sup>b</sup> PERE LE GOBIEU Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 399. Faistes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par PERE CHARLVOIX, p. 44. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

<sup>c</sup> DU BOIS, Geographie Moderne, p. 701. PERE LE GOBIEU Histoire des Isles Mariannes, p. 406. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. <sup>d</sup> Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 317. p. 189. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 701. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses

or foot of the person they would honour, and gently rubbing <sup>manners to</sup> their faces. Amongst their utensils they had some saws, not <sup>those of the</sup> made of iron, but of a large shell, called here *Taqbobo*, which they rub and whet upon a certain kind of stone. They <sup>Mari-</sup> were surprized to see the number of carpenters tools, used in building a merchant-man at *Guivam*. They have ~~have~~ no metals in their country. The father missionary made each of them a present of a large piece of iron, which they received with as much joy as if it had been gold; and, for fear it should be stole from them, they laid it under their heads, when they went to sleep. They have no other arms than lances or darts armed with human bones, very sharp and well fixed. They are naturally very peaceable; but if any quarrel happens amongst them, it is decided with some cuffs on the head, which yet very rarely happens; for, when they would come to a closer fight, they separate them, and they are soon reconciled. They are not dull and heavy; but, on the contrary, have a great deal of liveliness and spirit. They are not so lusty as the inhabitants of the *Mariannes*, yet are they well-proportioned, and shaped much like the *Philippinese*. Both the men and women let their hair grow long, and hang loose on their shoulders. When they understood that they were to be conducted to the presence of the father missionary, they painted their bodies all over with a yellow colour, which is looked upon by them as a great ornament. The oldest of these strangers was once before cast on the coast of *Caragan*. They are very expert at diving; and they said, that in fishing they took two large pearls in their shells, but threw them into the sea again, not knowing their value.

WHEN they were brought into the presence of the father- <sup>Are most</sup> missionary, and saw the profound respect that was paid him, <sup>kindly</sup> they, as was very natural, governed by the remembrance of <sup>treated by</sup> their own customs, immediately conceived that he must be the <sup>the mis-</sup> monarch of this country, and as absolute as their own; and, <sup>sionary and</sup> of course, that upon the breath of his lips their future fate must <sup>people of</sup> depend. They approached him therefore with all possible <sup>Guivam,</sup> and are <sup>and are</sup> testimonies of awe and reverence; and he, on the other hand, <sup>very sensi-</sup> laboured as much as in him lay to console them, and to make <sup>ble of it.</sup> them sensible that they had nothing to fear. He was parti-

\* PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 407. Du BOIS *Géographie Moderne*, p. 701. *Lettres édifiantes & curieuses*. PERE LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 408. *Philosophical Transactions*, N<sup>o</sup>. 317. p. 196. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

cularly careful to careſs their children, of whom three were ſtill at the breaſt, and five were but juſt weaned and able to go alone. He likewiſe took care to diſtribute them properly, ſo that the married people ſhould not be ſeparated, and that at leaſt two of them might always remain together, and that they might not pine for want of ſociety. This care had proper effects; the people were extremely ſenſible of the kindneſs ſhewn them, conformed themſelves gradually to the cuſtoms of thoſe amongſt whom they lived, and offered very readily to go with any, that ſhould be ſent, to convert their countrymen to the Chriſtian religion, and bring about a correſpondence between their iſlands, and thoſe under the dominion of his Catholic Maſteſty<sup>s</sup>; to all which they had been ſolicited by the miſſionary.

Several  
years  
elapſe be-  
fore any  
attempt is  
made to  
perſecthis  
diſcovery.

THIS was well received by the governor of the *Philippines*, who talked of the expedition to the iſlands of the *Palaoſ*, as a thing worthy of being undertaken; but never undertook it, nor his ſucceſſor after him. Father *Andrew Serrano*, a miſſionary of great piety and probity, who had ſpent thirty years in preaching to and proteſting the *Indians* in the *Philippines*, took the matter ſincerely to heart, went in the year 1706 to *Rome*, and having obtained recommendations to the court of *Madrid*; in conſequence of theſe orders were ſent for diſpatching thither two miſſionaries immediately<sup>a</sup>. Theſe orders were executed in the month of *November*, 1710, when a ſhip was ſent on the diſcovery with two miſſionaries on board, and one of the converts that had remained at *Samal*. After ſailing fourteen days, they obſerved two iſlands bearing from them north-eaſt, which the fathers called the iſlands of *St. Andrew*. A boat came from one of theſe iſlands, and, upon their countryman's ſhewing himſelf, the people came on board, crying out *Mapia! Mapia!* which, in their language, ſignifies *Good Folks*<sup>b</sup>.

The at-  
tempts that  
are made  
are de-  
ſeated,

THEY were very kindly received, and extremely well pleaſed. They ſaid that the name of their iſland was *San-ſarol*; and that the principal iſle of their *Archipelago*, was called *Panlok*, lying north north-eaſt. They mentioned alſo, two other iſlands to the ſouth-weſt and the ſouth-eaſt,

<sup>a</sup> Faſtes chronologiques de la Deconverte du Nouveau Monde, par PERE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. PERE LE GOMIEN Hiſtoire des Iſles Marianes, p. 409. <sup>b</sup> FR. B. G. FRIO, Theatre critico univerſal, tom. ix. p. 183. Du Bors Geographie Moderne, p. 71: Lettres eſſaiantes et curieufes. <sup>c</sup> Relation en forme de Journal de la Decouverte des Iſles de Palaoſ ou Nouvelles Philippines.

which

which they called *Merieres* and *Paulo*. The captain could find *and the* no port or road; however the two missionaries would land, *views at* and were accordingly put on shore with the *Palao*s they *length* brought with them, his wife and children. These islands *abandoned.* were in the latitude of five degrees and twenty-eight minutes north; they afterwards steered for *Panlok*, which was fifty leagues distant; but that also proved destitute of a port; nor was it possible, in their return, so much as to send the boat on shore at *Sanfarol*; so that they returned without any news of their missionaries. Upon his coming back to the *Philippines*, father *Serrano* embarked on a like expedition, and many years elapsed before any news was heard of any of these fathers. At length came advice from *China*, that the fathers *Duberon* and *Courtil*, who were first sent, were murdered by the natives, who were no such innocents in their own country as they appeared to be at *Samal*\* (E). As for father

\* *Fastes chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde*, par PERE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. FR. B. G. FEIJO, *Theatro critico universal*, tom. ix. p. 138. *Lettres edifiantes, et curieuses.*

(E) In order to throw some light upon what is said in the text, and to give the reader as good an account of these people as possible, we shall transcribe some passages from the original journal of this expedition, penned by a person who had a considerable command on board the ship, and who appears to have written with equal perspicuity and impartiality (14).  
 “ The people are extremely  
 “ well shaped, and of a very  
 “ robust constitution; they were  
 “ naked, except that about their  
 “ middle they wore a piece of  
 “ mat. Their hair was curled,  
 “ they had very little beard;  
 “ and to defend themselves  
 “ from the rain, they wore  
 “ upon their shoulders a  
 “ kind of mantle made of a  
 “ thick soft mat; and, on their  
 “ heads, hats of the same sort of  
 “ stuff, round which they stuck  
 “ birds feathers upright. They  
 “ were extremely surprized to  
 “ see our people smoke tobacco;  
 “ and, of all things,  
 “ seemed most to esteem iron,  
 “ and whenever they saw it,  
 “ they gazed on it in such a  
 “ manner, as visibly betrayed  
 “ how much they coveted it;  
 “ and, in case we did not understand  
 “ their dumb signs, they made no  
 “ difficulty of earnestly and frequently  
 “ demanding it.  
 “ In the afternoon there  
 “ came off two other boats, in  
 “ each of which there were  
 “ eight men; as soon as they  
 “ came near us they began to  
 “ sing, beating time with their

(14) *Relation en forme de Journal de la Decouverte des Isles de Palao ou Nouvelle Philippines.*



father *Serrano*, he prevailed on the captain of his ship to attempt running into a creek; but his zeal proved fatal alike

to

“ hands upon their thighs. When  
 “ they were on board, some of  
 “ them began to measure the  
 “ length of the ship, taking it  
 “ for granted that it was made  
 “ of a single tree, while others  
 “ counted our number of men.  
 “ They brought us some loaves,  
 “ some fish, and some herbs.  
 “ These islands were all covered  
 “ with trees to the sea-shore.  
 “ Their boats appeared to us  
 “ very neatly made; in which they  
 “ made use of triangular sails,  
 “ having a lee board on the other  
 “ side the boat, in order to preserve  
 “ it from going over. When we  
 “ were very near the land, I sent  
 “ my under-pilot to sound, that  
 “ I might bring the ships to an  
 “ anchor.

“ The shallop being arrived  
 “ within a quarter of a league  
 “ of the island, there came off  
 “ three boats full of people;  
 “ and some of them going on  
 “ board our shallop, one of the  
 “ *Indians* took notice there of a  
 “ fabre, which, after he had  
 “ for some time considered attentively,  
 “ he jumped into the sea and took  
 “ it with him. My under-pilot, at  
 “ his return, reported that there  
 “ was no fit ground for anchorage,  
 “ inasmuch as there was a great  
 “ depth of water, and a rocky  
 “ bottom all along the shore. I  
 “ afterwards sent another man  
 “ on the same errand, who quickly  
 “ returned with the same answer.  
 “ All this time I had made a shift,  
 “ by keeping under sail, to stem the  
 “ current, which ran very

“ strongly to the south-east;  
 “ but, the wind failing in the  
 “ evening, we began to drive  
 “ at large; the *Indians* then got  
 “ into their boats to go ashore.

“ Our missionaries laboured  
 “ all they could to keep them  
 “ on board, but could not prevail  
 “ upon them by any means.  
 “ They talked with them however,  
 “ some time on the first principles  
 “ of our religion, and taught them  
 “ to pronounce plainly the holy names  
 “ *Jesus* and *Maria*. We asked them  
 “ several questions, as to the  
 “ bigness of the island, and the  
 “ number of its inhabitants.  
 “ They answered, that the  
 “ island was about two leagues  
 “ and a half in circumference;  
 “ and that very probably there  
 “ might be eight hundred people,  
 “ who lived chiefly on cocoa,  
 “ fish, and sallads. The currents  
 “ carrying us away to the south-east  
 “ with great violence, we were not  
 “ able to recover the land till the  
 “ fourth, about six in the morning.  
 “ We then found ourselves at the  
 “ mouth of the channel betwixt the  
 “ two islands. I then sent the  
 “ shallop once more to look for an  
 “ anchorage; it was to no purpose;  
 “ for about four in the afternoon  
 “ they returned with an account  
 “ that the coast was an entire  
 “ rock, and that it was to no  
 “ purpose to let go an anchor.

“ On the 5th of December, 1701,  
 “ about seven in the morning,  
 “ the two fathers came to a  
 “ resolution of going ashore,

to himself and the crew, one *Indian* only excepted, who, afterwards by some means or other, was carried to *China*, and gave

“ ashore, and setting up a cross.  
 “ Don *Padilla* and myself re-  
 “ presented to them the dangers  
 “ to which they would be ex-  
 “ posed, and how much they  
 “ had to fear from these island-  
 “ ers with whose temper we  
 “ were so little acquainted; and  
 “ how much they might be em-  
 “ barassed, in case the currents  
 “ carried us to such a distance  
 “ as might put it out of our  
 “ power to send a boat to bring  
 “ them off, or to afford them  
 “ any assistance. Their zeal  
 “ was so warm, that they made  
 “ little account of these diffi-  
 “ culties; but persisted firmly  
 “ in their resolution, in spite  
 “ of all we could say. At last,  
 “ therefore, leaving brother  
 “ *Baudin* on board the ship,  
 “ they went into the shoalop,  
 “ taking with them the quar-  
 “ ter master of the vessel, and  
 “ the ensiga of the land forces  
 “ we had on board; they like-  
 “ wise carried with them the  
 “ *Palao*s, together with his wife  
 “ and children.

“ After the two missionaries  
 “ were gone, we held a coun-  
 “ cil of war to consider what  
 “ what we should do next. Don  
 “ *Padilla*, the lay Jesuit, my  
 “ sub-pilot, and myself, were  
 “ of opinion that the wisest  
 “ thing we could do, was to  
 “ steer for the island of *Pan-*  
 “ *logue*, the largest of these  
 “ isles, and which was distant  
 “ from that we had quitted  
 “ about fifty leagues. It was  
 “ about nine o’ clock in the  
 “ morning of the eleventh that  
 “ we discovered that island;  
 Mod. Hist. Vol. IX.

“ at noon we were in the la-  
 “ titude of seven degrees four-  
 “ teen minutes north, the land  
 “ being about a league off. At  
 “ four in the afternoon came  
 “ off four boats, which kept at  
 “ the distance of about half a  
 “ cable’s length, and were soon  
 “ after followed by two other  
 “ boats; at last some of the  
 “ people jumped over board  
 “ into the sea, and swam on  
 “ board us, with intent, as it ap-  
 “ peared, to steal anything on  
 “ which they could lay their  
 “ hands. One of them laid  
 “ hold of an iron chain and  
 “ pulled at it in hopes of break-  
 “ ing it; another caught hold  
 “ of a hammock that was hung  
 “ out to dry; and a third was  
 “ endeavouring to get in at a  
 “ port-hole.

“ Don *Padilla*, considering  
 “ the behaviour of these people,  
 “ thought proper to put the  
 “ soldiers under arms, there  
 “ being at least fourscore men  
 “ in these boats; and, at the  
 “ same time, made a sign to  
 “ the islanders to keep at a dis-  
 “ tance. Upon this they be-  
 “ gan to row towards the shore;  
 “ but at their going off, let fly  
 “ a shower of arrows, four of  
 “ which fell on board our ship.  
 “ Don *Padilla* then thought  
 “ fit to order a general discharge  
 “ of our fire-arms; upon which  
 “ the *Indians* jumped over  
 “ board, leaving their vessels,  
 “ and swimming towards the  
 “ shore at a prodigious rate;  
 “ but when they found that we  
 “ gave over firing, they re-  
 “ turned to their boats, reim-  
 Qq barked,

gave this account to the fathers Jesuits there, by whom it was transmitted to their brethren at the *Philippines* <sup>1</sup>.

At length, however, this whole *Archipelago* to the number of eighty or eighty-seven islands was discovered in the same manner as parts of it had hitherto been, that is, by accident. In 1771 a strange bark run on shore on the east end of the Island of *Guan*, having on board eleven men, seven women, and six children: one of the natives who was fishing near the place, having given notice to the chief man of the village, he persuaded the people to come on shore, which they did, and were very kindly entertained. Their vessel appeared very curious, even in the eyes of the *Marianese*, whose prows in the rest of the world so much admire. In many respects it

<sup>1</sup> *États chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde*, par FR. CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. FR. B. G. FRÉJO, *Theatro curio. universal*, tom. ix. p. 138, 139. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*.

“barked, and made for the  
“land as fast as they were able.  
“These *Indians* were all of  
“them naked, and some had  
“painted their bodies of different  
“nest colours. Their skin is  
“generally of an olive colour;  
“but some were darker-skinned  
“and than others, they had  
“nothing with them that we  
“saw but a few coconas.”

It appears from these passages, that the gentleness of these *Indians* is not to be relied on; but that when they cannot accomplish their designs by fair means, there is an absolute necessity to guard against their attempting to compass them by force. It may be, however, that this regards strangers only; for it seems to be a principle amongst barbarous nations, taking that word to signify such as have no correspondence with the rest of mankind, to believe

that all sentiments of humanity, tenderness, and justice, belong singly to their own nation, and that such as come amongst them by chance are not intitled to any other usage than suits with their good pleasure, unless, as the *Spaniards* did who were set ashore, they contract alliances with them, and become one people (15). This relation however confirms three great points: that there is such an *Archipelago* as the *New Philippines*; that the islands of which it is composed are very numerous, and thoroughly inhabited; and that these people have very good boats, and in their own seas are very dextrous sailors (16). We are therefore to consider these as *Spanish* witnesses deposing on their own knowledge, in part at least, as to the truth of what the *Indians* had declared.

(15) *For le Glos. Histor. des Isles Mariannes*, p. 401. *Geog. et Histor.*, p. 701.

(16) *De Bus*

resembled

resembled these ; but in some was very different. The head and stern were exactly alike, representing the tail of a dolphin ; upon the deck were four little cabins wonderfully neat, and very artificially covered with palm-leaves <sup>m</sup>. Of these there was one at each end of the boat, and one on each side of the mast upon the outlayers ; for they had two ; whereas the *Marianne* prows have but one. The hold was in like manner divided into several apartments, some for containing their cargo, and others to hold their provisions. This vessel had sailed in conjunction with four others from the island of *Farirolep* for that of *Ulcea*, and had been driven out of their course by a storm. According to the account they gave, these islands lie from the line to eleven degrees of north latitude, having *New Guinea* on the south, the *Philippines* on the west, the *Marianne* islands to the north, and the *Pacific Ocean* to the east. This Archipelago is divided into five provinces, each of which has its peculiar language ; but all have such an affinity, that, tho' with some difficulty, the inhabitants of one province can make themselves understood by those of the other ; and some think that these five languages are only different dialects of a corrupt *Arabic* <sup>n</sup>.

THESE islands enjoy as fine a climate, except in the time of hurricanes, as can be wished ; the soil is very fruitful producing excellent grags, some delicious fruits, and abundance of very beautiful and shady trees. It is true they have not rice, or wheat, or barley, or *Indian* corn ; but they have fruits, roots, and fish in great plenty, and some fowl ; but no quadrupedes of any kind : the people are tall and well made ; their hair is a little inclined to the crispness of the negroes ; their noses larger, their eyes full and very piercing, and their beards thick, which no other *Indian* nation have. What is most singular, their complexions differ through all the shades from a light olive to a dark copper colour. (F) They have a very grave and decent deportment, but are very far from being

<sup>m</sup> Faſtes chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par PERE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. <sup>n</sup> Lettres edifiantes et curieufes.

(F) The author mentioned and commended in the text is the learned *Padre Feijoo*, whose judicious writings do honour to *Spain*, and are very juſtly admired all over *Europe*. His great view is to combat popular errors, and to eſtabliſh truth at the expence of legendary traditions. A very laudable and uſeful deſign in which tho' other great men have embarked ; yet it muſt be allowed that none have pushed it either

being melancholy; on the contrary, they sing and dance much, and even in the sentiments of *Europeans*, not ungrace-

so far, or treated so great a variety of subjects in so exact, so able, and so agreeable a manner as he has done (17). Amongst the number of popular mistakes, he places that of believing the existence of countries, upon slight and insufficient evidence. Instances in the first place the *Batascas*, a tribe or nation, supposed to be discovered in the mountains of *Castile*; which story, tho' it had imposed upon authors of distinguished abilities, and those too of different nations, he has very fully and plainly proved to be a fable equally void of foundation and probability (18). He then mentions the *Atlantis* of *Plato*, *Parctaya*, an island mentioned by several ancient writers, as to both which no doubt there is great uncertainty; he treats the island of *San Borndon*, or *St. Brendan*, supposed to lie near the *Canaries*, as a fiction, as very likely it is; neither is it of any great consequence whether it be or not. He explodes the island of *Frisland* in the northern ocean; tho' some have supposed that this really exists in *Ferdinand's* straits (19); he treats in like manner the island of *Yava Minor*, which we find in some old maps; but he afterwards retracted this, and acknowledges that it is now called *Bali*, which is the truth (20).

He exposes the strange stories that have been told of a country supposed to be in *Scythia America*, and to which the *Spaniards* had given the name of *el Gran Paititi*, with which *Sir Walter Raleigh* was amused: he derides the enquiries that have been made after the city of *de los Cesares*, held to be somewhere near the fireights of *Magellan*; and is of opinion that, as little credit is due to the ancient accounts of the country of *Quivira* in the most distant parts of *North America*; and yet it must be allowed that in this part of the world we know no more of these countries, than when those accounts were given (21): and lastly, he places the islands *de Palaos*, in the same catalogue; tho' he does not absolutely deny their existence, but represents the search after them as a thing of no consequence; to which he adheres, even after he was acquainted with all the evidence that we have produced in the text, of their situation, number and inhabitants. The reader cannot expect or desire, any clearer proof, that discoveries and improvements are points no longer regarded with a favourable eye in *Spain*; which is the reason of our mentioning particularly the contents of his discourses in this note.

(17) Fr. B. G. Feijoo, *Theatro critico universal en Madrid*, 1742, 4to, tom. iv. Dis. x. § xvi.

(18) *Nicemb. Hist. Philos. lib. i. cap. xxv. Al. Ainslie Sarcotus de Ribus Hist. lib. vii. cap. v. Heylin's Cosmography, Lond. fol. 1705, p. 219.*

(19) *Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. xxxi.*

(20) *Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'établissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, tom. ii. p. 120, 121.*

(21) *De Boë*

*Geographie Medet, p. 842.*

fully; they are very affectionate and good-humoured to each other; and we may easily form a judgment of their disposition from a saying that is common amongst them, tho' not heard any-where else. *One man, say they, never kills another.* They sometimes quarrel and fight, but as soon as there is any blood-shed the dispute is over, and the conquerors erect arches of triumph.

As to religion, they have no distinct idea of a Supreme Being, or of a Providence; but they believe that there are good and evil spirits, and that both of them marry and beget children; concerning whom they have a multitude of idle fables and stories, with which we shall not tire the reader's patience. They have a tolerable notion of a future state, in which they believe that the good are happy, and the wicked miserable. They have priests and priestesses, who pretend to converse with the spirits of the deceased and pronounce very peremptorily who are and who are not happy. When the common people die their bodies are carried out to sea and abandoned to the fish; but their nobility are buried with great pomp and ceremony, and have tombs erected to their memories. They consider these as guardian spirits, distinguish them by the name of *TAHAPUTS*, invoke their assistance upon every occasion, and make offerings to them, which they never do to the celestial or infernal spirits. As to their notions about the latter, they do not perplex themselves much; render them no divine honours of any sort; seem not solicitous to please, or afraid of offending them. There could not therefore be any great, and, much less, any insurmountable difficulties in bringing these people to embrace Christianity, by shewing them how little tendency these fictions have to render men wiser or better, and, on the contrary, how well the doctrines of the gospel are adapted to promote both.

THEIR government is well established in a regular aristocracy. There are in every island several families of nobles, and the eldest of each of these is stiled a *TAMOL*, and there is, besides, a chief *TAMOL* in every island, who administers justice with the advice of the other *Tamols*. These nobles always appear in very decent robes with long beards, and affect a stately majestic gravity. When they give audi-

*The government of these islands a regular, and, at the same time, a gentle aristocracy.*

\* *PÈRE LE GOSIEN Histoire des Isles Mariannes. Philosophical Transactions, N<sup>o</sup>. 317. p. 199. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses. Fastes chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par PÈRE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44. Discours en Navigation and Discoveries. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.*

ence, they sit in their own houses upon a table; such as approach them bend their bodies, and never look up while they are speaking, and are very careful, in retiring, not to turn their backs on them. But, with all this gravity, and all this respect, there is nothing of tyranny on the one side, or of slavery on the other. Their authority is exerted only in giving good advice, and supported by giving a good example<sup>1</sup>. They have but one revenue, and that of a strange kind. All the iron that, by wrecks or any other accidents, comes into the hands of these people, belongs of right to the *TAMOL*, to whom it is carried, who makes of it useful tools, and lets them out at a pretty high price, which is what principally enables him to support his dignity. Every *TAMOL* is fung to sleep in the evening by the youth of the village, whom he rewards in their turn with some little present. It is, after all, but a painful preheminance; for the *TAMOL*'s whole study is to maintain, by a correct and irreproachable behaviour, the dignity of his character, which procures him a submission the most arbitrary princes are strangers to, and a veneration and respect scarce mingled with fear; for the *TAMOL* never punishes but by reproof; and, if men are incorrigibly wicked, they are banished by the Council of *TAMOLS* to some distant islands<sup>2</sup>.

*Education of children as well provided for, as in the most civilized country.* In every village there are two houses destined for the Education of Youth. In the one, the boys are lodged, and in the other the girls. In this point perhaps they exceed the most civilized nations; for there every boy is brought up in all the knowledge that the nation possesses, by old men, who have attained to perfection the several things they teach; such as the art of cultivating fruits and roots, odoriferous herbs and flowers, of which they are passionately fond. The method of making domestic utensils, weaving nets, and heading spears, is the succeeding part of their institution. They next instruct them in every kind of fishing; and, when they are big enough, initiate them in boat-building: last of all, they are taught a little astronomy, by shewing them the few stars they know upon a sphere, and directed how to apply this small portion of science to navigation, and the art of steering their vessels. On the other hand, the girls are taught to dress fish, fruits, and roots in different manners; to sow the seed of a certain kind of grass; to dress that in such a manner as to make thread; to spin and weave it into

<sup>1</sup> *Fastes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde, par PERE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44.* <sup>2</sup> *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.*

cloth; and to draw out the fibres from the bark of a tree called *Balibago*, of which they make mats and sails \*.

THEY have several diversions amongst them, and of these singing and dancing are the chief. But they have no conception of any such thing as instrumental music. On such occasions both men and women pique themselves upon being extremely well dressed; neat and clean they always are, for they wash thrice a day. They wear plumes of feathers, and garlands of flowers upon their heads; they have large holes in their ears which they fill with sweet-smelling herbs; on their wrists they wear a kind of bracelets, as also on their ankles and arms. The men also have exercises suited to their sex; they wrestle, throw the lance, sling stones at a mark, toss balls in the air, catching and throwing them up continually †. These pastimes are varied according to the seasons, and are all calculated to render them active and agile in the several kind of labours upon which their subsistence depends. In the month of *February* all their *TOMALS* have a meeting in the chief island, and pretend to predict whether the fishing will be good, and whether the ensuing year will be fortunate or not; which kind of superstition it is likely they have found very conducive, if not absolutely necessary, to support their authority; for all barbarous nations have a wonderful desire to look into futurity, and naturally reverence those who assume to themselves the knowledge of events that are to come; and are easily persuaded to believe that such things as are artfully foretold, shall actually come to pass; and thus ignorance is every-where the mother of superstition ‡.

THIS new *Archipelago*, which, tho' perhaps inferior in value to the *Philippines*, is at least a very valuable addition to the *Marianne* islands, to which it is almost connected, passes under very different names. At first these isles were stiled the *Palao*s, which seems to have been the name given them by the natives; then the islands of *St. Barnabas* and *St. Andrew*, from circumstances that have been already mentioned. Sometimes we find them called the *Caroline* islands; but their most common denomination is that of the *NEW PHILIPPINES* §. We find them, however, in very few maps;

\* *Fastes Chronologiques de la Decouverte du Nouveau Monde*, par PERE CHARLEVOIX, p. 44.

† *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.*

‡ P. LE GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, lib. i. Du Bois *Geographie Moderne.*

§ PERE LE GOBIEN *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 401, 402. GIOVAN. FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARERI, *Giro del Mondo*, P. v. lib. i. c. ix. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.*



our modern geographers scarce mention them, differ as to their situation, and preserve but very few particulars that regard them. This might, perhaps, have justified us in the same neglect; for history seldom takes any great notice of countries that geography has not fully described; but we are so far from thinking this a motive to pass them over hastily, that we thought it incumbent on us to treat of them largely, to draw together all the particulars we could meet with, in respect to these islands and their inhabitants, in order to excite the curiosity of the public; and thereby, as far as lies in our power, their further discovery; for as yet, after all we have said, they are but very darkly discovered.

*Very little noticed by historians or statesmen, but considered by philosophers.*

It is indeed very singular, that, considering their situation, the number of them, and their lying as it were within several circles one within another, in the very midst of countries possessed by the *Spaniards*, they should remain for two centuries in a manner unknown, or, at least, unnoticed. It is yet more strange that, after the first intelligence of them, and that too by accident, they should remain upwards of fifty years in a manner half discovered. It is certainly very surprizing, that in an age so enlightened as this, an event of this sort should be so little considered or attended to; and, that the finding of these islands should be registered only amongst the relations of missionaries, the collections of societies destined to the promotion of science, and be in a manner wholly slighted by the great world, by geographers, historians, and statesmen; from all of whom, from the nature of things, discoveries of this kind claim more immediate regard\*. This certainly shews, that the noble and heroic spirit which distinguished the sixteenth century, and which was attended with so many illustrious events, and such prodigious advantages to the inhabitants of *Europe*, however ill-managed in some respects, and in all perhaps but too much misapplied, has been gradually evaporating, and is now on the point of being extinguished; and this from the very principle that first excited and ought ever to keep it alive; a propensity to commerce, which, while we endeavour to monopolize, we cease to extend; and while we quarrel and dispute about what we have, discourage those discoveries that might employ, enrich, and content us all†.

*Least known,*

BUT the most extraordinary circumstance of all is, that not only the benefits that might result from this discovery

\* Le Esprit des Loix, liv. xx. c. xviii. † FR. B. G. FEIJOP, Theatro critico universal, Discurso x. § 10. Lettres edifiantes.

have been overlooked, but the very circumstances that attended it, have been so little known, that the very certainty of there being such islands, has been lately disputed by one of the most learned men in *Spain*. It is not above fifteen years ago that in a discourse, relating to dubious and fabulous countries, too hastily credited upon indistinct relations and ill-founded reports, these islands of *Palaos* were mentioned by this inquisitive and judicious writer, who was then acquainted with only the first accounts of them, as published by Father *Andrew Serrano* during his stay at *Madrid* \*. However, four years afterwards, upon the review of his work, which is justly in high esteem, he very fairly and honestly confessed his mistake, and acknowledged that the reality of this *Archipelago* had been proved by incontestible evidence, and that there was no more reason to doubt the existence of the *New*, than the *Old Philippines* \*. But even, after all this, he attempts to extenuate and lessen the merit of the discovery, by observing, that tho' it had been furnished from their situation, that these islands must abound in gold, silver, and spices, yet there appeared no grounds from their discovery, to adopt these notions as facts; because, from the excessive fondness the natives discovered for iron, it was evident they were unacquainted with other metals (G). This seems to be a very strange

\* FR. B. G. FEIJÓ, *Theatro critico universal*, tom. ix. p. 138.

\* Ibid.

(G) There is no circumstance in the history of these people that can excite our curiosity more, or better deserve our consideration, than this strange variety of complexions, which clearly intimates, that these are a mixed people; and therefore it is worth our enquiry, how this should happen; and,\* in making this enquiry, we may lay it down as a certain rule, that whatever solution will best connect this with the other circumstances of their story, must be that that comes nearest the truth. In the first place we

may lay it down with great probability, that their nobility, out of whom their *Tamols* are taken, are one race of people, and it may be the original possessors of these islands. Whence these people came, is not so easily settled; but in all probability from the *Philippines*; and possibly they might be *Moors* or *Arabians*, which is the more likely, from their language and their long beards (22). There is nothing incredible or absurd in supposing they either brought with them, or found here other *Indians* like those in the *Ladrones*.

(22) G. Battista Ramusio *Raccolto delle Navigazioni, et Viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 375<sup>b</sup>. *Galvano's Discoveries*, translated by Hakluyt. *Requiel des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, tom. viii. p. 210, 211.

strange deduction by so wise and so penetrating a writer ; for the value these people set upon iron most certainly arose from

The third nation were Negroes from *New Guinea*, to whom they owe their crisp, curling hair : and we need the less hesitate in admitting this, when we remember that these Negroes penetrated beyond this *Archipelago* into most of the *Philippines*, and were the sole inhabitants of one at least, if not more of these islands (23). But the hardest question of all, is, how they came by Whites amongst them ; for such they must have had, to reduce the bulk of the people to a tawny complexion ; and this could hardly be accounted for at all, if the *Spanish* writers had not helped us out by the following matters of fact (24). When *Martin Lopez de Legaspi* was sent in 1565 to settle on the *Philippines*, the pilot of his vessel entered into a conspiracy with twenty-eight more of the crew to murder all the rest of the people on board the ship, in order to turn pirates on the coast of *China*. But this plot being happily discovered, soon after they left the *Mariannes*, these desperate persons were set on shore in an island, which, with great appearance of truth, is supposed to have been one of this *Archipelago* ; and thus, upon the whole, we see this matter

tolerably well explained. We may likewise observe how soon the manners of a nation may be changed, and all footsteps of their first condition worn out, since, except this circumstance of their colour, and it may be some addition to their skill in manual arts, there is nothing to be traced out among these people that has the least connection with the *Spaniards*, either in point of language, science, or religion. In reference to the first, we may very easily conceive that, being strangers in these islands, and having probably no inclination to return amongst their countrymen, they were constrained to learn the tongue of the natives, that they might obtain wives and habitations. This once accomplished, they must have accommodated themselves to the same manner of living, which did not admit, much less require, any sort of learning ; and if it had, we may well enough suppose these fellows had no very great stock. Lastly, as to religion, such desperate wretches could not be supposed either to have been well versed in the principles, or much addicted to the practice of it ; so that, in a generation or two, their offspring became of course intermixed and

(23) *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. ii. *Giovan Francisco Onelli Ceroi Giro del Mondo*, P. v. lib. i. cap. ix. *D. F. Navarrete Tratados Historicos de la Monarchia de China*, lib. iv. cap. xxi. (24) *Pere le Gobien Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, p. 408. 409. *Don Juan Gran y Mansalcan Justification de la Conservation de las Islas Filipinas. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*. (25) *Argensola, Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. iv. *Alonso de Ovaille Relation Historica del Reyno de Chile*, lib. ii. cap. v. *Fr. B. G. Frijo Teatro critico universal en Madrid*, tom. iv. *Discours*, x. §. 14.

from their knowing the use of that metal; and, without having commerce with other nations, it was impossible they should be acquainted with the uses of silver and gold, which arise chiefly from their being common measures; and consequently, the great instruments of trade, which however, does by no means shew that they have not these metals in their countries, or, that they have not spices, concerning which they made no declarations one way or other<sup>a</sup>.

THIS rivetted opinion, that even the wisest *Spaniards* *Gold and* have, that the importance of colonies can arise only from *silver not* treasures dug out of the earth, has been the source of so *at all ne-* many mistakes, that, without having recourse to that *cessary to* invincible steadiness, which their enemies stile obstinacy, it is im- *render colo-* possible to conceive, that so prudent and so penetrating a *nies valu-* nation could persist in such a mistake<sup>b</sup>. The mother- *able to* country of such colonies is the mistress only of mines and *their ma-* miners; and they are in all countries a very poor despicable *ther-coun-* people who work not for themselves, but for those who employ *tries.* them, and such as supply their wants. It is not indeed true, that a certain proportion of mines, more especially of the baser and more useful metals, may conduce to the welfare of a country, and make its inhabitants rich, which more va-

<sup>a</sup> Philosophical Transactions, No. 317. p. 189. PERE LE GOBIEN Histoire des Isles Marianes, p. 401. DU BOIS Geographie Moderne, p. 701. <sup>b</sup> HERRERA, Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxvii. PERE LE GOBIEN, Histoire des Isles Marianes, lib. i. DE LA BARRINAIS LE GENTIL, Tour du Monde, vol. i. p. 214, 215.

blended with these people, and gradually lost all sense of their original; and the very same is supposed to be the case of that race of white *Indians* before-mentioned, who are said to occupy the city *Los Cesares*, and are thought to, be descended from *Spaniards* shipwrecked in the streights of *Magellan*. These are not, as *Padre Feijoo* supposes, the crew of one ship, but of three; so that they were a considerable body of men of different ranks and degrees, and who might be therefore sup-

posed capable of preserving themselves entire and in a body. Now the *Indian* nations reporting that in the continent south from *Chili* there are people of a white complexion with ruddy cheeks, and in their dispositions resembling the *Europeans*, which people they call *Cesares*; the *Spaniards* persuade themselves that they must be the offspring of those who were thus left on that side of the streight in which there is nothing either of improbability or absurdity any more than of certainty.

luable mines rarely, if ever, do <sup>c</sup>. Yet if the same proposition be stated in other words, in the acceptation of many equivalent to the former, the *Spanish* deduction is perfectly right. For there can be nothing more true than this, that colonies are beneficial in proportion to the gold and silver they produce to their mother-country. But the fallacy lies here, this must not be the work of nature, but of art. Gold and silver are precisely the same thing in possession, however produced; but the gold and silver which enriches a country is not that obtained by digging, but that which is the effect of industry. The former is a kind of volatile gold, which not either law or force can retain; but the latter is so fixed and permanent, as not to be withdrawn but by superior industry <sup>d</sup>. These principles once understood, the reader will not be amazed, when we affirm, that these islands may be extremely rich and valuable, tho' we should allow the supposition, and it is no more than a supposition, that there is not so much as a single grain of either of these precious metals in any of them.

*This Archipelago of inexpressible consequence, even if destitute of mines.*

THESE islands are unquestionably rich and valuable, because they possess almost all the blessings that the indulgence of nature can bestow. They have a soft and serene climate, not exposed to excessive heat, tho' in the midst of the torrid zone; and never visited by a blast of cold. Their soil is wonderfully fruitful, and from the conjunction of these they produce all the necessaries of life (H). Their situation again is

<sup>c</sup> GIOVAN, FRANCISCO GEMELLI CARERI, *Giro del Mondo*, P. vi. l. i. cap. x. *Le Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxi. ch. xviii.

<sup>d</sup> Discourse on Navigation and Discoveries. Sir WILLIAM MONSON's Naval Tracts. Wood's Survey of Trade. P. iii.

(H) As we are sincerely persuaded of the great importance of the *New Philippines*, and look upon them considered in this light as a kind of literary introduction to a commercial discovery in favour either of *Spain*, or some other country, we have treated them accordingly, and stated very fully and fairly all the different evidence that has come to our hands, in which, tho' there are some, it may be very material diffe-

rences, yet perhaps they may, without much difficulty, be removed, or, if they could not, they do not in the least affect the substance of the relation. We have mentioned two descriptions or maps of these islands, which may seem to contradict each other with respect to their situation. It must be observed that the first was delineated from the account of the natives, and, laying all circumstances together, seems to

is so fortunate that, if they wanted the greater part of these blessings, this alone would compensate all their wants; for they lie, at an equal distance from all the rich countries in the world, surrounded by the widest and the mildest of all seas, and capable, from thence, of the safest, the most commodious, and most extensive navigation\*. Are these then countries to be desired? Yet neither are these all their advantages; for mark but the number and the nature of their

\* GALVANO's Discoveries translated by HAKLUYT, EDEN's Hist. of Trevaile. Du Bois, Geographie Moderne, 701.

us most likely to be true (26). The other, however, is said to be corrected; that is, laid down according to the conception of the *Spaniards*, who would willingly have it believed that none of these islands were ever visited either by them or any other *European* nation, which very possibly may be beside the truth (27); if it was not, how came these people by any notion of iron, or by the small quantities of that metal which they have amongst them? As to the difference of names, they might easily arise from the relations of natives of different provinces; those who landed in the island of *Samal* came from the south-west part of the *Archipelago*; those who were driven into *Guam*, from the north-east, and it is allowed that they speak a different dialect of the same language in each of the provinces (28). It must be admitted that these people have probably given the fairest side of their own character, and yet it does not at all appear that their behaviour, either in the *Philippines* or *Marianne* islands, discredited their accounts. It may indeed be said, that the

murder of the two missionaries does it effectually; but then we must consider that these fathers are extremely apt to intermeddle with secular affairs; and, under colour of teaching a new religion, to countenance alterations in government, which, amongst a people utterly unacquainted with the rest of the world, and wedded to their own customs, might easily transport them beyond the bounds of moderation. But, after all allowances made, the great facts, as to the number and nearness of these islands, their abounding in the necessities of life, their having a multitude of inhabitants, their living under a certain form of government, their having the art of boat-building and navigation in some degree of perfection; and their being an ingenious and docile people are, by these testimonies, put beyond all manner of doubt; and consequently, those material circumstances, from which our deductions are made, stand altogether unimpeached, and ought therefore to be considered as fully proved.

(26) See before in note (D) *adipantes et curiosos*,

(27) See p. 614.

(28) *Lettres*

inhabitants. The latter shews us that the former must be very great; we know but very little of them, but we know enough to be sure of this; because we know that they are peaceable, and prolific. In these eighty-seven islands there cannot well be fewer than a hundred thousand inhabitants. Suppose we were mistaken one half, yet fifty thousand such people, so settled, would be a prodigious acquisition. They might be easily converted to Christianity, if taught them as a system of rational happiness. There would be no difficulty in introducing improvements in their conduct of civil life, which would lead them to the discovery of more wants, but, at the same time, would instruct them how they might be supplied. They have already a great fund of industry, which is the genuine source of wealth; they have such a turn for mechanic arts as will soon bring them to perfection, and such an inclination to, and such principles of useful science amongst them, as, with a very little help, would render them a civil, polite, commercial nation in countries the best adapted to, and probably as well furnished as any with materials, for an enlarged commerce.

But no such supposition ought to be admitted as a fact unproved by either probable

FOR in spite of suppositions, which are very far from being arguments, and still much farther from being facts, these people, for any thing we know, may have gold or silver, or both; and, which is somewhat stronger than any supposition, some relations actually say that they have them. That they have spice too, is more than probable, since almost all the countries to the west of them certainly have spices, tho' the inhabitants, from prudential motives, chuse to conceal them<sup>f</sup> (1).

But,

<sup>f</sup> FUNNEL's Voyage round the World, p. 157, 158, 159. DAMPIER's Voyage, vol. i. p. 350. Lettres edifiantes et curieuses.

(1) The scope of these three as highly likely that, notwithstanding there is so little appearance of it in our common maps, yet, in all probability, the *Pacific Ocean* might be full of islands, and have also hinted more than once at an hypothesis, that if admitted would establish this system (29). But without insist-

(29) *Observations Physique et Mathematique de l'Academie*, p. 223. *Houts's* *Geographical Works*, p. 422. *Kircher's Mundus Subterraneus*.

But, whether they have or have not precious metals or rich *arguments*, spices, they may have many other valuable commodities, of *or post-* which we, and perhaps they, have not the least knowledge, *tive au-* but which a spirit of commerce would quickly bring to light. *thority.* In order to excite this, the people are not to be conquered, much less oppressed; for this would be to hatch chickens  
by

ing much upon this, we have gradually proved all that we have advanced from facts, which, in cases of this kind, are incontestable proofs. In the text we have considered them, either in the order of situation or time; we will now close all our observations, by taking them together, and examining how far in this collective light they will amount to a proof of our fundamental proposition, that the *Atlantick Ocean* is very full of islands. In the first place then, we have shewn that discoveries have been made in all directions, and that there has been no expedition through this *Ocean*, of which we have any distinct account, without new islands being discovered. We have shewn, that *Magellan* saw other islands, and that the number of the *Ladrones*, and their names have differed anciently from what they are now accounted (30). We have shewn that *Sir Francis Drake* actually passed through the *New Philippines*, we have shewn that subsequent *English* commanders made other discoveries; and tho' this is a great deal, we

could have shewn much more. We have observed that incidentally, and without seeking them, a chain of islands have been discovered to the north, almost as high as *Japan* (31). The *New Philippines*, notwithstanding, is the most striking proof of all, since they render it evident, that what we suppose of the whole is at least true of a part; nor is this proof at all the less authentic for its being accidental; for that is a pregnant testimony, in favour of another proposition, more than once mentioned, that the *Spaniards* are not so much ignorant of this, as indisposed to acknowledge, and unwilling to have it discovered. This appears from the extraordinary strictness of their sailing orders, which we have good reason to believe, are not casually defective, but intentionally restricted in this particular (32). The same thing appears from their charts, but managed with great prudence and address; for all new islands are inserted as soon as discovered to prevent the surmise of their wishing to conceal them, but then islands long before discovered are left out; so that the

(30) *G. Battista Ramusio Raccolto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi, tom. i, fol. 3756. Galvano's Discoveries translated by Hakluyt. Du Bois Geographie Moderne, P. ii. chap. xiv. artic. v.*

(31) *Herrera Description de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxviii. Eden's History of Travayl, Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.*

(32) *Galvano's Discoveries, translated by Hakluyt. Lord Anson's Voyage to the South-Seas.*



by crushing the eggs ; but they are to be instructed and informed, and after that protected in the full enjoyment of their trade and freedom. This would make them valuable in the strictest sense, and we shall shew very succinctly, but to a demonstration, how all this might be so conducted as to become infinitely beneficial to *Spain*, without trespassing in the least on the natural rights of a good-natured and active nation.

*Cloves, cinnamon and nutmegs, if they do not grow in these islands, might be transplanted thither, and would certainly thrive in them.*

WE shall shew in a subsequent chapter, what prodigious pains the *Dutch* take to prevent cloves from growing in those islands, to which they were given by nature ; and with what pains, as well as policy they have secured the monopoly of mace and nutmegs, as well as with what anxiety they prevent cinnamon from being brought into *Europe* by any but themselves <sup>2</sup>. We have already shewn in this chapter, that, notwithstanding all this care and concern, there are both cinnamon and cloves in *Mindanao* ; and it is very certain that there is still greater plenty in the small islands of *Meangis*, which either make a part of this *Archipelago*, or are within a few hours sail of it. We farther know that the finest nutmegs in the world lie at no great distance from these islands, and yet where they are out of the power of the *Dutch* <sup>3</sup>. What then should hinder the transplanting all these rich spices into some or other of these islands ; or what should hinder them from growing when transplanted out of islands, nearly in the same latitude where they grow

<sup>2</sup> See chap. vii. *Dictionnaire de Commerce*, tom. ii. col. 891. DAMPIER's *Voyages*, vol. vi. p. 173. <sup>3</sup> GALVANO's *Discoveries*, translated by HAKLUYT. DAMPIER's continuation of the *Voyage to New Holland*, chap. iii. *Histoire de l'Expedition de Trois Vaisseaux*, chap. xviii. § iii.

modern charts are not at all fuller than those made two centuries ago. Add to this, that no discoveries whatever tempt this nation to proceed any farther, how easily soever that might be done, or with whatever advantageous consequences it might be attended. But to bar the pretensions of any other nation, and to secure their title to islands not yet known, and which, perhaps, they never will

know ; they plead an exclusive right, from the first discovery by *Magellan*, of the *Archipelago* of *St. Lazarus*, comprehending, according to their computation, eleven thousand islands (33) ; so that how much soever our doctrine may clash with their politics, there is nothing clearer than that they differ not much from us in their opinion.

(33) G. Battista Ramusio *Racconto delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, tom. i. fol. 375. b. *Argensola Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, lib. i. *Port le Gabien*, *Histoire des Isles Mariannes*, liv. 1.

by nature; more especially when it is remembered that the very thing we propose to be done, the *Dutch* have actually done already, and with the greatest success<sup>1</sup>. *How* For managing such a design, and carrying all the arts of cultivation to the highest perfection, what nation could be wished for more fit, than, without the least thought of an attempt of this nature, these people are described to be? What, with less injury or corruption of their old manners, could supply the wants that a higher degree of civility would introduce, better than this project, if carried into execution?

THERE is no need of arms, of expence, or much trouble *This would* to do all this; so that, if the sources of immense wealth are *prove* not in these islands, they may be fetched from next door. *highly* They may be kept too with the same ease that they are *advan-* brought. In return for the protection afforded them by *tageous to* the *Spaniards*, the natives of this *Archipelago* might be per- *the colo-* mitted to trade to the *Philippines* and the *Marianne* islands; *nies, and* and the *Spanish* court might restrain its subjects from all *to Old* commerce with them. In consequence of these regulations, *Spain.* the people of the *Philippines* might revive their old trade to *China* with spices, and save that balance which they pay at present in silver. Returns might be made to this *Archi-* pelago for spices, in piece-goods and *China* silks. Magazines of *European* commodities might be erected in the *Marianne* islands, and the spices that purchase them be deposited there also<sup>2</sup>. To bring all this to pass, there wants only an active spirit, a tolerable degree of contrivance, and a steady perseverance in those who shall attempt it.

In reference to the *European* commerce, it might, with *The Eu-* the greatest profit, and without any considerable difficulty, *ropean* be carried on directly between the *Marianne* islands and *Commerce* *Old Spain*. The voyage might very well be performed in *might be* six, or at most in seven months, round *Cape Horn*, without *carried on* touching any-where, or till the terrors of this navigation *directly* are totally banished, which experience would quickly per- *from* form. The vessels thus employed might touch at *Buenos* *Spain to* *Ayres*, and after refreshing there, proceed round the Cape; *riannes.* and, having delivered their cargo from *Europe*, at the *Mari-* *annes*, receive their cargo of spices on board, and bring them

<sup>1</sup> FUNNEL'S Voyage round the World, chap. ix. *Memoires* sur le Commerce des Hollandois dans toutes les Etats Empires du Monde, p. 145, 147.

<sup>2</sup> ALONZO DE OVALLE Relation historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. cap. iv. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 891, 892.

into *Europe* much fresher, and in a far better condition, than we now receive them, and yet afford to sell them at a more moderate price to those interested in the commerce by the galleons; which would abate the annual balance against *Spain*, and consequently preserve immense sums of silver in that country, which now go out of it. Whence it plainly appears that the *Spanish* subjects in *America* employ their labour in the mines for the benefit of strangers; who, on the other hand, by supplying their wants, acquire a just title to their commodities, gold and silver<sup>1</sup>.

Or the trade may be regulated between the Marianas and Valdivia in Chili, and be sent from Chili into Spain.

If it be objected, that so long a run as from *Cadiz* to the *Ladrones*, or from the *Ladrones* to *Cadiz*, tho' performed in the wholsomest climate, and with more certainty, in respect to wind and weather, than almost any navigation, will prove an insurmountable bar to almost every thing of this kind, even that difficulty may be removed. For the kingdom of *Chili* is exceedingly fertile, abounds with almost every thing that the carrying on this commerce would require, and have always had the obtaining a share of it in their view<sup>m</sup>; for which, if we allow them to be the proper judges, they think their country extremely well situated, and apprehend no difficulties at all, as in truth there are none, in the navigation, as it would be performed from *Baldivia* to *Guam*. If therefore the returns were made to the last-mentioned city, and a few ships were annually sent thither from *Spain*, it might answer the purpose very well<sup>n</sup>, and would certainly have very beneficial consequences, as well in respect to the commerce of the colonies as the mother-country, which will either thrive, or must dwindle and decay together; so that there can be nothing more preposterous than the apprehensions that are sometimes formed, from the flourishing state of colonies, as if the mother-country was exhausted thereby, which neither is nor can be the case: for if the latter really declines while the former thrives, this can only arise from errors in government at home, which do not affect the administration in the colonies; and therefore, lessening the affluence of the subject, these would only in-

<sup>1</sup> GIOVAN. FRANCESCO GEMELLI CARERI, Giro del Mondo, P. v. De l'Esprit des Loix, lib. xx. cap. xviii. History of Spanish America, p. 81, 301. <sup>m</sup> ALONZO DE OVALLE Relation Historica del Reyno de Chile, lib. ii. c. iv. COWLEY's Voyage round the World, p. 11. FREZIER Voyage, de la Mer du Sud, p. 131. <sup>n</sup> Voyages de FRANÇOIS DE CORREAL aux Indes Occidentales, chap. x. Relation of a Voyage to Buenos Ayres, p. 83. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 921.

crease, instead of alleviating the distress here. A truth that can never be too well known, or too much considered °.

BUT still, even according to this scheme, the navigation *Or the* round *Cape Horn*, or through the Straights of *Magellan*, is *East In-* still in the way. However, even that bar might be removed. *dian com-* For, supposing the commerce between *Chili* and the *La-* *modities* *drones* to be settled in the manner before-mentioned, the *Eu-* *mights be* *ropean* commodities and manufactures might be transported *trans-* from, and the spices carried to, *Buenos Ayres* P. Without as- *ported over* *firming* this to be the best, or the most eligible method of *land to* *Buenos* *Ayres,* *and from* *thence by* *sea to Ca-* *diz.* fixing such a commerce, one may safely and truly say, that it is liable to the fewest exceptions, and might be carried into execution with the smallest alterations; which will be al- ways a point of great consequence in *Spanish* councils. Register ships are sent annually to *Buenos Ayres*, which is one of the most commodious ports in *America* °. The inhabitants of this city have a regular correspondence cross the continent with the inhabitants of *Chili*; and, tho' it must be admitted that it is none of the most convenient, yet even that cannot be swelled into an insurmountable objection, when it is considered that the distance is not above a third of that between *Vera Cruz* and *Acapulco*, by which the commerce with the *Philippines* is at present carried on °.

By this last method a new and great branch of trade will *Many* be added to the *Spanish* monarchy, without the least dimi- *great and* *nution* of any that at present subsist, and without the finallest *certain* *alteration* in the manner by which they are carried on; the *advan-* *maintaining* of which is another fundamental maxim of *Spa-* *nish* policy; for otherwise the galleons had long ago changed *would re-* *their* route, and gone to *Buenos Ayres* instead of the *Ha-* *vanna* and *Vera Cruz*; more unfortunate accidents having *this com-* *merce, as* happened between those two ports, than in the naviga- *well to the* *tion* between *Cadiz* and *Buenos Ayres*: and besides, one fleet *colonies as* *then* would serve instead of two °. By this scheme, of trans- *to Old* *porting* *European* commodities from *Buenos Ayres* to *Balili*- *Spain.*

\* HERRERA, Descripción de las Indias Occidentales, cap. xxix. ARGENSOLA, G. BATTISTA RAMUSIO, c. xvi. WOOD'S Survey of Trade, p. 111. ° ALONZO DE OVALLE, lib. ii. c. iv. FREZIER, Voyage, p. 79. Hist. Span. America, b. ii. c. xv. ° Relation of a Voyage to Buenos Ayres, p. 25. Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. 1018. Du Lois Geographie Moderne, p. 877. ° GEMELLI CASERI, P. vi, lib. iii. cap. iii. FREZIER, Voyage, c. x. ANSON'S Voyage. ° Dictionnaire de Commerce, tom. ii. col. Hist. Span. America, b. ii. c. xviii. Proposal for humbling Spain, p. 39.

*via*, and from thence to the *Ladrones*, the exportation from *Spain* would be greatly increased; her colonies on the *North*, and on the *South Seas*, would be exceedingly improved; the connection between her dominions strengthened; her navigation increased; and, of consequence, the number of her subjects, and, more especially, the number of those usefully employed; all of them objects, which, if there are any that can, may be truly said to demand their utmost attention.

THUS we have finished all that we have to say on this intricate and almost untouched subject; and the intelligent reader will not surely think either his or our pains ill employed, in tracing out the many advantages that might be derived from these *New Indies*, better situated, and much pleasanter, than either the *East* or the *West*; and which, with a reasonable proportion of industry and contrivance, might be brought to connect both, and to augment the wealth, the power, and the shipping of *Europe*, in a degree that may be much more easily imagined than described.

*The END of the NINTH VOLUME.*





